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**VALUATION REVERSED - WHEN VALUATORS ARE VALUATED. AN ANALYSIS OF THE PERCEPTION OF AND REACTION TO REVIEWERS IN FINE-DINING**

**PhD Series 19-2018**

**Fabian Heinrich Müller**

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**CBS**  **COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL**  
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

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An Analysis of the Perception of and Reaction to  
Reviewers in Fine-Dining

**Fabian Heinrich Müller**

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## English Abstract

Our society has seen a proliferation of valuation devices leading to the existence of multiple devices that value the same product or service. Studies of valuation devices have demonstrated wide-ranging implications for the objects they value as well as for the context, in which they are embedded. However, what remains opaque is the understanding of how these valuation devices *themselves* are valued by actors in and around the devices. Aiming to enrich this understanding, this thesis gives an answer to the following research question: How are multiple valuation devices valued by the actors in and around the devices in one particular context, in this thesis the Copenhagen fine-dining context and what are implications of this valuation?

Theoretically, this thesis mobilizes the notion of *valuation devices* and is built on two theoretical pillars that originate out of economic sociology: valuation studies and studies of devices. Through delving into their common roots and reviewing previous studies, this thesis finds that both areas of research suggest the aspect of multiplicity and the aspect of the valuation of valuation devices as aspects needing in-depth exploration. I aim to shed light on these two theoretical gaps. In addition, the thesis elaborates on the effects of valuation devices, centering on performativity and reactivity, introducing the former and going deeper into the latter.

The empirical context of Copenhagen fine-dining is characterized by its recent development into a globally renowned, culinary hotspot. Part of this development is related to the growth of a multiplicity of valuation devices. These valuation devices, such as rankings, ratings, and reviews, are argued to be both necessary for the fine-dining market to function, and essential for the establishment of good and legitimate taste. As such, Copenhagen's fine-dining scene is an ideal context for studying the proliferation of valuation devices and their co-existence, as well as the valuation of these valuation devices, which are all core interests of this thesis. This thesis outlines the evaluation practices of the four most important devices for this thesis: the Danish national newspaper Berlingske, the White Guide, the Michelin Guide, and the World's 50 Best Restaurants list.

Methodologically, the thesis draws on a qualitative study of fine-dining in Copenhagen, encompassing a media analysis and interviews with actors of both sides of the valuation, i.e. actors producing the valuation as well as the actors who are valued. These three different empirical sources are each analyzed on their own with slightly different foci. They form the basis of three analytical chapters. Accordingly, the thesis analyzes the valuation of multiple valuation devices from three different angles.

The first analytical chapter analyzes the published articles by one of Denmark's largest newspapers, Berlingske, about the Copenhagen restaurant Noma and investigates how valuation devices are described and discussed by the newspaper media. The chapter finds that valuation devices play a dominant role in the articles about Noma and that they are not only referred to in the newspapers, but are also themselves valued in the newspaper articles. This valuation of valuation devices is based on three particular aspects. First, the newspaper media includes only a selection of valuation devices, i.e. the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list, while ignoring other devices completely. Second, these two valuation devices are assessed based on how they (positively) promote the restaurant Noma. Based on this, valuation devices are typified as "predominate" – or not. Third, the identified value of the two valuation devices is recognized and diffused, amongst others by describing the restaurant with a reference to their ranking / rating of a valuation device. Finally, the chapter argues that the 50 Best list has played an important role for the restaurant, making it internationally renowned.

The second analytical chapter analyzes interviews with the valued objects, and investigates how chefs and restaurateurs of fine-dining restaurants value valuation devices. It identifies that chefs and restaurateurs do selections of valuation devices that makes them part of different groups of valuation devices. Based on this, chefs and restaurateurs assess the groups of valuation devices along a set of qualities. Based on these qualities, valuation devices are typified by chefs and restaurateurs in a reflexive manner. This can be termed an 'inverted' valuation as it encompasses the same sub-processes as the valuation by the valuation devices. Furthermore, the chapter identifies that the inverted valuation not only evaluates, but also valorizes valuation devices, i.e. it

not only assesses value, but also creates value. The valorization reflects back towards the chefs and restaurateurs: Based on the 'inverted' valuation, chefs and restaurateurs create value *for* themselves by identifying those valuation devices that are deemed to be particularly legitimate, relevant and important for their restaurant.

The third analytical chapter analyzes interviews with actors of valuation devices – i.e. reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters – and finds that they value the practices of the devices as either valuable or disadvantageous. Valuation devices are hereby related to each other through the practices perceived to be valuable. Furthermore, this chapter identifies that also the actors of valuation devices interrelate with each other: Beyond the organizational boundaries of the valuation devices, actors of the devices know each other, and have personal interaction with each other. In addition, the very same actor potentially produces valuations for different valuation devices, so that actors of valuation devices are overlapping. The combination of these two forms of interaction of (actors of) valuation devices can define the success or failure of a restaurant.

In the subsequent chapter, the discussion, the findings of the thesis across the three chapters are discussed and related to existing research. Contributing to the gaps identified in the theoretical background, it develops the understanding of the multiplicity of valuation devices as a specifically defined, constricted multiplicity, in which valuation devices interrelate with each other. Also, the thesis provides a first step in understanding the valuation of valuation devices. Valuation of valuation devices can be understood as a result of a valuation that depends on the actor producing the valuation of the valuation device. It argues that the two elements of valuation, evaluation and valorization, build on one another and that these elements of valuation not only create value for the *objects* they value, but also for the *valuator*. Understanding the findings of this thesis as a form of reactivity, this thesis also contributes to the reactivity discussion. It argues that also actors that are related to, but not part of the valuation, show reactive responses to it; that these actors show different reactive responses; that triggers of reactivity are twofold; and that the valuation of valuation devices can be understood as a prerequisite for these responses to

unfold. In addition, it argues that next to the importance of the valuation devices, the personal relations between the actors of the valuation devices matter. Finally, it discusses the findings in the light of fine-dining research and outlines empirical implications of the valuation of valuation devices.

The final concluding chapter gives an answer to the research question and concludes that there is symmetry in the way both valuation devices and those valuated produce valuations. In particular, those valuated produce valuations of their own valutors. This symmetry can be termed '*valuation reversed*'. Furthermore, this chapter concludes on the contributions of the thesis to the understanding of valuation processes, and on how the thesis develops our understanding of reactivity to and inter-relatedness of valuation devices. It also concludes on the practical implications of this thesis to the fine-dining field for both sides of the valuation – actors producing the valuation as well as the actors who are valuated – as well as to consumers trying to find the best restaurant. Finally, this thesis points to further research which could gain from mobilizing this thesis' theoretical combination of the concepts of valuation of valuation devices and the multiplicity of valuation devices. This could be done, for example, by exploring another empirical context with this theoretical approach or by investigating the valuation of multiplicity of valuation devices *over time*. With this thesis, I hope to provide a valuable contribution to valuation studies, to studies of devices, to the discussion on reactivity and to the empirical fine-dining field.

## Dansk Resume

Aktuelt er vi vidne til fremkomsten af et stigende antal *valuation devices*, hvilket fører til eksistensen af flere devices, som valuerer det samme produkt eller den samme tjenesteydelse. Studier af *valuation devices* har overbevisende demonstreret de vidtrækkende implikationer *valuation devices* kan have, både for de ting, som vurderes og for den kontekst de er en del af. Et område, som stadig er underbelyst, er imidlertid forståelsen af, hvordan disse *valuation devices* selv bliver gjort til genstand for vurdering af de aktører, som forholder sig til dem. For at komme en sådan forståelse nærmere, besvarer denne afhandling følgende forskningsspørgsmål: Hvordan bliver multiple *valuation devices* vurderet af aktører i en specifik kontekst – i denne afhandling i konteksten Københavns finere gourmetkøkken – og hvad er implikationer af denne vurdering?

Teoretisk mobiliserer afhandlingen begrebet *valuation devices* og bygger dermed på to teoretiske søjler, der begge har deres oprindelse i økonomisk sociologi: *valuation studies* og *studies of devices*. Gennem en granskning af deres fælles oprindelse og på baggrund af en gennemgang af tidligere studier, finder denne afhandling, at begge søjler på den ene side berører, men på den anden side også mangler en dybdegående forståelse af to relaterede aspekter: multiplacitet og vurdering af *valuation devices*. I afhandlingen undersøges disse to underbelyste aspekter. Desuden uddyber afhandlingen diskussionen om effekterne af *valuation devices*, dels ved at introducere begrebet performativitet i diskussionen og dels ved at uddybe 'reactivity'-diskussionen.

Afhandlingens empiriske kontekst, det finere københavnske gourmetkøkken, er karakteriseret ved for nyligt at have udviklet sig til at blive en kulinarisk 'hotspot'. En del af denne udvikling kan tilskrives det stigende antal *valuation devices*. Disse *valuation devices*, såsom ranglister, bedømmelser og anmeldelser, anses for at være både nødvendige for det marked, som den finere køkkenscene udgør, og altafgørende for opretholdelsen af god og legitim smag. På den måde udgør det finere københavnske gourmetkøkken en ideel kontekst for at studere det stigende antal *valuation devices* og

deres sameksistens, samt valueringen af disse *valuation devices*. I denne afhandling optegnes konturerne af de evalueringspraksisser, der relaterer til de mest centrale *valuation devices* som behandles i denne afhandling: Berlingske, White Guide, Michelin-guiden og listen: *the World's 50 Best Restaurants*.

Empirisk bygger afhandlingen på et kvalitativt studie af det finere københavnske gourmetkøkken, og omfatter en medieanalyse samt interviews med aktører fra begge sider af valueringen; altså såvel dem der foretager valueringen, som dem der bliver valueret. De tre empiriske kilder analyseres hver for sig med lidt forskelligt fokus og disse analyser udgør afhandlingens tre analytiske kapitler. Dermed analyseres valueringen af multiple *valuation devices* fra tre forskellige vinkler i afhandlingen.

I det første analytiske kapitel analyseres artikler om den københavnske restaurant Noma udgivet af en af Danmarks største aviser, Berlingske. Det analyseres hvordan avismediet beskriver og diskuterer *valuation devices*, og analysen peger på, at *valuation devices* spiller en dominerende rolle i artiklerne om Noma, og at de ikke kun omtales men også selv bliver gjort til genstand for valuering i avisartiklerne. Denne valuering af *valuation devices* bygger på tre aspekter. For det første inkluderer avismedierne kun et udvalg af *valuation devices*, såsom Michelin-guiden og 'the 50 Best list', mens andre *valuation devices* fuldstændig ignoreres. For det andet vurderes disse to *valuation devices* på baggrund af, hvordan de (positivt) fremmer restauranten Noma. På baggrund af dette typificeres *valuation devices* som værende fremherskende eller ej. For det tredje anerkendes og spredes værdien af de to *valuation devices* blandt andet ved at beskrive restauranten med henvisning til dens rangering og bedømmelse. Endelig argumenteres der i kapitlet for, at 'the 50 best list' har spillet en vigtig rolle i forhold til at skabe restaurantens internationale omdømme.

I det andet analytiske kapitel analyseres interviews med de kokke og restauratører, som har været udsat for valueringer og det undersøges, hvordan de vurderer *valuation devices*. Kapitlet viser, at kokke og restauratører udvælger *valuation devices*, så de kommer til at tilhøre forskellige grupper af *valuation devices*. På den baggrund vurderer kokkene og restauratørerne grupperne af *valuation devices* i forhold til en række kvaliteter. På

baggrund af disse kvaliteter typificerer kokke og restauratører *valuation devices* på en refleksiv måde. Dette kan betegnes *'inverted' valuation*, idet denne *'inverted' valuation* indbefatter de samme delprocesser som den valuering, der finder sted gennem *valuation devices*. Derudover finder kapitlet, at denne *'inverted' valuation* ikke kun evaluerer men også tilskriver en særlig værdi til *valuation devices*, hvilket altså vil sige, at den ikke kun bedømmer deres værdi men også skaber deres værdi. Værdisætningen reflekterer tilbage på kokkene og restauratørerne: På baggrund af den *'inverted' valuation* skaber kokke og restauratører værdi for *valuation devices* ved at udpege de *valuation devices*, som anses for at være særligt legitime, relevante og vigtige for deres restauranter.

I det tredje analytiske kapitel analyseres interviews med aktørerne bag *valuation devices* – de er anmeldere, journalister, bloggere og inspektører – og analysen viser, at de valuerer *valuation devices'* praksisser som enten fordelagtige eller ufordelagtige. Dermed bliver *valuation devices* relateret til hinanden gennem de praksisser, som anses for at være værdifulde. Desuden finder kapitlet også, at aktørerne bag *valuation devices* har en relation: Bag *valuation devices* organisatoriske grænser kender aktørerne hinanden og er i personlig kontakt. Ydermere kan det forekomme, at den samme aktør står bag flere *valuation devices'* valueringer, således at aktørerne bag *valuation devices* overlapper. Kombinationen af disse to former for interaktion mellem aktørerne bag *valuation devices* kan afgøre, om en restaurant bliver en succes eller en fiasko.

I det efterfølgende kapitel, diskussionen, diskuteres afhandlingens resultater på tværs af kapitlerne og de relateres til den eksisterende forskning. Som led i at belyse de mangler i forskningen, som blev identificeret i afhandlingen teoretiske baggrundsafsnit, udvikler afhandlingen en forståelse af multipliciteten af *valuation devices* som en specifikt defineret og afgrænset multiplicitet, hvor *valuation devices* relaterer sig til hinanden. Desuden bidrager afhandlingen med det første skridt mod en forståelse af valueringen af *valuation devices*, som kan forstås som et resultat af en valuering, der afhænger af den aktør, der udfører valueringen af et *valuation device*. Argumentet er, at de to elementer som valuering består i, evaluering og værdisætning, bygger på hinanden og at disse valueringselementer ikke blot skaber værdi for de genstande, som de valuerer, men også



for den der valuerer. Denne afhandlings resultater kan desuden forstås som en form for *'reactivity'*, hvorved den også bidrager til *'reactivity'*-diskussionen. I afhandlingen argumenteres der for, at aktører der er relateret til, men ikke er del af, valueringen, udviser en reaktiv respons; at disse aktører udviser forskellige reaktive responser; at der er flere kilder til at udløse reaktiviteten og endelig, at valueringen af *valuation devices* kan forstås som en forudsætning for, at disse responser udfoldes. Derudover argumenteres der i diskussionen for, at i tillæg til vigtigheden af *valuation devices*, så er de personlige relationer mellem aktører af *valuation devices* af afgørende betydning. Slutteligt diskuteres afhandlingens resultater i lyset af forskningen i det finere gourmetkøkken og der peges på empiriske implikationer af valueringen af *valuation devices*.

I konklusionen besvares forskningsspørgsmålet og det konkluderes, at der er symmetri mellem den måde hvorpå både *valuation devices* og de der valueres skaber valueringer. I særdeleshed at de, der bliver valueret, laver valueringer af deres egne valuatorer. Denne symmetri kan benævnes *'valuation reversed'*. Desuden konkluderer kapitlet på afhandlingens bidrag til forståelsen af valueringsprocesser, og på hvordan afhandlingen udvikler vores forståelse af reaktiviteten mod *valuation devices* samt af hvordan *valuation devices* er relateret til hinanden. Konklusionen peger også på afhandlingens praktiske implikationer for det finere gourmetkøkken og for aktører på begge sider af valueringen – det vil sige både de aktører der laver valueringer og de aktører der valueres – og for forbrugerne, der forsøger at finde den bedste restaurant. Endelig udpeges mulig fremtidig forskning, der med fordel kan mobilisere denne afhandlings kobling mellem de teoretiske begreber valueringen af *valuation devices* og multipliciteten af *valuation devices*. Dette kunne for eksempel gøres ved at udforske et andet empirisk felt med dette begrebsapparat eller ved at undersøge valueringen af multiple *valuation devices* over tid. Med afhandlingen håber jeg at kunne præsentere et værdifuldt bidrag til *valuation studies*, *studies of devices*, til diskussionen om reaktivitet og til finere gourmetkøkken-feltet.

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# 1. Introduction

Reviews, ratings and rankings are gaining more and more popularity in today's society. For many of these products or services, there exist not only one, but many forms of such comparisons. These select, assess and categorize the very same product or service with a slightly different focus, different method and/or different intention. For example, in the empirical context of this thesis, there are many comparisons, i.e. reviews, ratings and rankings, indicating which restaurants are the best to try in a city such as Copenhagen. There are "TripAdvisor" rankings and restaurant recommendations, but there is also the "Michelin Guide" and "The Guardian", as well as 6.38 Million further results on Google for "best restaurant Copenhagen"<sup>1</sup>. While one comparison aims to help the customer in making a decision based on the comparison of alternatives, the multiplicity of comparisons raises the concern as to whether or not around 6.38 million different comparisons are actually helpful to find "the best restaurant" in Copenhagen. Therefore, it can be argued that consumers are left with the task of making sense of the multiplicity of comparisons in order to eventually benefit from their intended purpose.

This multiplicity of comparisons not only affects the consumer, but also the actors of the objects that are compared, i.e., the chefs and restaurateurs working for compared restaurants. In general, it seems plausible that restaurants aim to be "the best" and that this might be a clear goal for a restaurant when they are particularly focused on how they compare in one particular ranking, rating or review. However, being in the situation as a restaurant to be compared by many different forms of ratings, rankings and reviews raises the question of how actors make sense of these comparisons. For example, it might be possible that they aim to be "the best" with all, some, or none of the devices. Moreover, this multiplicity of comparisons also affects the actors of these comparisons, or those doing the comparisons, themselves. Rather than focusing on the steps to select, assess and categorize the different restaurants and present the results to the public, the process of comparing different restaurants becomes more complex. Given how similar some of the

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<sup>1</sup> Search via google.dk with the search words "best restaurant Copenhagen". Conducted on July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

reviews, ratings or rankings are, especially when comparing the same object, or restaurant, the question of how comparisons relate to each other becomes relevant.

In this way, it is assumed that the multiplicity of comparisons affects various actors and might have wide-ranging effects for the compared object and the comparisons themselves. It is therefore of particular interest to explore whether and how these various actors that are affected by the multiplicity of comparison take this multiplicity into account and what implications might result from this multiplicity. Accordingly, the overall phenomenon that is driving this thesis is the perception and description of the multiple comparisons by various actors in and around the comparisons. This thesis aims to shed light on this phenomenon.

### **1.1. Theoretical framework**

In general, the processes of selection, assessment and typification, as well as attachment, recognition and diffusion, can be seen as steps or sub-processes of valuation practices (Lamont, 2012), which form the first theoretical pillar of this thesis. Valuation studies published in recent years have arguably become a central part of economic sociology (Hutter & Stark, 2015). Following the strong focus in valuation studies on valuation practices (e.g. Dussage, Helgesson, Lee, & Woolgar, 2015; Helgesson & Kjellberg, 2013; Kornberger, Justesen, Mouritsen, & Madsen, 2015), I understand valuation practices to make values and to make objects valuable (Kornberger et al., 2015). This means that valuation practices not only assess the value of an object, as I introduced above, but they also produce value (Vatin, 2013). This can happen, for example, when the valuation might influence customers' decisions to buy or consume a product or service. One concept stands out as a means to theoretically assemble the different valuation practices within one entity: the concept of "device", which forms the second theoretical pillar of this thesis.

Studies of devices are generally interested in understanding how devices, understood as objects with agency, intervene in the market (Muniesa, Millo, & Callon, 2007). Accordingly, there is currently a strong focus on understanding the effect of devices in the studied fields (e.g. Doganova & Eyquem-Renault, 2009; Hawkins, 2012; Henriksen, 2013; Pollock & D'Adderio, 2012; Preda, 2006; Sisto & Zelaya, 2014). I understand devices in two ways:

On the one hand, devices are the assemblages that combine different valuation practices (Muniesa et al., 2007). By doing so, a device performs the market in which it is embedded. On the other hand, devices refer to the different possible forms of rating, rankings and reviews (Karpik, 2010). These forms differ from each other because different valuation practices are applied or because the sequence of valuation practices might alter. Combining practices of valuation and the understanding of device, I use the notion of *valuation device*, by which I mean the aforementioned comparisons.

Building on these two theoretical pillars, i.e. valuation studies and the studies of devices, this thesis aims to contribute to current discussions within these fields of research. In both valuation studies and studies of devices, scholars acknowledge the proliferation of valuation practices and devices in today's society. Previous research has pointed to the various commonalities and differences in valuation devices that lead to different results in valuation (Orlikowski & Scott, 2014) and demonstrated that valuation devices can influence each other (Du Rietz, 2015). However, little attention has been given to the above described multiplicity of valuation devices, nor to its implication. Therefore, this area lacks a detailed analysis. Similarly, studies have suggested focusing on how valuation devices themselves are valued by the valuated objects. Previous research has, for example, indicated that new valuation devices can be welcomed (Mellet, Beauvisage, Beuscart, & Trespeuch, 2014), but can also be resented by the valuated objects (Sauder & Espeland, 2009). Despite the suggested focus and the contrasting findings in previous research, no research to date has foregrounded the valuation of valuation devices. In addition, previous research leaves a gap in knowledge surrounding the valuation of valuation devices through other actors in and around the valuation devices, such as actors of other valuation devices. As such, valuation studies, as well as studies of devices, have underemphasized the multiplicity of valuations and how these multiple valuations are potentially valued by actors representing the product or service they value.

To foreground the valuation of valuation devices, this thesis is inspired by the literature on 'reactivity', which has indicated a possible valuation of valuation devices. The seminal work by Espeland and Sauder (2007) relates the concept of reactivity to valuation devices

and defines the understanding of reactivity in the following way: “individuals alter their behavior in reaction to being evaluated, observed or measured” (p. 6). Espeland and Sauder identify that the valuated objects conform to, or game, the criteria of the valuation devices. This understanding of the implications of reactivity was developed further by a variety of studies (Pollock & D’Adderio, 2012; Pollock, D’Adderio, Williams, & Leforestier, 2018; Sauder & Fine, 2008; Wedlin, 2006). On the one hand, these studies have demonstrated that there are different possible responses to an initial valuation, such as, for example, when Wedlin points out that certain valuated objects decide to not respond to a valuation device. On the other hand, these studies have given indications that also valuation devices are valuated. Sauder and Fine, for example, indicate that the valuated objects evaluate the importance of the valuation devices, and decide to respond to only the most important ones. Also, Pollock and colleagues identify that actors of the valuated objects use the same tools as the valuers to evaluate them.

Building on these indications originating from reactivity, and investigating the valuation of valuation devices, this thesis further develops our understanding of both valuation studies and studies of devices. In studying how valuation devices themselves are valuated, it elevates the understanding that “valuations appear to be performed everywhere” (Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013, p. 2). At the same, by closely investigating different valuation practices from different actors within one field, this thesis opens the black box of valuations and identifies how the practices of valuations can be understood. In addition to the contributions to the valuation of valuation devices, this thesis also contributes to an ongoing debate within valuation studies and the studies of devices, as well as on the multiplicity of valuation devices, which Pollock and colleagues (2018) have framed as the “possibility for a ‘turn’” (p. 67). This thesis not only investigates the differences between cases where there are a multiplicity of valuation devices, and cases where there is only one valuation device, it also investigates the potential interrelation and interconnection between actors in an empirical context of multiplicity.

As “valuation has also become a central topic in economic sociology” (Hutter & Stark, 2015, p. 5), contributions to valuation studies are also contributions to the overall field of



economic sociology. Indeed, the above outlined contributions to valuation studies help overcome the demarcation between economics and sociology and help develop how both value (singular) and values (plural) are created in the practice of valuation. In doing so, this thesis sheds light on how certain processes and practices shape and are shaped themselves in turn, within a market. While previous studies have shed light on the former, this thesis enhances our understanding of how certain practices cause a reaction. Studying such reactions make it possible to identify a certain causal patterns and connections between practices. These reactions are also relevant, as they help us gain an understanding of the overall constitution of market processes, and, eventually, how practices and processes within one market are interrelated with another.

In sum, aiming to address both valuation studies and studies on devices, in this thesis I focus on the valuation of multiple valuation devices in fine-dining in Copenhagen. In particular, I examine how this multiplicity of valuation devices is valued, not only by the valuated objects, but also by other actors in and around the valuation devices, i.e. the newspaper media and actors of valuation devices. This is particularly interesting for two reasons: firstly, there is a theoretical contribution that this thesis can make to the existing literature in valuation studies and studies of devices, and secondly, the fine-dining field in general is dependent on valuation devices.

## **1.2. Empirical context**

Empirically, this thesis focuses on fine-dining restaurants in Copenhagen. This context is very relevant in the study of multiple valuation devices, for different reasons. First, valuation devices are argued that they structure fine-dining (Gomez & Bouty, 2011), that they are taste-makers and define what is good taste (Lane, 2013, 2014), and that without them, the market of fine-dining would not function, as they guide consumers in making an informed decision on where to go for a meal (Karpik, 2010). Second, single valuation devices are argued to have a strong effect on the restaurant's reputation and performance (e.g. B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013). As a reaction to this, the observed restaurants try to influence the actors of valuation devices, for example, by giving such food critics special

treatment during a visit to the restaurant (Albrecht, 2015a). Therefore, this thesis pays close attention to valuation devices that value fine-dining restaurants.

Furthermore, fine-dining in general is a very good example for investigating *multiple* valuation device, with quite diverse forms, such as reviews, rankings, ratings and any combination of these forming valuations (Blank, 2007; Mützel, 2015). The Copenhagen context is a good example of this multiplicity of devices. As already outlined in the introduction, a Google search for “best restaurant Copenhagen” provides more than 6.38 million results, indicating that there are many different opinions on what and where is the best to eat in Copenhagen. These 6.38 million opinions, representing an indefinite amount of valuation devices, value 67 fine-dining restaurants<sup>2</sup>, amongst others, in Copenhagen. Browsing through these results, there are a large number of food bloggers, both Danish and international, giving diverse reviews on restaurants in Copenhagen. Furthermore, there are online-based valuation devices, such as TripAdvisor and Yelp, which give a rating based on the opinions of users. In addition, other valuations can be found in local newspapers (such as the Copenhagen Post), a local city-guide (AOK), national newspapers (such as Berlingske, Politiken or Børsen), and international newspapers (such as The Guardian and the New York Times). Browsing further, the results provide valuations from Den Danske Spiseguide (‘The Danish Eating Guide’), the White Guide, the Michelin Guide, the World’s 50 Best restaurant list (referred to as: 50 Best list).

Finally, Denmark and Copenhagen have previously been described as a “food desert”, “a poor country, culinary wise” (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015). This has changed with the introduction of New Nordic Cuisine, primarily through the restaurant Noma. The Copenhagen-based restaurant was awarded the title “the best restaurant in the world” through the 50 Best list. This has caused the city to boom, marking it as a culinary hotspot (Bjørn, 2007; Suppli Benson, 2013). As a hotspot, Copenhagen has become a city of particular interest for valuation devices (Interview journalist Marie, 2014). Following “the best” restaurant in the world, other places in Copenhagen have also been

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<sup>2</sup> Based on the definition by Lane (2013) that a fine-dining restaurant can be understood as a restaurant rated by the Michelin Guide.

named “the best” places within different categories. For example, just recently a burger place at a gas station has been named “the best” burger place in the world, according to an article from the American newspaper Bloomberg News (Dahlager, 2017).

Despite the empirical relevance, only a few other studies have examined valuation devices in this context. Focusing in particular on valuations in the form of reviews, Blank (2007) and Mützel (2015) examine different forms of restaurant reviews. Both point out that restaurant reviews shape, but also are shaped by, the culinary field in general. Similarly, Christensen and Pedersen (2013), as well as Lane (2013, 2014), identify that certain valuation devices have an influence on fine-dining and focus on the potential differences in the devices’ valuation practices. While valuations in the form of reviews are widely addressed in previous research, other valuation devices in this field, such as ratings and rankings, have gained less attention. As such, there is a lack of studies taking the variety of valuation devices into account. Finally, while these studies demonstrate the important role that valuation devices have for the field, they lack an in-depth investigation of how these devices are valued by the valuated objects. Therefore, fine-dining forms an interesting context to study the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices.

### **1.3. Research question**

From the empirical context, we know that there is a big number of valuation devices valuating fine-dining experiences. These valuation devices are of relevance to many actors within the field, including the valuated objects, valuation devices and the newspaper media. Previous research has not focused on this phenomenon, thus creating a gap in the research literature that this thesis aims to address to. This thesis intends to answer the following research question:

*How are multiple valuation devices valued by actors in and around the devices in the Copenhagen fine-dining context and what are the implications of this valuation?*

The overall research question can be split into different elements. The part of the research question “Copenhagen fine-dining” defines the empirical context to the thesis. It thus sets the boundaries of this thesis to be within one particularly interesting context for studying

multiplicity, i.e. fine-dining in the culinary hotspot, Copenhagen. The part “multiple valuation devices” defines both the phenomenon under study, i.e. the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices by actors in and around the devices, and the underlying theory, i.e. the theory surrounding valuation studies and studies of devices. The verb “to value” is the core of the research question. The research question follows the argumentation of previous research, that valuation devices play an important role for the objects they value. Thus, it investigates how these valuation devices themselves are valued. “Actors in and around the devices” refers not only to actors of the valued objects, but also to other actors in and around the valuation device. It points to the categories of actors that are analyzed in this thesis. Finally, “implications of this valuation” points out that this thesis assumes the valuation of valuation device to have a number of consequences, which will be identified through the three analyses of this thesis.

The overall research question is clarified through three more empirically driven sub-questions:

- 1. How do Danish newspaper media describe and discuss multiple valuation devices and their effects on the Copenhagen-based restaurant Noma and how do they, based on this, value the valuation devices?*
- 2. How do chefs and restaurateurs in Copenhagen restaurants perceive and value the multiplicity of valuation devices and what assessment criteria are implicitly implied in this valuation?*
- 3. How do actors of valuation devices value other valuation devices, how are valuation devices in the elite circle of valuation devices related to each other, and what implications do such interrelationships have for restaurants?*

To be more specific, I approach the overall question in three different analytical chapters. While the implications of the phenomenon of valuing the multiplicity of valuation devices by actors in and around the devices remain unknown and while the gap of previous research does not specify one way to study this phenomenon, this thesis sets different analytical foci. It thereby follows Scott and Orlikowski (2012), as well as Pollock and D’Adderio (2012), who demonstrate that valuation of valuation devices might be different when

explored from different perspectives. Analyzing the phenomenon from different angles allows this thesis to shed new light on the overall interest of this thesis and the theoretical pillars. These foci are rooted in different starting points and are elaborated in the following. The three analytical chapters attempt to answer the three sub-questions to the overall research question.

First, and in line with the different foci, the thesis starts off with a more overarching perspective on valuation: from the point of view of the newspaper media. In doing so, the first analytical chapter takes the argumentation of previous research into account that there are differences between valuation devices (Orlikowski & Scott, 2014). It analyzes how these differences, but also the valuation devices in general, are described and discussed by newspaper media. This first analytical chapter gives an answer to the question: *How do Danish newspaper media describe and discuss multiple valuation devices and their effects on the Copenhagen-based restaurant Noma and how do they, based on this, value the valuation devices?*

Second, the thesis follows previous research that has pointed out that actors of the valued objects, in this case chefs and restaurateurs, might either appreciate (Mellet et al., 2014) or dislike and, to some degree, even be offended by valuation devices (Sauder & Espeland, 2009). However, little research has been done to investigate this observation. The second analytical chapter follows the course of different perceptions of the valuation devices and aims to identify how the valued objects perceive the valuation devices. In doing so, it takes the perception of chefs and restaurateurs into account and asks the question: *How do chefs and restaurateurs in Copenhagen restaurants perceive and value the multiplicity of valuation devices and what assessment criteria are implicitly implied in this valuation?*

Third and finally, the thesis investigates the actors producing the valuation of restaurants and how they perceive each other. Following the argumentation of previous research that valuation devices are oriented towards each other (Du Rietz, 2015), the third analytical chapter taps into the lack of investigation surrounding how these valuation devices might potentially influence one another. Therefore, this research investigates the possible

interrelation of valuation devices and provides an answer to the question: *How do actors of valuation devices value other valuation devices, how are valuation devices in the elite circle of valuation devices related to each other, and what implications do such interrelationships have for restaurants?*

On the one hand, these three analytical chapters are independent of each other, both in terms of analytical focus and in terms of included data. Each chapter develops its own story line and develops a specific argument. As such, each analytical chapter approaches the research question from a different perspective. On the other hand, these three chapters build upon each other and give, in their combination, an answer to the overall research question of this chapter. Taken together, the three analytical chapters provide an understanding of the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices from the perspective of the valuated objects, the actors of the valuation devices and the Danish newspaper media. In sum, the three analytical chapters provide initial insights into understanding how valuation devices themselves are valued by actors in and around these devices and which implications such a valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices might have.

#### **1.4. Course of analysis**

To study the research question *how multiple valuation devices are valued by actors in and around the devices in the Copenhagen fine-dining context, and what the implications of this valuation are*, I did a qualitative study of valuation devices and fine-dining restaurants in Copenhagen. I conducted 21 semi-structured interviews, which are supplemented with publications of various valuation devices, as well as a document study of 424 newspaper articles. The 21 interviews were conducted with actors from “both sides” of the valuation, as well as experts. This means that I interviewed actors representing the valuation devices, chefs and restaurateurs, i.e. the actors that are valued by valuation devices, as well as academic and culinary experts who have expertise within Copenhagen fine-dining. The interviews with actors of valuation devices are supplemented with publications of these valuation devices. All interviews were conducted to identify how valuation devices are perceived by these actors. The 424 newspaper articles referring to Noma were collected and analyzed in order to identify how valuation devices are

described and discussed in the newspaper media. The restaurant Noma, as a case, was chosen because it is known for having been valued by many different valuation devices. Analyzing the debate around this restaurant thus gives room for all valuation devices to evolve. Rather than focusing on different valuation devices, the document study about one restaurant that is characterized by its high value makes it possible to identify how valuation devices are described and discussed by the newspaper media.

Each of the three different data sources substantiates one of the above outlined analytical chapters. The newspaper articles infuse the first analytical chapter and form the basis for the investigation on the description and discussion of multiple valuation devices in the newspaper media debate. The interviews with chefs and restaurateurs are analyzed in the second analytical chapter about how valuation devices are perceived by these chefs and restaurateurs. Finally, the interviews with actors from the different valuation devices are used in the third analytical chapter in order to identify how valuation devices perceive each other and how they are related to one another. For each of the different datasets, a different analytical approach is taken, all of which are in line with the above outlined analytical foci for each of the chapters. Based on the theoretical positioning within valuation studies, this thesis builds on existing analytical approaches from valuation studies.

In sum, instead of seeing the valuation devices as the subject of the valuation practices, which is what previous research has done, I instead make the devices themselves the object of valuation. Accordingly, this thesis focuses on the valuation of valuation devices by different categories of actors, i.e. actors of the valuated object (in the context, these are chefs and restaurateurs), actors of valuation devices and actors of newspaper media. I focus on actors of the valuated objects and actors of valuation because they are the subject and object of the valuation, i.e. the categories of actors that are directly linked to the “original” valuation. An analysis on the newspaper media is included due to the way it describes the valuation from an external and overarching point of view. With this focus, this thesis leaves additional actors, such as customers of fine-dining restaurants, for further research. Furthermore, the focus on the valuation of valuation devices is intended

to enhance previous valuation studies by providing an additional perspective on valuation, as well as to identify how valuation devices are dealt with by the various actors. With this focus, this thesis takes the “original” valuation and their effects as given.

### **1.5. Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is structured in the following way, in order to answer the research question *how are multiple valuation devices valued in the Copenhagen fine-dining context?* Following the introduction, this PhD thesis begins by elaborating on “Copenhagen based fine-dining”. The empirical background gives an overview over fine-dining in general, over fine-dining in Denmark in particular, as well as over different valuation devices valuing restaurants in Copenhagen. After having introduced the empirical side of “multiple valuation devices”, I introduce the theoretical underpinning of the notion of *valuation devices*. In doing so, I present the theoretical framework inspired by valuation studies and studies of devices, which forms the theoretical basis for this research. Moving from theory to practice, this thesis then elaborates on the methodological underpinning for the analysis. That chapter introduces the different kinds of data, the used methods and the applied analytical approaches in detail.

After having presented the overall basis for the analysis, the analysis itself is conducted. As presented above, there are three analytical chapters in this thesis. Each of them provides answers to the three sub-questions to the overall research question. In their combination, they finally answer the overall research question. The overlap of the three chapters and the contribution to existing research of the three chapters is discussed in the section called “discussion”. The final conclusion wraps up the findings and contributions of this thesis and points towards potential future research, both within valuation studies and studies of fine-dining.



## 2. Empirical Context

This thesis focuses on fine-dining restaurants in Copenhagen and how valuation devices value these restaurants. This chapter introduces the empirical context to this thesis. I introduce the notion of fine-dining, how fine-dining is unfolded in Copenhagen, Denmark, and finally which valuation devices value fine-dining restaurants.

### 2.1. Haute cuisine vs. fine-dining

In her seminal book “The Cultivation of Taste”, Christel Lane (2014) argues that “there is no consensus on how to define the top of the restaurant scene” (p. 1), however, there are a few ways of doing so. In both academic (e.g. Bouty & Gomez, 2013; Bouty, Gomez, & Godard-Drucker, 2015; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003, 2005; Trubek, 2000) and everyday language, the term “haute cuisine” is mostly used. “Haute cuisine” is defined as “cooking of a high standard” (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, 2017b) or “the preparation and cooking of high-quality food” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017b). Haute cuisine has its origin “in the stately chateaus and manors of the French aristocracy” (Trubek, 2000, p. 3) and is described to follow “the style of traditional French cuisine” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017b) and represent “typically French cooking” (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, 2017b). Even though the notion haute cuisine is used in a more general way nowadays and even though this thesis bases its analysis on high-end restaurants that are represented within the notion of haute cuisine, the strong French associations of this term might be misleading in the Danish context, as I show in the next section.

In contrast, I follow the work of Lane (2014) in the notion of “fine-dining restaurants” in order to understand these high-end restaurants in a more international context. “Fine-dining” is defined as “the action or practice of eating well” within a setting “where high quality or gourmet food is served” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017a). The notion of fine-dining is also connected with “dining in a formal setting” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017a) that “usually takes place in expensive restaurants” (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, 2017a). As such, the notion of fine-dining is not perfect either, as it is described to be associated “with a snobbish style, poncey waiters, and overelaborate food” (Lane, 2014, p. 1). However, Lane

also argues that these are “largely outmoded stereotypes” or “gross exaggerations” (p. 2). Instead, fine-dining restaurants “simply serve fine food, which exceeds ordinary everyday food, both in its taste, aesthetic appeal, and originality” (p. 2). Building on this, this thesis uses the notion fine-dining and from now on refers to fine-dining restaurants as the leading restaurants of their profession.

Furthermore, we commonly understand fine-dining restaurants in connection with valuation devices. In particular, Lane (2013) defines fine-dining restaurants as Michelin-starred restaurants (p. 342). Following the recent development of the Michelin Guide, so that it also promotes those restaurants that are mentioned, but not starred (The MICHELIN Guide, 2017), I understand fine-dining restaurants as restaurants that are part of the Michelin Guide.

## **2.2. Valuation devices in fine-dining**

Within fine-dining, there exist many different ratings, rankings and reviews that rate, rank or review restaurants. Scholars use different notions to describe (at least a fraction) of them, such as judgment devices (Karpik, 2010), gastronomic guides (Lane, 2013, 2014), or reviews (Blank, 2007; Mützel, 2015), to name just a few. There is, however, no general term that comprises all of these. In order to reflect how all of these notions relate to the valuation of restaurant food, I suggest the notion of valuation devices. This notion is meant as an umbrella term for the different forms of rating, ranking and reviewing, and includes the notions of judgment devices, gastronomic guides, and reviews.

Different valuation devices can show different “objective, codes and ranking systems” (Lane, 2013, p. 347) as well as “different ways of estimating restaurant quality” (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013, p. 4). The three different valuations devices that are most common are: Rankings, ratings, and reviews. A ranking can be defined as “the action or process of giving a specified rank to someone or something” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017c), and is always comparative (Coote, 2011), i.e. for any product or service a specific rank is given based on a comparison between this specific product or service and other products

or services within the same category. Usually, there is a numbered limit to the ranks in the title of a ranking, such as “The 100 best ...” or “The Top 10 ...”.

In contrast to rankings, “ratings are typically non-comparative and can therefore be quite abstract” (Coote, 2011, p. 1296). A rating is defined as “a measurement of how good or popular someone or something is” (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, 2017c) and similarly to ranking, the “someone or something” is classified along specific criteria. However, the rated entities are not listed in a hierarchy, but instead put into certain categories. Finally, a review can be understood as “a report in a newspaper, magazine, or program that gives an opinion” (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, 2017d) or “a critical appraisal” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017d) of a restaurant. In contrast to a rating or ranking, a review has fewer objective criteria on why something is particular good or bad. Instead, it reflects the personal opinion of the author of the review.

Valuation devices play a crucial role for fine-dining for two reasons. On the one hand, fine-dining food is described to be an example of a singularity (Karpik, 2010). Singularities are goods that “are defined by qualities (structured in multiple dimensions), quality uncertainty, and incommensurability – by all three together” (p. 13). Due to the latter two characteristics, information about the multiple qualities is rarely shared between producers and buyers. Valuation devices function as intermediaries. Without valuation devices, the market of fine-dining “could not function” (p. 46). In line with this, Gomez and Bouty (2011) state that valuation devices are important for fine-dining as they structure fine-dining on a textual base.

On the other hand, Lane argues that fine-dining is about taste. Taste is typically seen as rather subjective and is influenced by certain “taste-makers” (Lane, 2013). She argues that the establishment of taste is not only accomplishment by chefs and diners, but that gastronomic guides play “a highly influential role [...] in the process of taste-making. The most influential taste-makers are specific valuation devices: “it is mainly gastronomic guides which shape our notion of what is legitimate taste” (Lane, 2014, p. 3). By gastronomic guides, Lane refers to the Michelin Guide as well as other, country-based food guides, such as the Good Food Guide in the UK. Taking the two arguments together,

it can be stated that valuation devices are both essential and necessary for the fine-dining restaurants as well as the fine-dining market.

After having presented the general understanding of fine-dining that this thesis is based upon as well as the importance of valuation devices for fine-dining restaurants, the following section embeds this understanding into the specific context of this thesis within Copenhagen-based fine-dining.

### **2.3. Fine-dining in Denmark and Copenhagen**

As the introduction to the notion of “haute cuisine” implies, France has a long and strong tradition of fine-dining restaurants (Bouty & Gomez, 2013; Rao et al., 2003). Similarly, Italy, and in particular Spain, are described as having a strong stance within fine-dining (Svejenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007). Furthermore, fine-dining is spreading into different European countries and is described as emerging in particular in German and Great Britain (Lane, 2013, 2014). In contrast, Denmark and Copenhagen have previously been described as a “food desert”, “a poor country, culinary wise” (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015). This has changed with the introduction of New Nordic Cuisine, primarily through the restaurant Noma. The Copenhagen-based restaurant was awarded the title “the best restaurant in the world” through the 50 Best list. This has caused the city to boom, marking it as a culinary hotspot (Bjørn, 2007; Suppli Benson, 2013). In this way, fine-dining in Denmark is a new phenomenon that has started to emerge as Danish restaurants develop their own identity (Interview researcher Niels, 2015; Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2016).

Byrkjeflot, Strandgaard and Svejenova (2013) identify several factors that have paved the way for New Nordic Cuisine to evolve, which has triggered fine-dining in Denmark. First, “dining out had increased in importance in the Nordic region, with different international food restaurants being established and gaining popularity” (p. 42; see also (Eghoff & Pedersen, 2016)). Second, “economic prosperity in the Nordic region made it economically feasible for people to dine out, seeking quality and gourmet food” (p. 42; see also (Eghoff & Pedersen, 2016)). Third, the restaurants followed food movements in Spain that started

to challenge the French hegemony in gastronomy and served “as a source of inspiration for Nordic chefs to create their own culinary identity” (p. 42). Fourth, “a general interest in food, gourmet food in particular, had also been growing, with chefs rising to fame [...] also paving the way for other chefs and culinary inventions” (p.42). Fifth, chefs state that they considered themselves to be neglecting their own heritage, a heritage that they wished to explore. All these factors, so it is argued, have allowed fine-dining in Denmark to develop and led to the foundation of New Nordic Cuisine, a form of cooking with a Danish origin, that focuses on seasonal and local ingredients and cooking techniques. Today, it is assumed that about half of the fine-dining restaurants in Denmark are affiliated to New Nordic Cuisine (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015).

Following Lane’s (2013) indication that the fine-dining sector is reflected in the Michelin Guide and that the development of the Michelin Guide within a country gives an overview of the development of its fine-dining, it is interesting to take a closer look at the Michelin Guide in Denmark. The first Michelin Guide that encompassed Denmark was released in 1983 (Guide Michelin, 2017) and was part of the edition “Main Cities of Europe”. It only included one-star restaurants in Copenhagen. The first time the Michelin Guide awarded two stars to a restaurant in Denmark was in 2007, when the restaurant Noma was awarded two stars (Frank, 2007a). This event marks the emergence of fine-dining cuisine in Denmark and Copenhagen. Accordingly, the Michelin Guide put a stronger focus upon the Nordic region in general by publishing its own guide for Nordic Cities in 2015 (Frank, 2015b) and the Nordics from 2016 onwards (The MICHELIN Guide, 2016, 2017). Also, the number of restaurants that are included in the Michelin Guide in Denmark are increasing so that it currently lists 103 restaurants throughout the country (The MICHELIN Guide, 2017).

Statistics show that fine-dining in Denmark is relatively small in comparison to the number of overall restaurants: In 2015, there were 5,740 restaurants, excluding pizzerias, grills, ice cream shops, cafés or caterings (HORESTA, 2016). With 85 starred restaurants in the same year (The MICHELIN Guide, 2015a, 2015b), fine-dining restaurants represent only 0,015% of all restaurants in Denmark. In line with the increasing numbers of restaurants in

Denmark, the number has increased by 5,1% from 2014 to 2015 (HORESTA, 2016), the number of fine-dining restaurants is also increasing by 21,2% since 2015, with currently 103 restaurants listed in the Michelin Guide for Denmark (The MICHELIN Guide, 2017).

This trend is particularly strong in the capital region of Copenhagen with an increase of 10,4% from 2014 to 2015 (HORESTA, 2016). In total, restaurants in the capital region account for almost 50% of the revenue of all restaurants in Denmark (HORESTA, 2016). Similarly, out of the current 103 fine-dining restaurants in Denmark, 67 are based in and around Copenhagen (The MICHELIN Guide, 2017), thus indicating a strong focus on fine-dining in the capital region. This is partly due to the better economic situation in and around the capital region in comparison to other parts of the country, partly due to the population's increasing tendency to go out in and around Copenhagen (Eghoff & Pedersen, 2016). As such, it can be argued that Copenhagen is the hotspot for fine-dining in Denmark (Interview researcher Niels, 2015; Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015).

#### **2.4. Ratings, rankings and reviews in Copenhagen**

As a hotspot, Copenhagen has become a city of particular interest for valuation devices (Interview journalist Marie, 2014). In Copenhagen, there are plenty of different valuation devices evaluating the same restaurants and coming to many different conclusions as to what is "the best": A Google search for "best restaurant Copenhagen"<sup>3</sup> provides more than 6.38 million results indicating many different opinions on what, and where, is the best to eat in Copenhagen. Browsing through these results, there are a large number of food bloggers, both national and international, giving diverse reviews on restaurants in Copenhagen. Furthermore, there are online-based valuation devices, such as TripAdvisor and Yelp, which give a rating based on the opinions of users. In addition, there are local newspapers' reviews (such as the Copenhagen Post), a local city-guide (AOK), national newspapers' reviews (such as Berlingske, Politiken or Børsen), national food magazines (such as Gastro) and international newspapers' reviews (such as The Guardian and the New York Times). Browsing further, the results provide entries from Den Danske

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<sup>3</sup> Search via google.dk with the search words "best restaurant Copenhagen" conducted on July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

Spiseguide (The Danish Eating Guide), the White Guide, the Michelin Guide, the World's 50 Best restaurant list. All these valuation devices observe the Danish market and give recommendations on where it is "best to eat" in Copenhagen – and there are many more.

Within this multiplicity of valuation devices, it is not possible to elaborate on all of these valuation devices in the same detail and introduce all of them. Instead, in line with the focus of this thesis on how valuation devices are valued, I decided to present an overview of those valuation devices that are referred to by my informants. This overview comprises the valuation devices that previous research has also elaborated on. It includes the famous Michelin Guide (Bouty & Gomez, 2013; Bouty et al., 2015; Gomez & Bouty, 2011; Lane, 2011), the 50 Best Restaurant list (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013), as well as food guides (Lane, 2013, 2014) and food magazines (Mützel, 2015). The latter two, are more specific to Copenhagen and include Den Danske Spiseguide and White Guide among the food guides and Gastro among food magazines. In addition to this, the table contains three national (Politiken, Børsen and Berlingske) as well as two international newspapers (The New York Times and The Guardian), which all regularly publish restaurant reviews as a part of their papers. Furthermore, it contains the popular websites for travelers TripAdvisor and Yelp, as well as a website that is similar to the two, but focusing only on the Danish context: AOK. Finally, it lists one food blogger that is meant to represent the variety of food bloggers that regularly write about restaurants. The following table provides an overview of the valuation devices and presents their differences.

Name of valuation device	Form of valuation	Which restaurants are included	Person producing valuation	Are actors anonymous	How actors are chosen	How often a restaurant is valued	Follow-ups of actors before the result is published	How the decision of a specific valuation result is made	Process of valuation	Basis on which valuation is taking place	Classification, i.e. „awards“ of restaurants	How valuation is made public	How often the output is made public	Forms of visible awards at the restaurants
<b>Michelin Guide</b>	Rating	Fine-dining in "the Nordics"	Fully hired experts (former chefs); 1 expert per visit	yes	Actors chosen based on previous experience – have not visited restaurant in the previous years	3-4 visits per restaurant per year	Standardized mechanism based on which actors value	Annual meeting discussing all restaurants; follow-ups for restaurants with different opinions	Process of valuation: Anonymous visits by experts at restaurant; following mechanism: reports to head quarters	5 vaguely formulated categories	Star rating: none, 1, 2, or three stars	Book; App	yearly	Sticker for selected restaurants
<b>The World's 50 Best Restaurants</b>	Ranking	Selected restaurants around the world	Selected experts (chefs & restaurant writers, food and travelling gourmets) giving voluntary votes; any number per visit	yes: "Voters remain anonymous and the process is strictly confidential"	Actors choose freely	"Each voter must have visited the restaurant at least once in the past 18 months"	Externally hired accounting company independently adjudicating the process	Accumulation of votes	Regular restaurant visit by anybody; give feedback on webpage	Voting "based on their personal best restaurant experience"	Rank: 1-50	Event for selected guest; online list	yearly	Badges For selected restaurants
<b>TripAdvisor</b>	Ranking	All possible places to eat	Non-experts; any number per visit	no	Actors choose freely	Check for fake entries, otherwise free for actors to argue on any basis	Based on algorithm	Regular restaurant visit by anybody; give feedback on webpage	not given	1-5 stars; Certificate of Excellence	Webpage	constantly	Sticker for selected restaurants	



<b>The White Guide</b>	Rating	All fine-dining restaurants in Denmark	Part-time hired experts; 1 expert per visit	Yes	Actors chosen based on previous experience reinforcing their previous visit	1 visit per restaurant per year	Standardized mechanisms based on which actors value	Annual collection of results from actors; follow-up, if result changes heavily from previous year	Anonymously visits by experts at restaurant; following mechanism reports; report results to head quarters	5 precisely formulated categories	Up to 100 points	Book	yearly	none
<b>Yelp</b>	Rating	All possible places to eat	Non-experts; any number per visit	No	Actors choose freely	anything possible	Check for fake entries, otherwise free for actors to argue on any basis	Based on algorithm	Regular restaurant visit by anybody; give feedback on webpage	not given	1-5 stars	Webpage	constantly	Sticker for selected restaurants
<b>Den Danske Spiseguide</b>	Rating	Selected restaurants in Denmark	Part-time hired experts; 1 expert per visit	yes	Actors chosen based on previous experience reinforcing their previous visit	1 visit per restaurant per year	Standardized mechanisms based on which actors value; possible to request test results	Annual collection of results from actors; follow-up, if result changes heavily from previous year	Anonymously visits by experts at restaurant; following mechanism reports; report results to head quarters	6 level scale: fork & knife, 1-3 stars, sun, elite; also 1-3 wine glasses and icon symbol		Book; App	yearly	none
<b>Politiken Review</b>	Review / Rating	Selected restaurants in Denmark	Journalists with culinary expertise; 1 journalist per visit	no	Actors choose freely	1 visit per restaurant for 1 review (repeated for a new review)	No control	Annual collection of results from actors; follow-up, if result changes heavily from previous year	Anonymously visits by experts at restaurant; following mechanism reports; report results to head quarters	not given	Up to 5 hats	Newspaper	occasionally	none

<b>Berlingske Review</b>	Review / Rating	Selected restaurants in Denmark	Journalists with culinary expertise; 1 journalist per visit	no	Actors choose freely	1 visit per restaurant review (repeated for a new review)	No control	Actors choose based on their experience and impression	Journalistic process: Actor aims to write an article for newspaper, gets approval from editor to write the article	not given	Up to 6 stars	Newspaper	occasionally	none
<b>Børsen Review</b>	Review / Rating	Selected restaurants in Denmark	Journalists with culinary expertise; 1 journalist per visit	no	Actors choose freely	1 visit per restaurant review (repeated for a new review)	No control	Actors choose based on their experience and impression	Journalistic process	not given	Up to 6 stars	Newspaper	occasionally	none
<b>The Guardian Restaurant Review</b>	Review	Selected restaurants around the world	Journalists with culinary expertise (former chef); 1 journalist per visit	yes	Actors choose freely	1 visit per restaurant review (repeated for a new review)	No control	Actors choose based on their experience and impression	Journalistic process	not given	No classification, only recommendation	Newspaper and Online Entry	occasionally	none
<b>The New York Times Restaurant Review</b>	Review	One selected restaurant in a "go-to" city	Travel journalist; 1 per visit	yes	Actors choose freely	1 visit per restaurant review (repeated for a new review)	No control	Actors choose based on their experience and impression	Journalistic process	not given	No classification, only recommendation	Newspaper and Online Entry	occasionally	none
<b>Food Bloggers: verygoodfood.dk // anders-husa.com</b>	variable	Selected restaurants in a particular region	Single person	both	Actors choose freely	1 visit per restaurant review (repeated for a new review)	No control	Actors choose based on their experience and impression	variable	varies	varies	varies	varies	none

AOK	Ranking	Selected restaurants in Copenhagen	Non-experts; number per visit	Actors choose freely - no visit required	Nothing possible	No control	Annual collection of results from actors based on a pre-selection	Actors vote and comment on restaurants; editorial board makes a selection of 5 restaurants, for which actors can vote	One "city's best", 4 "selected for city's best"	Webpage / Magazine	Sticker for selected restaurants
Gastro	Review	In cooperation with White Guide							Magazine	yearly / occasionally	monthly

Table 1: Overview of valuation devices in Copenhagen

## 2.5. Overview of valuation devices

In order to gain insight into the four most prominent valuation devices in the Danish fine-dining, this section will delve deeper into four valuation devices. They will also be the basis for the coming analysis: National newspapers, The White Guide, The Michelin Guide, and The World's 50 Best Restaurants list. It elaborates on the four different devices in the following aspects: Valuators of the valuation devices<sup>4</sup>, valuation devices' criteria, and the valuation devices' practices of evaluation. The latter two aspects are intertwined. Each elaboration is based on the devices' own literature and, as far as possible, on academic critiques of the devices.

### 2.5.1. National newspaper: Berlingske

As there exists no academic literature on Danish newspapers' valuations of restaurants, this thesis draws upon the work of Mützel (2015) on restaurant reviews in Germany, as well as Lane (2014) on newspaper critics in Great Britain and Germany, as an indication of the working of national newspaper reviewers in Denmark. Overview table 1 outlines three national newspapers that valueate restaurants in Copenhagen: Politiken, Berlingske, and Børsen. The table demonstrates a strong degree of similarity among the three valuation devices in their way of working. Due to this similarity, this section focuses only on one of the national newspapers. It is an illustrative example of the working of Danish national newspapers in general. Due to the centrality of Berlingske both for Danish fine-dining (see chapter 4.3. for further details) and for this thesis (see chapter 5 for an analysis relying on information about this newspaper), it is this newspaper that is presented in the following.

#### Valuators of Berlingske

For more than 20 years, two restaurant critics have been writing restaurant reviews for Berlingske: Søren Frank and Svend Rasmussen (e.g. Frank, 2011b; Rasmussen, 2003). Both of them work as full-time restaurant critics for the newspaper. While both of them are in a similar position, their level of publicity varies greatly. Whereas Svend Rasmussen is a

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<sup>4</sup> Rather than using the theoretical notion "valuators" to describe the actors of the valuation devices, this section uses the notions that are used by the valuation device themselves, i.e. food critics, inspectors or judges. In this way, all four devices' valuers have different names.

less prominent figure, Søren Frank has become a renowned food critic (e.g. Albrecht, 2015b). He is, for example, one of four board members in Danske Madanmeldere, the Danish food reviewer association (Danske Madanmeldere, 2018) and has published several books on wine and food (e.g. Frank, 2008a, 2012a). Given the importance and publicity of Søren Frank, he seldom remains anonymous on his visits, and this often leads to special treatment as a guest on the part of the restaurant (Albrecht, 2015b). In his work and activity, he resembles a restaurant critic that in the United States is described by Lane (2014) as “almost a demi-god during her long tenure” (p. 308).

### **Berlingske’s practices of evaluation and criteria**

In general, newspaper reviews focus on what has caught the reviewer’s attention, what is worth reporting (Mützel, 2015), as well as on new restaurants (Lane, 2014). In line with this, Danish national newspapers – and also Berlingske – have a strong focus on identifying and reviewing newly opened restaurants (e.g. Rasmussen, 2003). In addition to reviewing new restaurants, Berlingske revisits (established) restaurants from time to time, in order to update their review of these restaurants (e.g. Frank, 2007b, 2015d, 2017a). In general, the newspaper has a strong focus on restaurants in and around Copenhagen. With this setup, the newspaper publishes one restaurant review every Friday, written by one of the two critics.

For these reviews, either Søren Frank or Svend Rasmussen, or both of them, visit the restaurant, depending on the importance of the restaurant. If the restaurant is among the top restaurants in Copenhagen, both of them visit the restaurant (e.g. Rasmussen, 2018), otherwise it is only one of the two reviewers. In this visit to the restaurant, the reviewer(s) taste a sample of both food and beverages at the restaurant. This single visit forms the basis of their assessment of the restaurant (e.g. Rasmussen, 2011b, 2016), so that the review is based on the taste and experience of a restaurant at one particular point in time (Mützel, 2015).

Based on this single visit, the reviewer(s) write a one-page food critique. On the top of the page, they list the name of the restaurant, and show their rating on a scale from one to six

stars with six stars representing the best possible option. They furthermore outline the contact details of the restaurant, as well as the prices both for food and beverages. Then follows an elaboration of their experience at the restaurant accompanied by one to three pictures of the restaurant, its employees and/or its dishes. This elaboration mostly follows the course of the menu. The food critique entails a lengthy description of the composition and the taste of the food and the drinks, but can also encompass further elements, such as the atmosphere, the décor in the restaurant, or the attention of the service (Frank, 2013b). In this way, Berlingske assists the reader in making a decision and in increasing their knowledge and understanding of cuisine, service and ambience. There are two basic questions answered by the review: What is the (food of the) restaurant about? Is it good? (Mützel, 2015, p. 150)

There is no clear statement throughout the newspaper on the specific criteria. But in reading the different food critiques it is apparent that next to the taste of the food and the selection and quality of the beverages, the service and the price of the restaurant are taken into account for the overall appraisal of the restaurant. In this way, the reviewers' own gusto is the basis of the review. According to Mützel, this gusto comes from the reviewer's experience, attention, attitude and training (Mützel, 2015, p. 150).

In sum, two full-time restaurant critics write the reviews for the newspaper Berlingske, from which one is described as a famous "demi-god". In their reviews, they focus on newly opened restaurants and on restaurants in and around Copenhagen. Their valuation of a restaurant has no specific criteria, is based on a single visit and focuses on what has caught the reviewer's attention at this visit.

### **2.5.2. The White Guide**

Just like Berlingske, there is no academic literature that reflects upon the workings of the Danish White Guide at time of writing. So the following description of the White Guide relies on information from the White Guide itself, i.e. publicly available data. It is compared to another national food guide, the Gault Millau in Germany, presented by Lane (2014), as there exist a number of commonalities between the two guides. The White Guide was

launched for the first time in Sweden in 2005 as a counterpart to the (Red) Michelin Guide and focuses in particular on restaurants in the Nordics, and aims to promote Nordic cuisine (Dahlager, 2016). Since 2013, it also reviews restaurants in Denmark (White Guide, 2018a)

### **Valuators of the White Guide**

At the point of writing, there are 17 food critics working for the White Guide (White Guide, 2018d), who are described as Denmark's most talented, independent and well-calibrated food writers (Lövenlund, 2017). There exist no formal criteria on how critics are chosen, except that they are required to show a high degree of professionalism (Dahlager, 2016; White Guide, 2018b). While not revealing any of the 17 food critics' names, the White Guide specifies the Danish editorial staff, which include Helle Brønnum Carlsen, who is the main food journalist of the Danish newspaper Politiken (see also chapter 4.3. for a further elaboration). The other two members of the editorial staff also work as food journalists, so the White Guide publishes journalistic reviews (Dahlager, 2016). In this way, food critics of the White Guide come from journalistic backgrounds and are at the same time experienced gourmards. This is in line with the characteristics of the Gault Millau described by Lane (Lane, 2014). Furthermore, all food critics work for the White Guide only part time (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015). Central to the work of the White Guide is the anonymity of its food critics. All food reviews are done anonymously, bookings are carried out under false names and the bill is paid by the White Guide without exception (White Guide, 2018a). Also, the food critics never reveal their identity to the restaurants (Dahlager, 2016).

### **The White Guide's practices of evaluation and criteria**

The current edition of White Guide Denmark includes the 125 best restaurants in Denmark (White Guide, 2018d), whereas former editions contained up to 331 Danish restaurants (Dahlager, 2016). The White Guide focuses in particular on the latest restaurant news as well as trends (White Guide, 2018a). Accordingly, the White Guide aims at including not only established, but also newer, just opened restaurants.

Each restaurant is visited once a year by one reviewer (Lövenlund, 2017). Accordingly, the White Guide's reviews have a personal touch of the reviewer visiting the restaurant, similar to the Gault Millau in Germany (Lane, 2014). Following the already outlined journalistic basis of the White Guide, the reviews are done with complete journalistic integrity, according to the White Guide (White Guide, 2018a). An essential element of its work is thorough reviews based on transparent evaluation criteria, so that the criteria of the White Guide are specific and detailed. For a restaurant, it is possible to reach a maximum of 100 points, which are split into points for food/gastronomy (maximum 40), beverages (maximum 20), service (maximum 20) and ambience (maximum 20). For each of the categories, the White Guide defines four to six specific elements, which define what determines these points. For example, for the category food/gastronomy, focus and personality, development, ingredients, level of difficulty and technical precision, flavor and texture, as well as presentation, are the specific criteria for reaching the maximum of 40 points. These elements are further specified in textual elements on what this specifically means. Depending on the number of points, both the overall number of points and the number of points given for the food, a restaurant is classified into five different classes, ranging from "global masters level" to "fine level". Each class is furthermore described in terms of experience and cooking. In this way, the White Guide is very transparent on its criteria of how a restaurant is valued. (White Guide, 2018b, 2018e, 2018a)

In addition to the 100 points that a restaurant can receive, detailed information about the restaurant are presented in the Guide, as well as a variety of information about the restaurant (such as price range, opening hours, number of seats and address). The edited text for each of the restaurants varies from around 600 to 4000 characters. Each year, the new edition of the White Guide is launched at an event where the best restaurants are presented (Lövenlund, 2017). In addition to the announcement of the best 125 restaurants, the Guide also awards prizes to restaurants in 16 selected categories, such the best new restaurant of the year; the innovator of the year; the best service experience of the year; the young kitchen talent of the year; the best wine experience of the year, and the 'feel good' experience of the year (White Guide, 2018c).



In sum, 17 part-time food critics review restaurants for the White Guide. They have a journalistic background and are experienced gourmands. For their reviews, they anonymously visit a restaurant once a year. The White Guide aims at including not only established, but also newer restaurants all over Denmark. The reviews are based on transparent and elaborated criteria leading to the identification of the 125 best restaurants in Denmark.

### **2.5.3. The Michelin Guide**

According to Rao and colleagues (2003), the Michelin Guide is the uncontested arbiter within fine-dining. It is also highly regarded by both chefs, restaurants and consumers (Gomez & Bouty, 2011). Given its prominence, the Michelin Guide is also one of the most studied valuation devices within fine-dining. The Michelin Guide currently comprises 28 titles in 33 countries with more than 45,000 tested restaurants (The MICHELIN Guide, 2018a). The Michelin Guide is financially supported by the French tire manufacturer, and is not required to make a profit. In this way, it is possible for the Guide to stay independent from any potential form of editorial influence. (Lane, 2014)

#### **Valuators of the Michelin Guide**

Financial support allows for the hiring of professional inspectors that work full-time for the Michelin Guide. In 2011/2012, around 100 inspectors worked for the Michelin Guide in western Europe (Lane, 2014, p. 289). However, it is likely that there are significantly more inspectors today, given the increasing number of titles in past years. All inspectors are employed by the Michelin Group (The MICHELIN Guide, 2018b). In this way, the Michelin Guide inspectors are independent, both from chefs and restaurants as well as other parties within the food industry (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013; Lane, 2010, 2014) and ensure a “high degree of professionalism” (Lane, 2014, p. 288). In addition to the independence, a core value for the Michelin Guide is the expertise of the inspectors, enhanced through a standardized process in selection, recruitment and training. The inspectors have studied in the best hospitality schools, are widely travelled, and have worked in various countries around the world (The MICHELIN Guide, 2018b). According to

Lane (2010), inspectors hold at least ten years experience in the catering and hospitality industry and receive six months of in-house training before they start their work.

### **The Michelin Guide's Practices of Evaluation and Criteria**

All inspectors visit the restaurants anonymously, and pay their own bills in the restaurant in order to ensure that they do not receive any special treatment (The MICHELIN Guide, 2018b). In some cases, they may introduce themselves to be from the Michelin Guide in order to ask for more information, for example, in the form of getting access to the kitchen or talking to the chef (The MICHELIN Guide, 2017). Despite inspectors disclosing their identity, they never talk with chefs and restaurateurs about their judgment or the meal they had (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013; Lane, 2014). In order to ensure the anonymity and independence of the inspectors, they rotate geographically and cross-nationally (Lane, 2014).

The number of restaurants visited by the Michelin Guide is far higher than the restaurants that are included in the final edition of the Michelin Guide (around ten times more restaurants are, for example, visited in France) (Bouty et al., 2015, p. 276). Based on unformulated standards, the inclusion of a restaurant in the Guide is therefore an acknowledgement of the quality of the restaurant (Bouty et al., 2015). The restaurants that are rated within the Guide are then visited multiple times by different inspectors (up to twelve visits for one restaurant in certain cases) (Lane, 2014). The judgment of the inspectors is based on standards and established processes of reviewing a restaurant, so that the measurement of the criteria is stated to be as unambiguous, unbiased and objective as possible (Lane, 2014, pp. 290–1). In this way, each course consumed by a Michelin inspector in the restaurant receives its own evaluation from the lowest, very bad, up to three stars (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013, p. 247). These criteria for the different classifications of the restaurants are stated to be the same in every country that are covered by the Michelin guide (The MICHELIN Guide, 2016).

Following the visit to the restaurant, all the information is gathered centrally. At the end of an evaluation period, once a year, two meetings are held where both the directors of the

guide and the inspectors discuss and finally decide upon the distribution of stars to the restaurants. Each award is thereby a result of a collective decision-making process (The MICHELIN Guide, 2018b). The stars are awarded according to a certain set of standardized criteria, which have been held constant for a long period of time (Lane, 2014, p. 290). These criteria hold for all editions of the Michelin Guide and read as the following:

*“Our famous One, Two and Three Star awards identify establishments serving the highest quality cuisine – taking into account the quality of ingredients, the mastery of techniques and flavors, the levels of creativity and, of course, consistency. But these are not our only awards – look out too for the Bib Gourmands, which highlight establishments offering good food at moderate prices.”* (The MICHELIN Guide, 2016, p. 3)

In this way, the Michelin Guide officially claims to only focus on what is on the plate. However, it remains unclear if these claims hold true and whether or not service or ambience matters (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013; Lane, 2010, 2014). The stars represent a specific meaning: “One star – high quality cooking, worth a stop; two stars – excellent cooking, worth a detour; three stars – exceptional cuisine, worth a special journey” (The MICHELIN Guide, 2017, p. 7). In the final publication, the famous red guide, they provide the rating for each restaurant as well as general information about the restaurant (e.g. price or opening times). With this uniform rating, the Michelin Guide facilitates comparisons across restaurants and countries (Lane, 2014). The overview is followed by a short text of about two to six lines describing the restaurant (Bouty et al., 2015; Lane, 2014). For a couple of years, the Michelin Guide announces the starred restaurants from its Nordic edition in a presentation event where both the restaurants and the media are invited (Frank, 2015b).

In sum, the Michelin Guide stays independent from any form of influence due to its financial support by the French tire manufacturer. All inspectors are fully employed by the guide, have experience and expertise in the hospitality industry and anonymously visit restaurants within an altering region. Each restaurant is visited multiple times and the judgment is based on specific criteria, which are the same in every country covered by the

Michelin Guide. The decision of which restaurants to award is made collectively by all inspectors who visited the respective restaurant.

#### **2.5.4. The World's 50 Best Restaurant list**

Originally named, and sometimes still referred to as the "Pellegrino List" (e.g. B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013; Lane, 2014), the World's 50 Best Restaurant list is known for its close connection to its main sponsors, the mineral water producers San Pellegrino and Acqua Panna (Lane, 2014). In recent years however, the 50 Best list has enhanced its financial sponsorship and now encompasses a variety of different sponsors affiliated with the restaurant industry. This loosens up the formerly close tie to San Pellegrino. However, the mineral water producers remain the main sponsor as well as the official water partner of the event (The World's 50 Best Restaurants, 2018d). Nonetheless, it has gained independence from one specific sponsor, which is reflected in the change of the name of the list. It furthermore stopped its former connection to the British trade magazine *Restaurant*, under which heading it was founded in 2002 (The World's 50 Best Restaurants, 2018b). Currently, the 50 Best list is an independent business unit in the William Reed Group (The World's 50 Best Restaurants, 2018b).

#### **Valuators of the World's 50 Best Restaurant list**

In 2018, there are 1,040 judges, with a total of 10,000 votes every year, that make up the World's 50 Best Restaurants list. The organizers of the World's 50 Best Restaurants list divide the world into 40 regions, with a chairperson for each region. Regions can cover more than one country, and include all continents except Antarctica. The chairpersons are appointed for their knowledge of their part of the restaurant world by the organization. The chairperson of each region selects a voting panel of 40 members (including themselves), equally distributed among chefs and restaurateurs, food/restaurant journalists, and well-travelled gourmets, the latter not further defined. The journalists and the gourmets, in particular, are chosen by the chairpersons for the experience and knowledge about the restaurant industry, just like how the chairpersons are selected in turn. In this way, it is entirely up to the chairperson to assign the judges, as long as they represent all countries

in a region (if relevant) and an equal distribution among the three groups (The World's 50 Best Restaurants, 2018b). In this way, judges are chosen due to another job that they fulfill. All judges are instructed to stay anonymous when visiting the restaurants in their role as a World's 50 Best Restaurants list voter. At least 25% of the members of the regions are renewed each year (The World's 50 Best Restaurants, 2018a).

### **World's 50 Best Restaurant list's Practices of Evaluation and Criteria**

The panel of voters is instructed on a number of so-called voting rules. Voting is strictly confidential before the announcement of the World's 50 Best Restaurants list. Each judge is instructed to vote for ten restaurants of their own choice, from which at least four must be for restaurants outside their home region. These votes are submitted in order of preference, which only matters in the case of a draw of two restaurants on the list (The World's 50 Best Restaurants, 2018c). Also, judges must have eaten in the restaurant they nominate in the last 18 months and must confirm the date of their last visit of each of the restaurants they nominate. While this is meant to ensure that they have eaten there, it is not possible to verify that they actually have done so (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013; Lane, 2014, p. 304). Judges are not permitted to vote for restaurants they own or have a financial interest in. The remaining voting rules encompass the temporality and the location of restaurants, so that only permanent restaurants are taken into consideration. (The World's 50 Best Restaurants, 2018c)

Once a year, the judges are requested to submit their votes and the sum of the votes upon a restaurant results in the ranking of the World's 50 Best Restaurants. The voting process is adjudicated by the consultancy Deloitte, which is granted full access to the process and data in order to confirm the integrity and authenticity of the voting process and the resulting list. (The World's 50 Best Restaurants, 2018c)

Up and above the voting rules, there are no criteria that a restaurant has to meet to be voted for. In this way, restaurants cannot apply to be on the list and cannot be nominated. It is purposefully left completely to the opinion and experience of the judges to vote for a particular restaurant (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013, p. 242). In this way, any

restaurant (except for temporary ones) can be voted on to the list, independent of the level of service or ambience (Lane, 2014, p. 305). It is left to the judges to decide how they perceive the *best* dining experience (The World's 50 Best Restaurants, 2018c, 2018b). According to Lars Peder Hedberg, one of the academic chairpersons interviewed for the study of Christensen and Pedersen (2013), there is an understanding among the chairs that change and evolution in the industry are to be supported: "I think that is very outspoken, so that is it not only allowed to promote new phenomena coming up or new entries on the list – it is applauded when that happens. Because we want to reach the avant garde of the industry. So I think that is a very good thing about it. It is a very trendy list." (p. 243). In this way, the 50 Best list is stated to represent a snapshot of preferences at one point in time rather than, for example, a repeated assessment showing consistency of performance. It focuses "on the flavor of the moment" (Lane, 2014, p. 307).

In sum, the 50 Best list is financed through financial sponsorship within the food industry. The voting of "the best restaurant" is done by a total of 10,000 voters. These are appointed by chairpersons, who represent 40 regions in the world, and are to equal parts chefs and restaurateurs, food/restaurant journalists and well-travelled gourmets. Each year, 25% of the voters are renewed. The voting process is overseen by an independent adjudicator. There are no criteria that a restaurant has to meet to be voted for. However, the chairpersons understand the list to be a trendy list, representing a snapshot of preferences at one point in time.

### **2.5.5. Conclusion**

Having outlined the valuator, criteria and practices of evaluation of the four most prominent valuation devices, this section has described the differences between Berlingske, The White Guide, The Michelin Guide, and The World's 50 Best Restaurants list. While this chapter has outlined the empirical differences between the valuation devices, the following chapter unfolds the theoretical background based on the valuation devices that so far have been the focus of academic research. As such, these two chapters complement each other in laying out how valuation devices are understood in this thesis.

### 3. Theoretical Background

After outlining the empirical context of this thesis to fine-dining in Copenhagen, the previous chapter also presented an overview of the different valuation devices that value fine-dining in Copenhagen according to different qualities. Following this empirical introduction to *valuation devices*, the upcoming chapter frames the theoretical underpinning of what this thesis calls *valuation devices*. As the name *valuation device* implies, this thesis builds on valuation studies as well as studies of devices. This chapter starts by introducing the genesis of valuation studies and the study of devices and how they have evolved within and out of the field of economic sociology. Building onto this, the chapter first looks at valuation studies, the theoretical pillar of this research, and then reviews relevant current research. This chapter then elaborates on the study of devices, which makes up the second theoretical pillar of this research.

An important focus of both previous valuation studies, and previous studies of devices, is the effects and implications that valuation devices have on the market and on the valued object itself. This chapter elaborates on the discussion of performativity and reactivity. The latter, reactivity, is a building block of this thesis and informs the theoretical starting point. Based on the discussion of reactivity, this chapter then reviews literature both within valuation studies and studies of devices with a particular focus on the empirical interest of this study, i.e. on the description and perception of multiple valuation devices by various actors in and around the devices. Thus, I discuss, on the one hand, how previous research has taken multiplicity into account, and, on the other hand, how these studies have mobilized the valuation of valuation devices within their work. After reviewing how valuation studies have been used in fine-dining research, the chapter, finally, discusses the more specific theoretical assumptions and concepts that are applied in this thesis.

#### 3.1. Genesis of Valuation Studies and Studies of Devices

This thesis is built upon and continues the argumentation by McFall and Ossandón (2014) that valuation studies are an outcome of developments within the field of economic sociology. They argue that valuation studies originated from two movements, along which

economic sociology started to develop beyond the strict boundaries of what is referred to as Parson's pact (Beunza & Stark, 2004; Stark, 2009). According to this often cited pact, "sociologists were to study institutions, social integration, and values, in plural — but not markets — while economists were to focus on economic growth and competitive market arrangements coordinated by prices, information, and value, in singular — but not religion, crime, or families" (McFall & Ossandón, 2014, p. 510). On the one side, the "new economic sociology" emerged in the 1980s, mostly in the US around Mark Granovetter's 'embeddedness' school. On the other side, the "*new, new economic sociology*" (McFall, 2009; McFall & Ossandón, 2014, p. 510) emerged in the 2000s out of Michel Callon's contributions with his edited volumes on the Laws of the Market (Callon, 1998b, 1998a). Despite an otherwise rather limited overlap, both movements within the development of economic sociology assume that "actors (firms, consumers, scientists, laboratories) are never isolated, but are situated in specific relations. Researchers should thus sidestep traditional abstract divisions and instead go and study what specifically connects them" (McFall & Ossandón, 2014, p. 517). The outcome of both of these streams within economic sociology eventually led to valuation studies.

Within the first movement, the new economic sociology building on the 'embeddedness', "economic action [...] is 'embedded' in ongoing networks of personal relationships rather than being carried out by atomized actors" (Granovetter & Swedberg, 2001, p. 11). Any economic actor, such as consumers, organizations, or actors within an organization, is argued to be set within social relations surrounding it, i.e. it is "embedded". In the understanding of Granovetter and Swedberg, economic sociology is the discipline studying this embeddedness of any economic action within sociology. In order to study organizations, relations that frame the interaction between economic actors are to be followed. While Granovetter's embeddedness term has gained particular prominence in the new economic sociology, other scholars have also argued that markets need to be understood as being shaped, for example, by political (Fligstein, 1996) or cultural (Zelizer, 1983) processes (see also Kornberger et al., 2015 for an overview).



While in the ‘new economic sociology’ calculation is one of many elements that influence the embeddedness, in the second movement, the ‘*new, new economic sociology*’, calculation is a central part in research: “calculation, for Callon, is too important and too difficult a topic to be left only to economists” (McFall & Ossandón, 2014, p. 517). It is the task of the sociologist to open the black box of calculation. As such, “to study markets is not only about mapping the ties that connect economic actors, but about following the process that makes things calculable” (McFall & Ossandón, 2014, p. 518). In this way, Callon moves the attention to economics, which can be understood as economic actors in a wider, STS, sense. In the understanding of the *new, new economic sociology*, economics is central in the process of making things calculable. By being part of any calculation, economics does not describe, but performs the elements internalized in the calculation. A central outcome of this movement is the notion of devices (Callon, Millo, & Muniesa, 2007). Devices *do* things and economic sociologists should follow them in order to understand how the various kinds of devices take action. This thesis will do this also, though without the focus on calculation.

As a consequence of these two movements, economic sociologists started to devote their energy to studying the kind of economic issues that were formerly solely ascribed to economists. The combination of these two movements “opens up new common ground around the notion of *valuing* and expands the vocabulary, tools, and methods available for studying highly dynamic economic objects and processes” (McFall & Ossandón, 2014, p. 526, my emphasis). In this way, the study of valuation paves the way to enhancing our understanding of particular market situations in which any form of *value* is at the forefront. To be specific, for valuation studies it is not so much ‘value’ as a noun that is at the center of attention, but ‘value’ as a verb. This “shift in subject matter from value (or values) to valuation considered explicitly as an action” (Muniesa, 2011, p. 25) is described as the ‘flank movement’. It originates in the revival of the pragmatism of John Dewey (1923, 1939), whose writings have additionally influenced the genesis of valuation studies into its current form. As an outcome, scholars of valuation studies widely agree on understanding valuation as an action, process and practice (Dussage et al., 2015; Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013; Hutter & Stark, 2015; Kornberger et al., 2015; Lamont, 2012; Muniesa, 2011).

For the sake of completeness, it is important to point to another, different approach to valuation studies, which has influenced the constitution of valuation studies, but remains to be less applied in recent studies – and will not be used in this thesis. This approach has emerged out of the work of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) who develop the notion of orders of worth. In their understanding, different principles of worth are taken into consideration when people evaluate things for a given situation. They elaborate on six different orders of worth, with each order having its own principles for evaluation. The different orders are invoked in different situations which call for judgment and justification. “This means that several orders of worth may be present in the same situation and that people will adjust to the situation and may shift between different principles when they try to reach agreement” (Kornberger et al., 2015, p. 7).

Going further, Stark (2009) describes the theoretical framework of Boltanski and Thévenot as another possible way to overcome the above outlined Parson’s pact. Stark argues that Boltanski and Thévenot go beyond the distinction of value and values, and combine both in the concept of worth. In that way, Boltanski and Thévenot “reject the dichotomies between value and values, economy and society, calculation and judgment” (Kornberger et al., 2015, p. 8). However, “detailed analysis of the mechanisms of valuation is not part of their project. In the world of Boltanski and Thévenot, there *are* orders of worth” (Kornberger et al., 2015, p. 8, emphasis in the original). Accordingly, the work of Boltanski and Thévenot has influenced much research, in particular in institutional theory (see exemplarily Lamont, 2012, for a review), but remains less applied in the studies of valuation. Nonetheless, Boltanski and Thévenot have influenced the development and interest in valuation studies, in particular their argument for different, co-existing forms of worth or value (Kjellberg & Mallard, 2013; Kornberger et al., 2015; Lamont, 2012).

Leaving this approach by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) aside, throughout this thesis, valuation studies are understood as an outcome of economic sociology. In general, the field of valuation studies has become an important part of economic sociology. Valuation studies not only contribute to overcoming the demarcation between economics and sociology and the Parson’s pact (Stark, 2011). They enhance the understanding of

calculation, by understanding calculation as one form of valuation. In this way, valuation studies investigate markets where calculation is just one of many processes shaping and being shaped. The current understanding of both valuation and devices is unfolded in the following, as well as the way the development of these two fields of study out of economic sociology can emerge. Given the close link between valuation and devices and their common root within economic sociology, this research draws upon both studies. For the moment, they are presented separately in the following. This is to clarify their specific understanding and how they are used within this thesis.

### **3.2. Valuation studies**

Researchers acknowledge that “valuations appear to be performed everywhere” (Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013, p. 2). By this statement, Helgesson and Muniesa not only refer to the empirical observation that almost every aspect in society is compared, but also to an increase in the number of studies focusing on valuations. Previous studies have investigated the valuation of IT products (Pollock & Campagnolo, 2015; Pollock & D’Adderio, 2012; Pollock et al., 2018), hotels (Orlikowski & Scott, 2014), cities (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011), wines (Hsu, Roberts, & Swaminathan, 2012), law schools (Espeland & Sauder, 2007), business schools (Sauder & Fine, 2008; Wedlin, 2006), damages (Fourcade, 2011), waste (Hawkins, 2012), academic spin-offs (Doganova & Eyquem-Renault, 2009), or tomatoes (Heuts & Mol, 2013), to name just a few. Lamont (2012, p. 203-4) recently identified not less than eight different research angles which investigate valuation and evaluation. The growing popularity of valuation in research can also be seen in the recent founding of a new journal, “Valuation Studies”, focusing in particular on valuation as a social practice (Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013). The founding of this journal has given valuation studies a particular boost, which can exemplarily be seen in the publication numbers in 2015: around 59 articles and alone in Oxford University Press three books have been published under the valuation heading. In this way, “valuation has also become a central topic in economic sociology and in economics” (Hutter and Stark, 2015, p. 5).

Criticizing the wide use of the notion of valuation, the French sociologist François Vatin (2013) attempts to set up boundaries for understanding the term. He suggests a distinction between “processes of assessment (in which things undergo judgments of value) and processes of production (in which things are produced so as to be of value)” (p. 31). Based on this distinction, valuation scholars widely agree that valuation consists of two different elements: evaluation and valorizing. The former assesses a certain type of worth that is already present in the entity, whereas the latter creates and gives worth or value (Lamont, 2012; Vatin, 2013). Valuation as such can be understood as assessing value, producing value, or both at the same time (Lamont, 2012; Vatin, 2013). Despite the importance of a distinction for analytical reasons, these two are often intertwined in practice.

In her article, Lamont (2012) specifies these two elements of valuation. For both elements, she describes specific sub-processes which are part of any valuation and are described as “possible steps in valuation” (p. 205). Her elaboration on what these sub-processes entail creates the basis for a specification of the sub-processes that are part of an overall valuation practice. On the one hand, evaluation can be separated into four sub-processes, i.e. what I will call selection, assessment, typification and arrangement. *Selection* refers to the choice of entities that are included in the valuation, *assessment* refers to the examination and assessment of the “entity’s broader characteristics” (p. 206), *typification* refers to “locate” this assessment “in one or several categories” (p. 206), and *arrangement* makes the categories of the typification “fit in one or several [forms of] hierarchy” (p. 206). On the other hand, valorization can be broken into at least two sub-processes, i.e. what I will call recognition and diffusion. *Recognition*, following the understanding of Lamont, refers to the “recognition by oneself and others of the value of an entity” (p. 206), and *diffusion* refers to the presentation and reproduction “of the own position” (p. 207), not only by oneself, but also other valuers.

Despite the fact that both the elements and the different sub-processes are “intertwined in reality” (p. 205), the analytical distinction of the sub-processes is helpful in an elaborate analysis of valuation. Accordingly, the overall understanding of valuation into two separate elements as well as its further specification along the above outlined six different sub-

processes forms the analytical basis of this thesis. They are used in order to identify any potential valuation as well as different forms of valuations within fine-dining. At the core of valuation lies the notion of value, which researchers from various disciplines have approached in different ways.

### **3.2.1. Demarcation of value and values**

Subsuming various definitions of the word 'value' from dictionaries of semiotics, social sciences, sociology, economics, marketing and philosophy, Dussage, Helgesson, Lee and Woolgar (2015) emphasize both the importance of value as well as the wide-ranging meanings of value, which "can pertain to use, exchange, labor, semi-permanent dispositions, praise, price x quantity, a benefit of a good or service, relative or absolute worth of a thing" (p. 4). For studies of valuation, two understandings of value(s) are discussed in particular: economic value, which is collapsed into the principle of utility, and the economic sociological understanding of values. The economic sociologist David Stark (2000) presents a critical view on the so-called Parsons' pact, which, according to him, has established a problematic distinction between value (singular) and values (plural). According to the Parson's pact, the former is meant to be the object of study of the economist, whereas the latter is meant to be the object of study of the sociologist.

Focusing on value (singular), economic valuation often forms the basis for making decisions by valuing costs and benefits against each other. In this way, the economist has introduced the notion of utility, in which he summarizes a possible plurality of other values than costs and benefits. The core of economic valuation is in this way the possible quantification and calculation of all existing values based on one, the economic value (Kornberger et al., 2015). In contrast to economic value, sociologists are intrigued with studying social and cultural values (plural). In particular, they challenge the dominance of economic valuation and argue that there are particular non-commensurable values that are worth taking into account. For sociologist, the economic valuation has evolved out of historical, cultural and religious development that has shaped objects into a way that made it possible to apply economic valuation (Kornberger et al., 2015; Stark, 2000).

Overcoming this demarcation between economic value and sociological values, Stark (2000) vouches for the reconsideration of the Parsons' pact. Based on the work of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), he argues for the establishment of a sociology of worth "focusing on problems of worth in whatever domain (firms, projects, household, the arts, relationships)" (Stark, 2000, p. 5). Following the suggestion in overcoming disciplinary boundaries, economic sociologists study values in their connection with each other (Dussage et al., 2015, p. 6), under the headline of valuation studies. Valuation studies scholars are therefore interested in understanding how multiple values are established in practice.

### 3.2.2. From explanans to explanandum: Valuation produces values

Studying valuation marks "a shift in subject matter from value (or values) to valuation, considered explicitly as an action" (Muniesa, 2011, p. 25). This shift is also described as the 'flank movement'. It is rooted in the work of the American philosopher and pragmatist John Dewey who argues that "speaking literally, there are no such things as values [...] There are things, all sorts of things, having the unique, the experienced, but undefinable, quality of value. Values in the plural, or value in the singular, is merely a convenient abbreviation for an object, event, situation, *res*, possessing the quality." (Dewey, 1923, p. 617, emphasis in the original). Giving a widely cited example to his argument, he states that "calling the thing a value is like calling the ball struck in baseball, a hit or a foul" (Dewey, quoted in Muniesa, 2011, p. 25). Kornberger and colleagues elaborate this example quite well:

*"It is not the ball, however, that is valued as a hit or a foul in itself. Rather, it is the apparatus around it that makes it one or the other. It is the players, referees, coaches, spectators, sponsors, media, and myriad other actors as well as the material and symbolic elements, such as the lines drawn on the playing field, conventions, rules, league performances tables, tournaments, etc. – all these elements conspire when the ball touches the ground and gives that in that serendipitous moment meaning beyond its occurrence."* (Kornberger et al., 2015, p. 9)

As the quotation argues, value is not inherent to something, i.e. not given (Muniesa, 2011, p. 32) and is therefore not the explanans, but explanandum. Values are produced through

valuation practices. Arguing that values are an outcome of a series of practices (Dussage et al., 2015), Dewey's flank movement reflects his pragmatist philosophy approach (Muniesa, 2011). As such, valuation can best be understood by looking at processes and practices. Dewey (1939) suggests that we should study valuation as an activity or action by focusing on mechanisms and practices of valuation, especially because such practices make objects valuable in the first place (Kornberger et al., 2015, p. 8). In sum, "valuation studies addresses how values are made in valuation practices" (Zuiderent-Jerak & Van Egmond, 2015, p. 45).

Valuation studies form the first theoretical pillar of this thesis. This thesis builds on the understanding that valuation consists of two different elements, i.e. evaluation and valorizing (Lamont, 2012; Vatin, 2013). Furthermore, it assumes that the two elements can be differentiated in sub-processes of valuation, i.e. in the different sub-processes of evaluation, i.e. selection, assessment, typification, and arrangement, and of valorization, i.e. recognition and diffusion. Taken together, the sub-processes mark the overall valuation of an object. Furthermore, this thesis has the understanding that an object can have multiple values. Rather than being inherent, these values are assessed and produced through valuation practices, which is in line with the general pragmatic understanding of valuation studies. There are different possible actors producing such valuations, but in this thesis, I focus on devices, which I understand as one possible form of assemblages of valuation practices that play a significant role in producing a valuation.

### **3.3. Studies of devices**

In general, the concept of device is one of the most applied theoretical notions to understand practices of valuation and forms the second theoretical pillar to this thesis. To be precise, many researchers distinguish between two notions of device, market and judgment device. These two notions form a dispute around the term of 'economy of qualities'. Reviewing the developments in economic sociology over the last decades, McFall and Ossandón state that in this discussion, scholars discussed the establishment of possible "definitions which privilege the way goods are defined in the relations between producers and clients" (2014, p. 523). Similar to the above made distinction made by Stark

between economists and sociologists, also McFall and Ossandón argue that depending on the approach to device, there are two different positions. The core of this disagreement lies in “how, exactly, people evaluate qualities” (McFall & Ossandón, 2014, p. 524) and is resembled in the distinction between market devices and judgment devices, which is argued to form another basis for valuation studies. The core aspect is the different foundation of market devices (Muniesa et al., 2007) and judgment devices (Karpik, 2010). Whereas market devices are based on calculation (Callon, 1998b), judgment devices contrast this view by focusing on evaluation (Karpik, 2010).

The notion ‘market device’ is the outcome of a pragmatic turn in economic sociology, which was inspired by STS (Muniesa et al., 2007). For Muniesa et al., market devices can contribute to economic sociology by understanding the process of abstraction. “‘To abstract’ is to transport into a formal, calculative space” (2007, p. 4). Market devices are thus based on calculation (Callon & Muniesa, 2005). Elaborating on that, Muniesa et al. (2007, p. 5) state that “calculation is neither a universally homogenous attribute of humankind, nor an anthropological fiction. It is the concrete result of social and technical arrangements.” On the basis of this calculative understanding, Muniesa et al. (2007, p. 2) define a market device as “a simple way of referring to the material and discursive assemblages that intervene in the construction of markets.” The notion *device* thereby indicates that these are objects with agency. In this way, devices do things, “act or they make others act” (p. 2) “whether they just help (in a minimalist, instrumental version) or force (in a maximalist, determinist version)” (p. 3). A device then becomes “a ‘market device’ when it is also enacted.” (p. 3). Acting in the market, a market device reconfigures what something particular is or has been. Furthermore, “it contributes to the construction of markets widely considered as genuinely economic ones” (p. 3). “Muniesa et al. suggest a mode of analysis in which the person / subject is enacted through the device” (McFall & Ossandón, 2014, p. 520). In this way, market devices aim “to replace a pluralist, fragmented, divided, conflictual market with a market characterized by general equivalence, which amounts to producing the much desired calculative market” (Karpik, 2010, p. 120) and thus give an economical answer to the question of how to evaluate qualities.



Karpik (2010) approaches the question of how to evaluate qualities from a more sociological perspective and juxtaposes market devices with 'judgment devices'. For Karpik, the basis of market devices, calculation, only seems to be applicable in standard markets. Instead, Karpik's work builds upon judgment, which is based on qualitative choice. Judgment is needed for products of singularities, i.e. one-off products. According to McFall and Ossandón (2014), "singularities are very particular goods or services with multidimensional, uncertain, and incommensurable qualities which mean that people need the help of specific judgement devices to make reasonable choices between them" (p. 524). These goods or services cannot be traded primarily on price, which makes evaluation by judgment devices crucial for them. For Karpik, judgment devices therefore "are defined by three distinct and interlinked functions: they act as representatives of the producers and/or consumers, as knowledge operators in charge of reducing the cognitive deficit, and as competing forces striving to become more visible and more desirable than their competitors" (Karpik, 2010, p. 46).

In order to solve the overall controversy of Muniesa et al. (2007) and Karpik (2010), Stark (2011) introduces the notion of valuation, which in contrast to both Muniesa and colleagues' (2007) devices as socio-technical objects and Karpik's (2010) devices as judgment, he understands valuation as a process, a practical action. Stark (2011, p. 336) highlights that "for the economic sociology of valuation, there is no calculation apart from calculating devices, no judgments apart from judgment devices. Yes, we calculate, we judge, we perform. We, assemblages of humans and nonhumans, perform." He suggests "that despite their differences Karpik's judgment and Callon's calculation are concerned with the more general notion of valuing" (McFall & Ossandón, 2014, p. 525). In his understanding of valuing, Stark implicitly refers to the above outlined understanding of valuation, i.e. understanding valuation as practices, which can be undertaken by devices, amongst others.

In reviewing studies that have included a reference to the seminal work of either Muniesa et al. (2007) or Karpik (2010) and that use and apply one or the other<sup>5</sup>, it becomes

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<sup>5</sup> Rather than simply mentioning one or the other work in a footnote or the like.

apparent that studies continue with the distinction between the two devices – despite the general notion of valuation. Studies of devices mostly build upon the understanding of Muniesa's et al. (2007) and share the socio-technical approach to market devices. Doing so, different researches have enhanced and elaborated on the understanding of market devices. In studies of media (Burns, 2013), academic spin-offs (Doganova & Eyquem-Renault, 2009), social science research (Gross, 2012), packaging (Hawkins, 2012), fishery (Hébert, 2014), the state (Henriksen, 2013), or health care (Sisto & Zelaya, 2014), the notion of market device has been used as an analytical tool that helps understanding the effect of certain material aspects in the respective fields. In line with my own review, it has been argued that these device studies have “a more materially oriented focus” (Zuiderent-Jerak & Van Egmond, 2015, p. 45) – and have a strong focus on studying its performative effect.

Following Stark (2011) in the idea that there is a common denominator to market and judgement devices, this thesis understands device as a combination of both. In line with Muniesa and colleagues (2007), I understand devices to *do* things by acting or making others act. Devices are assemblages of practices that influence market actors. Following the particularity of fine-dining, devices are also necessary for the market to function in the sense of Karpik (2010): there are different qualities of a restaurant that can only be judged by a device. Similar to different qualities, I distinguish between different *forms* of devices, such as ratings, rankings, reviews and / or combinations of these, which are taken collectively into consideration under the same umbrella term.

### **3.4. Effects of Valuation and Devices: Performativity and Reactivity**

Closely bound to both valuation studies and the study of devices is the research into the effects and implications on the objects they observe. This research can broadly be grouped into two different streams, performativity and reactivity, and they are introduced in the following. While performativity is mainly applied in the study of markets in a broader sense, reactivity has focused more on the effects on organizations directly affected by the valuation. This thesis, given its empirical focus, will draw upon the notion of reactivity.

### 3.4.1. Performativity

The performativity discussion within economic sociology shares the same origin as the above presented development of market devices. It underlines the close entanglement between valuation studies and the performativity effect. Many market device studies also focus on performative effects of the studied device (e.g. Hébert, 2014; Henriksen, 2013; see also Zuiderent-Jerak & Van Egmond, 2015). When discussing devices, it is important to also take its performative effect into account. This section gives a general introduction to how performativity within device studies is understood and where it originates from.

Originally described as a linguistic phenomenon, Callon (1998a) transfers performativity to market studies in his book on the laws of markets. In his definition of the market, Callon understands a market as a process “in which calculative agencies oppose one another [...] to reach an acceptable compromise in the form of a contract and/or a price” (p. 3). Callon puts emphasis on “calculating tools without which calculative agency would not be possible” (p. 23). These “tools perform the economy” (p. 27) as they are “mediators between economics and economy” (p. 28): “they actively promote the construction and constitution of each of them” (p. 29). As such, he asserts the performativity of economics and argues that the economy “is embedded not in society but economics” (p. 30). In such a way, “during the process of market organization, a calculative agency manages to impose directly her instruments and mode of calculation” (p. 50). In conclusion, “economics does not describe an existing external economy, but brings that economy into being: economics performs the economy, creating the phenomena it describes” (MacKenzie & Millo, 2003, p. 108).

Based on this understanding of performativity, it is argued that the case study of the strawberry market in Southern France by Garcia-Parpet (2007) is the “central case study [...] which] demonstrates how a reasonable approximation to a ‘perfect market’ was consciously constructed, in good part by the efforts of a functionary training in neoclassical economics” (MacKenzie & Millo, 2003, p. 108). In her own conclusion, Garcia-Parpet states that “the perfect market at Fontaines-en-Sologne is the end product of a process of social and economic construction” (p. 45).

Transferring and further exploring the performative to another market situation, MacKenzie and Millo (2003, p. 107) identify how “economics was crucial to the creation of derivate exchanges”. In their elaboration of the concept of performativity, MacKenzie and Millo identified that a certain economic theory succeeded “because market changed in ways that made its assumptions more accurate and because the theory was used in arbitrage” (2003, p. 107). In particular, this theory in the beginning “did not describe an already existing world: when first formulated, its assumptions were quite unrealistic, and empirical prices differed systematically from the model. Gradually, though, the financial markets changed in a way that fitted the model. In part, this was the result of technological improvements to price dissemination and transaction processing. In part, it was the general liberalizing effect of free market economics. In part, however, it was the effect of option pricing theory itself. Pricing models came to shape the very way participants thought and talked about options, in particular via the key, entirely model-dependent, notion of ‘implied volatility’” (p. 137). Therefore, they conclude that the performativity of this theory “was a contested, historically contingent outcome” (p. 138) and that “performativity is a helpful addition to economic sociology’s conceptual tool kit” (p. 138).

Developing the concept of performativity further, MacKenzie (2006, p. 30, emphasis in the original) identifies ways in which “the use of a theory or model [... makes] economic processes *less* like their depiction by economics” and calls this form of performativity ‘counterperformativity’. In this understanding, he juxtaposes this to a particular strong version of performativity, which he calls “Barnesian performativity” (p. 30). He defines this form of performativity as “an effect of the use in practice of an aspect of economics is to make economic processes more like their depiction” (p. 30). As such, counterperformativity “is Barnesian performativity’s opposite: the use of an aspect of economics altering economic processes so that they conform less well to their depiction by economics” (p. 50).

Following the works of MacKenzie, the concepts of both performativity and counterperformativity have been applied in various disciplines. Introducing the concept of market devices, Muniesa et al. (2007) emphasize “the issue of performativity” (p. 5) as one

key characteristic of market devices and elaborates the requirement to study how “to produce and stabilize these devices” (p. 5). My own review of the literature on market devices shows that many of the previous studies have identified performativity in the sense of MacKenzie and Millo. In some studies, the performative effect of market devices is described superficially, and without an in-depth investigation (e.g. Burns, 2013). Sometimes, the identified effects are analyzed as ‘performativity’ (e.g. Preda, 2006) or ‘counterperformativity’ (e.g. Hawkins, 2012). And there are studies that support MacKenzie’s argument and apply its effects into new fields arguing for the wide-range of performativity in today’s society (Doganova & Eyquem-Renault, 2009). In this way, there has been an increase in interest, as a result of the performativity discussion, in studying the effects of devices on the market and the various market actors in which they operate. In parallel to performativity, another stream of research has gained momentum in studying the effects of valuation devices on the valued object, which can be grouped under the notion of reactivity.

### **3.4.2. Reactivity**

Within the study of valuation and devices, the interest in the reactive behavior of valued objects has gained great attention. In a much cited paper linking reactivity to valuation devices, Espeland and Sauder (2007) are particularly interested in understanding the effects of devices. For their seminal study, they focus on one type of device, a ranking, namely the USN law school ranking due to its centrality for US law schools. To systematize their investigation, they use the concept of reactivity in the following understanding: “individuals alter their behavior in reaction to being evaluated, observed or measured” (p. 6). In this regard, they see reactivity as part of the broader notion of ‘reflexivity’. Also, reactivity is argued to “mediate two understandings” of devices: devices can both be “valid, neutral depictions” and “vehicles for [...] changes in performance” (p. 7). Espeland and Sauder accordingly rely on the assumption that devices not only observe

the objects they measure, but they also have potential effects on them. Or to use the famous words of MacKenzie (2006): a device is “an engine, not a camera”<sup>6</sup> (p. 3).

In their study, Espeland and Sauder (2007) develop a framework to study reactivity with two central elements. For the studied device, they identify two mechanisms shaping reactivity, and three patterns of effects of reactivity. The two mechanisms show how rankings transform law schools and their behavior, the first mechanism of self-fulfilling prophecy by altering expectations, and the second mechanism of commensuration by transforming cognition. Moreover, Espeland and Sauder identify three patterns of effects of reactivity: law schools react to the specific law school ranking in three specific ways to optimize, if not maximize their rank within the ranking: the allocation of organizational resources is altered; work practices shift; and strategies to game the ranking criteria evolve.

Developing the understanding of reactivity, Pollock and D’Adderio (2012) identify “additional agential aspects” within the studied ranking in the information technology field (p. 565). Pollock and D’Adderio are particularly interested in the makeup and minutiae of rankings, and investigate the graphical set-up of a ranking device, “alongside the way rankings cause people to adapt behavior” (p. 581). In doing so, they generally agree with the mechanisms of reactivity, and go one step further by suggesting how sociomateriality is also significant in the influence of a ranking. In particular, they find out that; 1) the valuated objects “were advised to adapt and orient themselves to the nuances and measures of the ranking” (p. 585); 2) the ranking organization’s rankings were not able to encompass all organizations in the market, so they adopted alternative ways to include an appropriate number of valuated objects; and 3) that the limitations of the two-by-two matrix, used by the ranked organization, made it necessary to intervene in the market. The graph did not “represent a competitive space”, but forced the ranking organization to take the capacities of the graph into account in displaying a market. Based on their findings, they not only agree with, but also supplement the study of Espeland and Sauder (2007) in

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<sup>6</sup> For this quotation, I refer to work by MacKenzie (2006), even though Friedman (1953) has been the first to use this particular notion. However, while Friedman talks about the relation between theory and practice, MacKenzie is the first to link this notion to devices.

saying that a ranking is not “an abstract representational idiom, but one which captures the nuanced interplay” (Pollock & D’Adderio, 2012, p. 581).

Further studies have developed our understanding of reactivity. While the USN law school ranking studied by Espeland and Sauder (2007) is an example of an empirical setting in which one ranking dominates, further studies have taken into account the number of instances in which actors of the valuated objects constantly deal with many different valuation devices valuing the same product or service. Business schools are a particular prominent example in studying such multiplicity of valuation devices, both within the US (Sauder & Fine, 2008) and in Europe (Wedlin, 2006).

The study by Sauder and Fine (2008) focuses on the five rankings of business schools in the US that are argued to be the most influential. They take the perspective of the actors of the valuated objects, in their case the deans and administrators of various business schools in the US. Sauder and Fine are particularly interested in how actors of the valuated objects respond to the rankings. They identify that these actors influence the measures of the rankings without “changing the underlying qualities that the rankings attempt to measure” (p. 712). In this way, all the information gathered by the rankings is argued to be twisted by the actors of the valuated objects. As a result of this, the actors of the valuated objects question the validity of the information, and process the information presented by the rankings accordingly. Sauder and Fine specify that actors of the valuated objects “massage [the] information [of the valuation devices] to make the best possible case” (Sauder & Fine, 2008, p. 715). Sauder and Fine specify three steps along which they respond to the valuation devices: ‘synthesis’, ‘selection’, and ‘simplification’ of the information presented by the valuation devices.

For all three steps, a number of business schools are presented as using a PR consultancy, or in having a specific team within the university work only on this topic, in order to “massage information” (Sauder & Fine, 2008, p. 715). For the ‘synthesis’, valuation devices are transformed “to make the best case for one’s own institution” (p. 716). Hereby, the focus of information is not about the school, but about the criteria of the valuation devices themselves. Furthermore, “selection refers to pulling information apart”

(p. 716). Hereby, business schools define the content and the information which they deem to be relevant for a specific audience. Finally, 'simplification' is about sense-making of the valuation devices for these audiences. In this way, "they attempt to shape the meanings of these rankings" (p. 718), so that the audiences can understand it in a simple way, no matter how a business school is developing within these rankings. Sauder and Fine conclude that even though the valuation devices define the environment, the actors "must either accept or find ways to circumvent" the set agenda (p. 719). The actors of the valued objects attempt to shape the agenda of the valuation devices with these different types of responses.

Despite having a different theoretical focus within the fields of identities and boundaries, a different empirical setting, and a different methodological approach to study business schools, Wedlin (2006) identifies similar responses of the actors of business schools to the rankings as Sauder and Fine (2008) do. She elaborates that business schools have "efforts to change and adapt to the rankings" (Wedlin, 2006, p. 141) and that they see the rankings as an arena to operate within. In particular, and similar to what Espeland and Sauder (2007) identify, business schools adapt to the criteria of the valuation devices, and attempt to change the characteristics of the device, in order to achieve a high rank on the different devices. However, given her survey method, she identifies a quite different picture of the way business schools change "in direct relation and response to the rankings" (p. 145). She identifies that business schools either do not change, or change rather severely. Furthermore, she identifies that it is also possible for high prestige business schools to ignore the introduction of arising new rankings. For those business schools that admit to have changed rather drastically, Wedlin points to similar patterns of behavior as Espeland and Sauder as well as Sauder and Fine. This includes the hiring of PR professionals (Wedlin, 2006, p. 150).

Going further, and building on the studies of Wedlin (2006) as well as Sauder and Fine (2008), Pollock and colleagues (2018) substantially develop our understanding of how actors of the valued object respond to valuation devices and break, in this way, new ground in the understanding of reactivity. In particular, they question the assumption within



reactivity that “rankings cannot be separated from understanding of how organizations respond” (p. 57). They also take particular notice of the multiplicity of rankings, and are interested in how actors of valued objects respond to the multiplicity of valuation devices. With this focus, they ask the question of “how organizations reconfigure themselves to respond to multiple rankings” (p. 57). In doing so, they identify that “organizations are now able to exercise greater choice about which rankings they respond to, how they are often able to shape their ranked positions, wield influence over assessment criteria, and, in some cases, positively influence the wider evaluative ecosystem in their favor” (p. 56).

Rather than actors reacting “to the pressure of rankings through orienting *towards* them” (p. 64, emphasis in the original), organizations are “transformed by them” (p. 65). While reactivity in the sense of Espeland and Sauder (2007) remains one option for the valued organization to respond to a valuation, Pollock and colleagues outline three further possible responses: Rankers can be ‘navigated around’, can ‘negotiate’ or ‘renegotiate the evaluative ecosystem’ (p. 65 f.). First, when navigated around, valuation devices are side-stepped by actors of the ranked organizations. Second, the ranked organizations take certain valuation devices as fixed in the way they produce their valuation, whereas with others, they negotiate their own rank within the devices. Third, they rework the evaluative ecosystem. By highlighting the importance of multiple valuation devices within one field, Pollock and colleagues (2018) also pave the way for further research on the implications of multiplicity. They conclusively argue that the identified responses to the multiplicity of valuation devices may be identified in many further instances. This eventually leads them to suggest “the possibility of a ‘turn’” of multiplicity (p. 67).

In sum, studies around reactivity are generally interested in the responses of actors of the valued objects to valuation devices. The seminal studies outlined above show a variety of possible responses that actors of the valued objects can have. They range from adhering to the valuation devices rather closely (Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Sauder & Fine, 2008), to neglecting newcomers within the field (Wedlin, 2006), to a further variety of choices, such as the negotiation of rank within the device, or a reworking of the evaluative ecosystem (Pollock et al., 2018). Understanding these different forms of responses more

closely is argued to be important. Given the increasing importance of the responses of the valuated actors, it is also essential to understand, how they are created and what their basis is. In particular, in order to reflect and unfold these options, actors of valuated objects need to assess the different valuation devices by which they are valuated. This assessment – or evaluation – of valuation devices is pointed to, but not foregrounded by the above mentioned studies. Investigating such an evaluation marks an interesting field of further research. The assessment of valuation devices can potentially lead to a valuation of the valuation devices. A valuation of valuation devices might have further consequences, similar to the consequences and effects that the initial valuation has had. This has not been addressed within the discussion of reactivity.

Furthermore, one element within reactivity that is at the basis of this discussion and that has recently gained momentum is the alteration of these responses in the situation of multiplicity. In observing the same actors, Wedlin (2006), Sauder and Fine (2008), and in particular Pollock and colleagues (2018), demonstrate different responses to valuation devices where there are multiple valuation devices, in comparison to the study by Espeland and Sauder (2007) where there is only one ranking. Hereby, Pollock and colleagues (2018) emphasize the importance of taking the current proliferation of valuation devices into account in understanding the possible effects and implications for the valuated objects. Accordingly, it is essential to not to just take multiplicity as such into account, but also to understand the set-up of valuation devices within this multiplicity. To use the words of Sauder and Fine (2008), in the situation of multiplicity, reaction and responses “actually move in both directions” (p. 719), i.e. from valuation devices to valuated objects and return. In the case of multiplicity, this may potentially be enhanced by a reaction and response between different valuation devices; which however has not been addressed within the discussion of reactivity.

Starting from reactivity, two directions for further research are at stake: understanding multiplicity and understanding the responses of the valuated objects. In this way, the discussion of reactivity informs the following analysis, and the contribution that this thesis hopes for in both the study of valuation and devices.

### **3.5. Multiplicity and valuation of valuation devices in previous valuation studies and studies of devices**

The following literature review reviews the studies within the above presented understanding of valuation and market and judgment devices and within the empirically driven interest of this thesis. Thus, the focus of this review is, first, on how studies have taken the multiplicity of valuation devices into account, and second, on how studies have mobilized the valuation of valuation devices. Therefore, studies are reviewed on the basis of whether there currently is a strong agreement and a wide application of one of the two aspects. The review is presented and discussed in the following section.

The selection criteria for which studies are included in this review were the following: for studies of devices, studies were included if they reference the seminal work of Muniesa et al. (2007) or Karpik (2010), and in addition, use and apply the work of these authors as a theoretical background to their research (rather than simply mentioning them in a footnote, for example). Additionally, studies are included which are widely cited in device studies, but which were published before Muniesa's book chapter (examples include the book by Wedlin, 2006 and the articles by Preda, 2006 and Espeland and Sauder, 2007). For valuation studies, a similar approach was taken. Studies that use the notion of valuation as a key word were searched and then selected based on the involvement of a device, to ensure the uniformity of devices and valuation studies. In both reviews, articles were read and identified insofar as they touch upon either the aspect of multiplicity or the valuation of valuation devices. This approach was chosen, on the one hand, in order to include as many studies as possible and keep the filter as wide as possible and, on the other hand, in order to avoid any irrelevant studies that go beyond the focus of devices and valuations.

#### **3.5.1. Multiplicity**

Scholars of both valuation studies and studies of devices have pointed to the importance of studying the multiplicity of valuation devices for one product or service – and have accordingly called for research to study it. As one of the first, in her overview of the sociology of valuation and evaluation (SVE), Lamont (2012, p. 207) underlines the centrality of a “multidimensionality, or plurality of criteria/grammars of valuation and

evaluation” for SVE. Coming from an institutional theory perspective, she draws on the difference between American and European literature that has touched upon this topic. She names in particular Friedland and Alford (1991) in North America and Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) as representative in Europe. Lamont calls “for a better understanding” (p. 209) of other possible forms of plurality of valuation and evaluation.

Referring also to the work of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), Kjellberg et al. (2013, p. 22) agree with Lamont’s claim and recommend going “beyond the mere observation of a plurality of valuation processes and to actively deal with their interrelations”. In their review article, they go further and elaborate on concrete possibilities for future research. Kjellberg et al. make three suggestions for studying the plurality. They suggest studying “the conditions of emergence, construction and negotiations of alternative conceptions of value” (p. 27), “to unpack specific relations (of dominance, balance, conflict, etc.) that have been, or are being forged between different valuations” (p. 27) as well as “to discuss the alternative options between contrasting systems of values that are at stake in the transformation” (p. 27).

Echoing these recent calls, my own literature review also reveals a lack of empirical studies on the implications that multiple valuation devices in the same empirical context are argued to have (such as multiple forms of performativity). Most research identifies, names and investigates one device (singular) in a specific context (e.g. Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Hawkins, 2012; Pénet & Lee, 2014; Pollock & D’Adderio, 2012; Preda, 2006). While some scholars use the original notion from Muniesa et al. (2007) of “market devices” (plural) (e.g. Doganova & Eyquem-Renault, 2009; Hébert, 2014; Henriksen, 2013), in their research they empirically focus on one single device. Some of the work even acknowledges the co-existence of multiple devices: Burns (2013) indicates several devices of the same kind; Hawkins (2012) points “to another key market device” (p. 74); Gross (2012) focuses on “a series of devices” (p. 114). Despite the identification of multiplicity, these studies do not analyze the identified multiplicity of valuation studies.

There are, however, a few studies that empirically investigate different valuation studies for the same product or service. First, Orlikowski and Scott (2014) investigate two different

valuation devices in the British hospitality industry. Orlikowski and Scott identify that their technological distinction (online vs. offline) leads to “substantial differences in valuation practices and outcomes” (p. 871). “To make sense of these differences” (p. 872), they analyze these practices “as constituted in practice” (p. 872). By doing so, they argue that these two different practices “produce two different apparatus of valuation” (p. 883). By apparatus, they refer to Barad (1998, p. 98) and state that an apparatus is a “productive of (and part of) phenomenon” and add that it is “simultaneous producing and organizing the phenomenon they observe” (Orlikowski & Scott, p. 873). They consider this notion as helpful to “understand how and why valuation practices and outcomes change when valuations move online” (p. 887) and compare eight “key differences” (p. 883). In this way, Orlikowski and Scott (2014) find that (1) a “multiplicity of personalized and contradictory qualitative assessment proliferated among numeric reduction and singular ordering” (p. 871); that (2) “large numbers of unregulated contributions by anonymous consumers trump the legitimized authority of experts and critics” (p. 869); that (3) “high status and incumbency did not bestow any particular advantage on products or producers” (p. 872); and that (4) “actors’ everyday practices were continually and contingently configured by the ongoing flow of volatile, personalized, and anonymous valuations of the online crowd” (p. 872). In sum, they focus on the commonalities and differences of valuation practices, develop an approach to identify these particular differences and argue for the importance of online valuations.

Second, similar to, and building theoretically upon Orlikowski and Scott’s (2014) focus on an online practice, Mellet and colleagues (2014) also studied online consumer reviews of restaurants and identified that these “contribute to the empowerment of consumers and the democratization of markets” (p. 37). Following their analysis of the role of different food critics for the French culinary industry as well as of the inclusion of consumers in producing reviews, they developed a typology which illustrated “the different types of compromise set up by websites in order to articulate the participation of all users and the effectiveness of the recommendations” (p. 38). Differentiating between different strategies to overcome a conflict between this “twofold democratic ambition” (p. 5) with the goal “to produce fair and helpful recommendations” (p. 5), Mellet and colleagues juxtapose the

different online consumer reviews in the French culinary field in their “construction and operation” (p. 38). As such, they spot “many subtle variations between websites” and stress “the importance of these variations” (p. 38). In this way, they understand the multiplicity of valuation devices as the sum of all valuation devices. In sum, Mellet and colleagues show different “models” (p. 37) of valuation devices to include consumers. Based on these models, they differentiate valuation devices.

Third, in her study of four coexisting valuation devices that value companies’ social and environmental performance in Sweden and in Norway, Du Rietz (2015) analyzes “the orientation between devices in terms of the classic dichotomy of imitation and differentiation” (p. 23-4) and “connect[s] translocal [...] to local realities” (p. 24). She identifies both commonalities and differences between these two realities. On the one side, “similarity in valuation devices is not a consequence of imitation. Imitating one device may result in unintended similarity with another device, from both a local and a translocal point of view” (p. 24f). On the other side, there are “diverging views” and she argues that “there is not one local and one translocal view, [...] but several localities, possibly with conflicting views of devices’ similarities and differences” (p. 24). Therefore, “sometimes the interconnected localities and their diverging views of sameness and difference encounter and interfere with each other” (p. 23). She goes on to say that “the diverging views of events were not so much the process [...] as the outcome. [...] The outcome of imitation can evidently be viewed in different ways, not necessarily as similarity” (p. 21). She eventually argues “that valuation devices are not simply composed in terms of what they assess. The ideas of how something should be valued may come from somewhere” (p. 23). In sum, Du Rietz shows that valuation devices are oriented towards each other. This orientation can or cannot be intended. Similarly, the observation that valuation devices are oriented towards each other differs from describing them as imitations or differentiations.

The three outlined studies above of Orlikowski and Scott (2014), Mellet and colleagues (2014) and Du Rietz (2015) indicate the importance of studying the multiplicity of valuation devices and differ from previous studies on single valuation devices. As such, these studies provide a first understanding of the multiplicity of different valuation devices:

Orlikowski and Scott (2014) study two valuation devices in parallel and focus on their difference, in particular through their technological distinction (online vs. offline). Emphasizing the dualistic opposition of two particular valuation devices, Orlikowski and Scott (2014) identify eight “key differences” (p. 883), which they elaborate on. The outlined differences accentuate the differences between online and offline valuation devices. In such a way, rather than describing the exact working of the differences, they analyze the differences in an interpretative way. As such, they abstract the workings of the devices into more general categories. Going further, Mellet and colleagues (2014) develop a more general typology to distinguish valuation devices making it possible to cluster all valuation devices. However, their typology is rather specific along two dimensions: inclusion and selection of restaurants as well as participation and equality of consumers. Using this typology, they point to “subtle variations” (p. 38), which are described as making a big difference. In contrast, Du Rietz (2015) studies the orientation of similar valuation devices towards each other. She argues that orientation and overlap of these valuation devices is important to take into consideration and that their orientation towards each other, from a translocal, i.e. researcher’s, point of view, can be seen as intermingled with possible effects on each other.

The three studies indicate the importance of multiplicity, and its implications for valuation devices. All three studies take up the aspect of multiple valuation devices present in the field, but take different stances. Orlikowski and Scott (2014) as well as Mellet and colleagues (2014) are interested in the move towards online devices and present different ways to cluster valuation devices, but they do not look at the overlap. Du Rietz (2015), in contrast, shows the overlap of valuation devices, but lacks a systematic methodology on how to study them, which becomes especially apparent for four different valuation devices. In their combination, Orlikowski and Scott, Mellet and colleagues, and Du Rietz show a way forward in the study of multiple valuation devices: Orlikowski and Scott provide a possible approach to distinguish multiple valuation devices; Mellet and colleagues point out the different directions and variations of valuation devices and Du Rietz indicates possible points of reflection.

Building on these indications and following the outlined theoretical argumentation of Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006), this thesis aims to contribute to valuation studies and studies of devices. It studies the implications of multiplicity along three points of reflection that have been pointed to by previous research: (inter-)relation of devices; implications of multiplicity; manifestation of multiplicity. First, even though Du Rietz (2015) gives a first indication on the relations, further research is needed to deepen the understanding on “specific relations (of dominance, balance, conflict, etc.) that have been, or are being forged between different valuations” (Kjellberg et al., 2013, p. 27). Second, while all three above mentioned studies point to the existence of multiple valuation devices, it remains rather unclear what the implications and consequences of this multiplicity is. Third, what remains unclear is how we are to understand multiplicity as such. Research is needed to respond to the three points of reflection – and the following research aims to do this.

### **3.5.2. Valuation of valuation devices**

Scholars have suggested extending research within valuation studies by focusing on how valuation devices themselves are valued by the valuated objects. As such, rather than focusing on valuation *through* valuation devices, future research should focus on the valuation *of* valuation devices. In particular, Mellet and colleagues (2014) suggest that “future work could therefore study how the restaurant owners and managers themselves – and producers and distributors in other industries – welcome and appropriate these new evaluation devices” (p. 39). These authors base their call for further research on statements within their empirical field, in which public statements by the valuated objects describe the valuation devices “as an illegitimate constraint” (p. 39). Such an investigation would allow for the understanding not only of the effects of valuation devices, but also of how they are handled by the valuated objects.

In line with this call by Mellet and colleagues (2014) for further research, my own literature review reveals a lack of empirical research on the valuation *of* valuation devices. In general, scholars of both valuation studies and studies of devices have a strong focus on studying how valuation devices value products and services and have pointed out a variety of effects that this valuation has, both on the valuated objects, as well as on other



actors in the context of the valuation (e.g. Espeland & Sauder, 2007, 2016; Hsu et al., 2012; Kornberger & Carter, 2010; Pollock & D'Adderio, 2012; Scott & Orlikowski, 2012; Sharkey & Bromley, 2015). Studies take different approaches to investigate such effects, such as analyzing quantitative data (Hsu et al., 2012; Sharkey & Bromley, 2015) or taking a theoretical approach (Kornberger & Carter, 2010). There are also a few studies that take the *perception* of the valuated objects into account, which can lead towards the possible study of the valuation of valuation devices.

First, in their seminal study of how a law school ranking influences mechanisms and effects of reactivity, Espeland and Sauder (2007) base their analysis on interviews with actors associated with valuated objects. They argue that these interviews “permitted a broad range of respondents” and allowed capturing both “the breadth” and the “depth of ranking effects” (p. 8). As such, their study takes the perception, attitude and opinion of those associated with the valuated objects into account, when analyzing the effects of rankings. In the continuation of their study, Espeland and Sauder (2016) significantly enhance their research into law school rankings by incorporating a substantial amount of interviews with “law school students, faculty, and administrators” (p. 4). However, even though both studies take the perception of valuation devices by the valuated objects, as well as by further actors surrounding the valuation devices, into account, they fail to investigate this perception in detail.

Second, Pollock and D'Adderio's (2012) study of an IT ranking contributes to the “shaping” of rankings through “mechanisms of reactivity” by identifying “additional agential aspects” within the ranking (p. 565). In order to do this, they rely on interviews with “actors involved in and around the ranking” (p. 571). Accordingly, their interviews include not only actors from the valuation device as well as the valuated object, but also actors from “rival firms”, as well as “a new breed of professionals” offering consultancy for the valuated object (p. 571-2). Even though Pollock and D'Adderio's study includes this wide range of interviews, they only mobilize actors from the valuation devices, as well as the consultants. When analyzing quotations from the latter, the focus is very much on “how to interact with” the valuation device (p. 572). The interviews with the valuated objects or the rival firms are not

explicitly addressed in the analysis. With this analytical focus, it can be stated that their basic assumption is that valuation devices are accepted and supported by surrounding actors. Even though both Pollock and D'Adderio (2012) and Espeland and Sauder (2007, 2016) base their research upon the perception of the valuated objects, these studies do not develop this analysis in great detail.

There are a few exceptions of studies, however, that elaborate on the perception of valuation devices and link their data to a potential valuation of valuation devices. For example, Mellet and colleagues (2014) imply that the valuated objects might “welcome and appropriate” new valuation devices (p. 39). As such, they indicate the possibility that valuation devices are perceived positively by the valuated objects. Contrary to this, Sauder and Espeland (2009) mention that “rankings are widely resented” by the valuated objects and are even described as “totally bonkers” (p. 68). However, both studies only mention possible indications of how valuation devices are perceived and thus only touch this conjecture on the surface. However, by pointing out that the perception of valuation devices can translate into an opinion about these devices, the authors point towards a valuation of valuation devices.

Furthermore, in their study of TripAdvisor's influence on hotels in a “specific rural region of the UK” (p. 29), Scott and Orlikowski (2012) base their investigation primarily on interviews and observations with the actors of the valuated objects. In doing so, they point out the possible different perceptions of the valuation devices held by actors of the valuated objects. The valuation device is perceived to provide valuations which are “immediate and [...] *good*” (p. 32; emphasis in the original), as it has a particularly strong effect on the valuated objects' hotels in terms of boosting guests. But actors of the valuated objects also have a “sense of losing control”, which “is a concern” (p. 32) for them. Similarly, the valuation device is described as “the only way forward”, which leads to a representative from one valuated object describing that “this level of dependence raises some concerns” (p. 35). The perception of the valuation device is, in some cases, even more negative, even being described as one of their “biggest concern” (p. 33) as well as being “very annoying” (p. 35). As such, the analysis by Scott and Orlikowski demonstrates that the

perception of valuation devices leads to a nuanced weighting of effects and influences of the device. Even though they point out a reflected opinion about the valuation device, their analysis does not delve deeper into investigating these perceptions, but instead focuses on the effect the device has in relation to accountability.

Taking the outlined studies of valuation and devices together that focus on the perception of the valuated objects when studying effects of valuation devices, it can be stated that these studies have pointed out that a first step in studying the valuation of valuation devices lies within how valuation devices are perceived by the valuated objects. Scott and Orlikowski (2012) indicate that the perception of valuation devices by actors of the valuated objects can be very nuanced and based on a weighting of the characteristics of valuation devices. As such, this weighting potentially resembles the sub-process of assessment the valuation devices. Furthermore, Mellet and colleagues (2014), as well as Sauder and Espeland (2009), demonstrate that the perception of valuation devices leads to a specific opinion about the valuation devices, which potentially resembles the element of evaluating the valuation devices. These authors, hereby, indicate that the valuation can go into different directions, varying from a black or white, or entirely positive or negative, to a more reflected opinion about devices. They indicate, therefore, that investigating these perceptions in detail allows for the potential identification of how valuation devices are valuated by the valuated objects.

In sum, it can be argued that there is a lack of research taking the valuation of valuation devices into account. Scholars of both valuation studies and studies of devices, however, have pointed out, but nonetheless underemphasized, how valuation devices are *valuated* by actors of the valuated object. Nonetheless, based on studying the perception of actors of the valuated objects, previous research has pointed to a few indications of how valuation devices are valuated by the valuated objects. Future research can build upon these conjectures and develop a deeper understanding of how valuation devices are valuated by actors of the valuated objects. Additionally, what remains unstudied is the valuation of valuation devices by other actors in and around the valuation devices. Therefore, this thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of the valuation of valuation

devices. It studies the valuation of valuation devices along three points of reflection that have been pointed to by previous research: valuation of valuation by the actors of the valuated object; by the actors of valuation devices; by actors surrounding the valuation devices.

### **3.6. Valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices**

The two outlined aspects within valuation studies and studies of devices, i.e. multiplicity of valuation devices and the valuation of valuation devices, each mark an individual potential contribution to both valuation studies and studies of devices. Moreover, these two aspects can also be taken together to enhance research in both respects, which is what I argue for in this section.

First, as previously pointed out, different valuation devices have different valuation practices. These different practices often lead to different results in their valuations. Different results are argued to have different effects on the valuated objects (Orlikowski & Scott, 2014). This implies that the very same valuated object might be valued (substantially) differently by different valuation devices and could, for example, be highly recommended by one device and strongly disregarded by another. From this perspective, it becomes particularly interesting how these differences are perceived by the valuated object. In other words, the question of how actors of the valuated objects value these different valuations of them is raised. As such, it is interesting to see on which basis the valuated object differentiates between the valuation devices, and, for example, how the different practices of the devices are taken into consideration.

Second, as alluded to by Pollock and D'Adderio (2012), also actors of valuation devices have a perception about other valuation devices, and therefore, can value these other valuation devices. This valuation of devices becomes of particular interest in the situation where that these valuation devices are related to one another, as described by Du Rietz (2015). Being in relation with each other might therefore potentially influence the valuation of other valuation devices, or allow the incorporation of practices of other valuation

devices. As such, it is interesting to identify how the relation of valuation devices towards each other potentially influences the valuation of valuation devices.

Third, Du Rietz (2015) furthermore points out that the orientation of multiple valuation towards each other depends on their particular perspective on the phenomenon. Similarly, the studies by Scott and Orlikowski (2012), as well as Pollock and D'Adderio (2012), demonstrate that the valuation of valuation devices might be different from different perspectives. As such, all three studies argue for the importance of taking different perspectives of the studied phenomenon into account. To formulate it differently, the investigation into both multiplicity and the valuation of valuation devices individually, but also in their combination, might change depending on the taken point of view. Such an investigation would thus allow the author to identify how the valuation of valuation devices might change in the case of multiplicity when observed by variety of actors each having a different point of view.

In sum, within both valuation studies and studies of devices, scholars have argued for the importance of studying the multiplicity of valuation devices, as well as the valuation of valuation devices. As a result, this chapter aims to contribute to the existing research by investigating these two gaps in the previous literature. Both the multiplicity and the valuation of valuation devices are argued to be valid points of departure for this investigation; however, this section furthermore has argued that, in their combination, these two areas of research are particularly interesting. In particular, such an investigation allows for developing a new angle from which to investigate the practices of valuation devices, as well as the implications of the multiplicity of valuation devices for the valued objects.

This thesis builds upon the three understudied conjectures described above. First, it investigates how the multiplicity of valuation devices is valued by the actors of the valued objects. Second, it investigates how valuation devices within the multiplicity of devices are related to one another. Third, it takes an additional perspective into account and investigates how the newspaper media values the multiplicity of valuation devices. In their combination, these three points of departure provide a contribution to the above

outlined indications of the interconnection between the multiplicity and the valuation of valuation devices. These three conjectures form the starting points for the analysis of this thesis. In their combination, I intend for my findings to contribute to the current research, and thus enhance our understanding of both valuation and devices.

### **3.7. Valuation studies in fine-dining**

This thesis is theoretically rooted in the just outlined studies of valuation and devices and mobilizes this theoretical understanding to study fine-dining in Copenhagen. While there is a lot of research on fine-dining, this thesis does not intend to contribute to the research within this field in particular. But this sub-section will instead point towards exemplary studies that have taken valuation devices in fine-dining into account. For example the seminal study by Rao and colleagues (2003) unfold an institutional change movement in French fine-dining, which is reflected by different valuation devices. Similarly, Svejenova, Mazza and Planellas (2007) study an institutional entrepreneur who is initiating a change in culinary cuisine. This entrepreneur is argued to have a high reputation based on a valuation device. In addition, Byrkjeflot, Pedersen and Svejenova's study (2013) of how culinary innovation succeeded in one restaurant supported by entrepreneurial leaders touches upon two valuation devices accompanying this innovation.

Further studies do not only touch upon valuation devices in the realm of their research, but underline the importance of valuation devices in fine-dining. Referring to Parkhurst-Ferguson (1998, 2004) and in accordance with Karpik (2000, 2010), Gomez and Bouty (2011) state that valuation devices are important for fine-dining as they structure fine-dining, "making" fine-dining "dependent on" valuation devices (p. 927). Similarly, Lane (2013, 2014) identifies valuation devices as taste-makers in fine-dining, and states that valuation devices "shape our notion of what is legitimate taste" (2014, p. 3). Despite this importance, valuation devices in general are argued to have gained little attention in studies in the culinary field (Lane, 2013). If studies take valuation devices into account, they often focus on one single valuation device, which they identify as the most important, causing them to disregard the others (e.g. Bouty & Gomez, 2013; Bouty et al., 2015; Lane,

2011). There are, however, a few studies that take the multiplicity of valuation devices into account.

One of the few exceptions are the studies of reviews, i.e. Blank's (2007) case study on different forms of restaurant reviews, Mützel's (2015) study on the dynamics of reviews, and the already outlined study by Mellet and colleagues (2014). Similar to Karpik's judgment devices (2010), all three studies focus on judgment, but use a different notion: reviews. While Mellet and colleagues focus on the differences in reviews, Blank and Mützel point out that restaurant reviews shape, but are also shaped by, the culinary field and thus show a sort of interaction between the field and review. However, even while pointing such an interaction out, they do not further elaborate on how these relations unfold. Despite their rich insights, however, the authors do not take the different forms of valuation devices into account and focus only on reviews.

Taking different forms of devices into account, Lane (2013, 2014) as well as Christensen and Pedersen (2013), are a second exception. Lane first discusses three and later six different valuation devices, pointing out their different practices and their different influences as "taste-makers". Similarly, Christensen and Pedersen discuss two different valuation devices within fine-dining. They elaborate that these two valuations devise have different practices which leads to different outcomes of the two devices. As such, Lane and Christensen and Pedersen demonstrate the differences between the valuation devices that have led to different results in their valuations of the same restaurant. They both highlight the importance of taking the different valuation practices of the devices into account for the investigation of multiplicity of valuation devices. Even though they make a valuable contribution in analyzing the multiplicity of valuation devices, these studies lack an analysis of potential dynamics among a multiplicity of valuation devices. As such, both leave open how these devices might interrelate with each other as well as with fine-dining.

Finally, the argumentation that valuation devices play an important role for fine-dining restaurants and the conjecture that one valuation device is viewed as the most important for chefs (Bouty & Gomez, 2013) has not yet led to an investigation of how valuation devices are valued by chefs and restaurateurs. A remarkable exception to this is the

work by Lane (2014). In the previously outlined study, she bases her analysis of the differences in valuation devices on how interviewed fine-dining chefs perceive these devices. She is thus able to identify that valuation devices are valued quite differently from one another and that chefs differentiate between the devices. However, given her focus on identifying the role of devices as taste-makers, she does not investigate how the valuation of valuation devices unfolds, in particular, or what potential implications such valuation might have, both for the valuation devices and the chefs themselves.

Taken together, the studies within fine-dining point to the importance of valuation devices, as well as provide interesting points of reflections for this thesis. Blank (2007) and Mützel (2015), on the one hand, and Lane (2013, 2014) and Christensen and Pedersen (2013), on the other hand, make conflicting suggestions about the multiplicity of valuation devices. The former points to studying how the multiplicity of valuation devices shape and are shaped, and the latter suggests focusing on the different practices of the different valuation devices. Combining these studies, they point out potential wide-ranging implications that the multiplicity of valuation devices have, for the field, for the restaurants, and for the valuations themselves. Because they suggest these implications occur in different ways and for different actors, it is of particular interest how these implications of multiplicity are *valuated* by the various actors affected by these implications, i.e. in order to understand how these implications are affecting the various actors.

In order to analyze how these multiple valuation devices are valued, Bouty and Gomez (2013) point out that one particular valuation device is highly perceived by chefs. Lane's study (2014) agrees on the importance of this valuation device, but bases this conclusion on a distinct picture of how chefs perceive the role of different valuation devices as taste-makers. These studies therefore point out that chefs and restaurateurs do indeed value the different valuation devices; however, they lack a detailed analysis of the valuation of multiple valuation devices. Despite that, these studies provide an important starting point for this thesis, as they point towards the valuation of a number of valuation devices within a particular empirical context. It is therefore of interest to study such potential valuation within a different context, as well as to study the focus of the valuations of valuation



devices. Furthermore, both Bouty and Gomez and Lane only focus on the valuation of valuation devices by chefs, which raises the question of how other actors surrounding the valuation devices value these valuation devices.

In sum, studies within the culinary field have already suggested the importance of studying the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices and have provided a certain point of departure on which this thesis empirically builds upon. At this stage, it is important to state that, to my knowledge, none of the research conducted within fine-dining has been based on the theoretical understanding of valuation studies or studies of devices for their investigation of fine-dining. Instead, all the existing literature originates from different theoretical angles, but provides insights into valuation devices, upon which this thesis aims to build. The study of valuation devices in fine-dining is therefore relevant just as valuation studies within fine-dining marks a relevant contribution to the empirical field.

### **3.8. Theoretical assumptions and key concepts**

Overall, my research is sharing the pragmatist approach with valuation studies in the sense of Dewey (1939). As such, the thesis assumes that value is not an intrinsic quality, but instead shaped and created through processes of valuation (Dussage et al., 2015; Kornberger et al., 2015; Muniesa, 2011). The creation of value is hereby contingent within processes and practices of valuation (Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013). The focus is on valuation *practices* which both assess the value of, and produce the values of things. As such, it is not the object that is at the center, but the action.

This understanding is paired with the understanding of *device*. By device, I understand on the one side assemblages that combine different valuation practices within one entity and that *perform* the market in which it is embedded. As such, a device has and produces its own practices. Devices allow different forms to be brought under one notion. Hereby, the notion of device is used as an overarching term to capture all the different forms of devices, which previous research has described, such as ranking (e.g. Pollock & D'Adderio, 2012), review (e.g. Blank, 2007), or measure (e.g. Espeland & Sauder, 2007). It is important to point out that, in contrast to the recent application of the notion of device

along the understanding of Muniesa and colleagues (2007), I understand a valuation device not only in its material sense. Yes, I apply the material understanding of device, but I am not restricted to it. Instead, the person producing a valuation device is foregrounded in the sense of Karpik (2010) as well. Furthermore, reflecting back to valuation, the focus of the device is on its practices rather than its material objects. Finally, despite the inspiration of the notion of device from Muniesa and colleagues (2007), my understanding of device does not go into the wider described meaning of the notion within STS studies (see for example Erturk, Froud, Johal, Leaver, & Williams, 2013 for a discussion on the different understandings of device).

In sum, analytically, this thesis reinforces the notion of devices and conflates it with valuation studies in order to combine elements of them. I use the term *valuation device* as a central theoretical concept in the analysis of the thesis. This thesis applies this notion of *valuation device* to fine-dining in Copenhagen. In particular, I investigate how valuation devices are valued. In order to do so, I build upon the previously outlined conjectures of theoretical overlap between the two identified gaps within the studies of valuation and the studies of devices, i.e. the multiplicity of valuation devices and the valuation of valuation devices. Accordingly, I study how the multiplicity of valuation devices is valued by actors of the valued object, by other valuation devices, as well as by the newspaper media debate. In doing so, the intention of this thesis is to use the particular focus of investigating how valuation devices are valued in order to contribute to the overall understanding of valuation practices and to point out how this understanding might be influenced by the multiplicity of valuation devices. The following chapter investigates on *how* this is studied.

## 4. Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological choices in this thesis. First, this chapter states the ontological rooting of this thesis originating from its theoretical embedding within valuation studies, outlines the design of this research, and introduces the empirical setting within fine-dining. Following this, the data collection methods and the encompassing ethical considerations are presented. Moreover, this chapter points out how the collected data is used in the analysis of this thesis. Finally, the limitations of these methodological choices are reflected upon.

### 4.1. Meta-position

In line with its overall theoretical positioning within valuation studies, this thesis has a general pragmatist understanding of valuations (Dewey, 1939). As such, the thesis assumes that value is not an intrinsic quality, but instead shaped and created through processes of valuation (Dussage et al., 2015; Kornberger et al., 2015; Muniesa, 2011). The creation of value is hereby contingent upon the processes and practices of valuation (Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013). I build on the view that processes and practices of valuation are based on both the subjective as well as the collective experiences of individuals and my position is therefore related to social constructivism, which forms the ontological rooting of this thesis.

Having the same interest as social constructivism in the question of how reality is collectively constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), Kjellberg and Mallard (2013) argue that “it is widely acknowledged” (p. 15) that valuations are socially constructed. In line with this, I assume that value is a social construction in the sense that value is “the outcome of a process of social work and the result of a wide range of activities [...] that aim at making things valuable” (Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013, p. 6). However, depending on the “contingent circumstances” (p. 7), it is also possible that an objectivity of value is constructed. “What counts (and should be investigated as such) is what makes valuation solid or weak, meaningful or flawed, useful or useless in particular situations” (p. 7). Such objectified reality is assumed to be “the result of socially constructed interpretations”

(Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012, p. 26). With this in mind, the focus in this thesis is on understanding the meaning of the phenomenon of valuation in the context of fine-dining. To identify this, the data is analyzed in an interpretive way, which is elaborated upon in section 4.7.

Building on the social construction of value, this thesis assumes that subjects and objects, person and things, have not only one intrinsic value, but instead several values that are ascribed to them. These values can be “conflicting or not, overlapping or not, combine with each other, contradict each other” (Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013, p. 7). These values are attributed to the subject or object depending on the context. “All, or almost all, depends on the situation of valuation, its purpose, and its means” (p. 7). To formulate it differently, “things can be valued in an entirely different way in other circumstances” (p. 7). While these values are constructed in practices and processes of valuation, the *perception* of these practices and processes of valuations are constructed based on experiences of individuals. These experienced are then “discussed, accepted, shared, stated, worked out, classified, contested” (Hacking, 2000, p. 22).

## 4.2. Research design

Given the widespread and uncountable possibilities, it remains difficult to study the effects and implications of multiplicity. In order to overcome this, I have chosen to study ‘reversed valuation’, i.e. how the multiplicity of valuation devices is perceived and described from the other side, on the part of the valuated actors themselves, national newspaper media, as well as actors working for the different valuation devices. In doing so, the aim of this thesis is to identify how the multiplicity of valuation devices is valuated in fine-dining. Given the argumentation in the theoretical background that previous research has pointed towards different possible points of reflection for studying multiplicity but has failed to provide a detailed analysis of this, I choose an inductive and explorative approach (Stebbins, 2008). Exploratory research “refers to a broad-ranging, intentional, systematic data collection designed to maximize discovery of generalizations based on description and direct understanding of an area of social [...] life” (p. 327) and suggests the use of qualitative

data to fill this knowledge gap (Lee, 1998). In line with this, I collect three different kinds of qualitative data as primary sources, namely document studies, interviews and publications.

A document study can aid in the understanding of the particular context of the phenomenon being studied. According to Justesen and Mik-Meyer (2012), it can be assumed “that texts actively help shape the perception [...] and that the way a certain phenomenon is shaped is contingent” (p.127). In doing so, constructivist inspired studies may be conducted by analyzing how documents change over time (Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012, p. 128). This thesis analyzes the development of the published articles of one newspaper during the lifespan of one restaurant in Copenhagen. One restaurant is chosen for the purpose of allowing different valuation devices to be described by the newspaper over the whole lifespan of the restaurant.

Interviews are intended to “produce knowledge that illustrates the complexity, ambiguity and instability that characterize the social world” (Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012, p. 63) as well as to understand the “social phenomena [...] from the actors’ own perspectives” (p. 61). Accordingly, this thesis aims to determine how different actors perceive the multiplicity of valuation devices. By different actors, I am referring to both the valued objects, i.e. chefs and restaurateurs, as well as actors of valuation devices. Interviewing these different actors allows me to gain an understanding of the different perceptions of the phenomenon under study. The perceptions of the actors of valuation devices are supplemented with available publications of these valuation devices, allowing the juxtaposition of the statements made in the interviews with the written statements of the publications.

### **4.3. Research setting**

The primary data for this study are 424 newspaper articles, as well as 21 semi-structured, qualitative interviews, which are supplemented with publications from the various valuation devices over the last 15 years. The 424 newspaper articles represent all articles published by Berlingske, the second biggest Danish newspaper, about the Copenhagen-based restaurant Noma, from its opening in 2003 until today (2017). To collect these articles, I used the Danish newspaper database Infomedia with the search word “Noma” in the

beginning of the article<sup>7</sup>. These search criteria generated 424 articles, all of which I have read and analyzed. Berlingske was chosen due to its important role in the Danish culinary scene. Its primary food journalist, Søren Frank, is perceived as being one of the most knowledgeable and influential food writers of Denmark (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016; Interview expert Ben, 2015). In addition, from all Danish national newspapers, Berlingske (including the more populist subsidiary B.T.) has written more articles about Noma than any other Danish national newspaper<sup>8</sup>. As such, I understand these newspaper articles to represent the newspaper media debate around the restaurant Noma.

Moreover, I collected and read through publications from the different valuation devices. From the newspapers other than Berlingske, I read through the published reviews in the last year, in order to gain a sense of their work. For the selected food bloggers<sup>9</sup>, I read through their recent reviews of Danish restaurants and their descriptions of the overall culinary scene in the last year. For the Danish guides, i.e. Den Danske Spiseguide, the White Guide, as well as the Michelin Guide, I read through the publications from the last 15 years. Similarly, I looked through the 50 Best list since its opening in 2002. This data was utilized to gain first-hand information on the valuation practices of the different valuation devices.

Finally, the 21 interviews lasted between 35 minutes and two hours, with an average of 79.2 minutes per interview, and were held with 19 individuals from both sides of the valuation, i.e. both actors from restaurants, which are valued by the valuation devices, and actors from the valuation devices producing the valuation, as well as with experts in the field who have experience with both realms. Nine interviews with eight individuals are from the restaurant realm and include co-owners, head chefs and sous chefs of fine-dining restaurants in Copenhagen. Nine interviews with eight individuals are from the valuation

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<sup>7</sup> With the search specification “beginning of the article”, the tool outlines all articles in which the search word appears in the title, the sub-title or the introductory paragraph.

<sup>8</sup> Using the same search criteria for other national newspapers reveals 270 articles in Politiken, 205 in Børsen (including its subsidiaries Børsen Lørdag / Søndag and Børsen Tillæg), and 173 in Jyllands-Posten.

<sup>9</sup> As outlined in the empirical background, my interviewees have pointed out a selection of valuation devices in general and food bloggers in particular. Those were investigated.

device realm and encompass almost all of the mentioned groups of valuation devices, as well as different positions within the valuation devices, including journalists, editors, reviewers and managers from the different valuation devices. The remaining three interviews represent a more neutral perspective with different experts in the field having experience with both realms: One expert is a former chef and entrepreneur, one expert is a former chef and now consultant for restaurants and one expert is a professor who has done some of his research with restaurants around Europe. All but two interviews were recorded and transcribed in full length<sup>10</sup>.

All interviews were conducted at a location of the interviewee's choice, in order to ensure a safe environment for the interviewee. This also allowed me to get a personal impression of the work places of my interviewees, i.e. where valuation devices are manifested (for the restaurant realm) and produced (for the valuation devices realm). In particular, I had the chance to visit five restaurants in person in Copenhagen, Denmark and to get an impression of how restaurants "use" valuation devices visually, for example by putting up stickers or badges of the valuation devices somewhere in the restaurant. Similarly, I had the chance to visit the valuation devices' sites of the White Guide, a national newspapers and the 50 Best list, in Denmark, Finland and England where I was able to get an impression of their daily working routine. The remaining interviews took place at more neutral places beyond the working environment: four interviews took place at cafés or bistros in Denmark and Peru; two interviews took place at the interviewee's private house in Denmark; and two interviews were conducted on the phone. The reason why certain interviews were conducted beyond the Danish boundaries is the difficulty to get access to the interviews, which is unfolded further later in this chapter. Table 2 presents an overview of the interviews conducted.

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<sup>10</sup> At one interview, the recorder did not work and at another interview, the informal setting made the use of a recorder inappropriate.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Categorization</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Duration</i>
Marie <sup>11</sup>	Valuation	Newspaper Journalist	07-11-2014	Frederiksberg, Denmark	75 min
Søren	Valuation	White Guide Editor	27-05-2015	Copenhagen, Denmark	63 min
Sebastian	Valuation	Journalist // 50 Best chair	15-02-2016	Helsinki, Finland	82 min
Jannick	Valuation	Newspaper Journalist	15-03-2016	on phone	94 min
Lars	Valuation	50 Best list editor	22-03-2016	Crawley, England	109 min
Lena	Valuation	Event Manager	22-03 + 13-07-2016	Crawley, England // on phone	46 + 82 min
Thomas	Valuation	Journalist // 50 Best list chair	22-04-2016	Lima, Peru	70 min
Georg	Valuation	Newspaper Journalist	16-09-2016	Odense, Denmark	82 min
Jon	Restaurant	Rest. Owner and Chef	28-10-2015	Copenhagen, Denmark	66 min
Robert	Restaurant	Rest. Owner and Chef	02-12-2015	Copenhagen, Denmark	100 min
Mark	Restaurant	Chef and Rest. Owner	03-12-2015	Copenhagen, Denmark	103 min
Frederik	Restaurant	Chef	16-02-2016	Copenhagen, Denmark	74 min
Anna	Restaurant	Chef	24-02-2016	Copenhagen, Denmark	74 min

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<sup>11</sup> All names of interviewees were anonymized.



Per	Restaurant	Chef	24-02-2016	Copenhagen, Denmark	81 min
David	Restaurant	Chef and Rest. Owner	07-03 + 21-03- 2017	Copenhagen, Denmark	62 + 114 min
Rasmus	Restaurant	Rest. Owner	09-03-2016	Copenhagen, Denmark	65 min
Ben	Expert	Former chef and entrepreneur	22-04-2015	Frederiksberg, Denmark	35 min
Niels	Expert	Researcher	19-10-2015	Frederiksberg, Denmark	124 min
Chris	Expert	Former chef and consultant	16-09-2016	Årslev, Denmark	62 min

Table 2: Overview of interviews

#### 4.4. On the collection of interviews

The interviews were conducted between November 2014 and September 2016, were all semi-structured and were divided into five rounds. The first round of interviews, which consisted of four interviews with two experts and two actors of valuation devices, is characterized by an explorative character. Accordingly, the questions in this round were formulated very openly and broadly. These first four interviews were meant to map the phenomenon under study and to identify potential points of interest from the perspective of my interviewees.

The second round of interviews, which consisted of interviews with three chefs of Copenhagen-based fine-dining restaurants and one actor from a valuation device, is characterized by more specific questions about valuation devices and the interviewees' overall perceptions of them. The interviews with the chefs focused on how the interviewees perceive valuation devices in general. The interview with the actor of the valuation device focused on how he/she understands the role of devices in general, as well as his/her perception of the particular device for fine-dining in Copenhagen for which he/she works. From the first two rounds of interviews, I learned that chefs do not

distinguish between different valuation devices per se, but rather have certain groups of valuation devices to which they refer more broadly. For each of the groups, chefs and restaurants have the tendency to name just one valuation device out of the group, which then come to represent the whole group and their opinion about it.

The third round of interviews, which focused solely on the restaurant realm, consisted of five interviews with chefs and restaurateurs. Accordingly, I changed my interview guide, and rather than asking about all valuation devices, I asked about specific groups. This turned out to be successful, and my interviewees gave long and detailed responses about the different groups of valuation devices. Furthermore, this round of interviews was characterized by my broader understanding of the field, so that I was able to follow-up on specific and critical points the interviewees mentioned. I was therefore able to identify possible contradictions with previous interviewees, as well as go into more detail about these possible contradictions. Overall, these interviews were more specific and more focused on valuation devices, how they are perceived and what effects they have on restaurants.

Similar to the interviews in the third round of interviews with restaurant affiliates, in the fourth round of interviews, I focused only on interviews from the valuation device realm. Specifically, I interviewed four actors working with different valuation devices. I decided to narrow my approach and asked the actors of valuation devices questions more specific to their work, how they perceive the valuation device with which they work, as well as how they perceive other valuation devices. The questions were shaped by my previous findings, so that I could follow up on what the other interviewees had said. As such, their responses were challenged with statements from their publications and statements from interviewees of restaurants. Given the more tailored questions in round three and four, these two rounds were very insightful and provided many new and wide-ranging insights, which influenced the overall argument of the thesis.

The last round of interviews consisting of two interviews took place in September 2016. The purpose of this final round was intended to reconfirm and further nuance my preliminary findings resulting from the previous rounds. For this particular purpose, I

decided to conduct two interviews with actors that know the Copenhagen fine-dining scene very well from their own experience and expertise, but at the same time are somewhat distant to it. These interviewees are able to reflect on their experience without being fully involved in the current situation in Copenhagen. The two interviews were conducted in a very straightforward way: after a range of introductory questions about what the interviewees do and have done, I presented my preliminary findings to them and asked them comment on them. When presenting my findings to them, I chose a very soft and undetermined way of presenting and formulated them rather vaguely in order to give enough room for the interviewees to reflect upon them as openly and honestly as possible.

Throughout all rounds of interviews, I followed an iterative process. Accordingly, after each interview, I took notes and thought about elements that went particularly well, as well as aspects that I would need to improve to make the next interview better. The development can be seen in the interview guides that were used for each interview. The interview guides for the first round, as well as for the last round, are in the appendix to this thesis in order to exemplify the adjustments along the course of the interviews. Also, I developed a more refined language for how to talk about the field and let the interviewees speak about things. In line with Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), who highlight the importance of using the “everyday language of the interviewees” (p. 158) when interviewing, I gradually learned the everyday language and adapted accordingly. For example, I figured out that it makes a big difference, if I use the word “reviews” or “guides”. For these two words, chefs and restaurateurs understand very particular things, namely newspapers to be “reviews” and the Michelin to be “the guide”. However, when using “ranking” and “ratings”, my interviewees tended to understand a wider set of valuation devices. Using the word “valuation” or “device” proved to be less understandable, and chefs always asked what I meant by this. Valuation and device are words that can be used to describe concepts theoretically, but which do not translate into the empirical context at all. Through this interview process, I learned that there is no single word that encompasses all the valuation devices present in the field, and I needed to go through all the different groups of valuation devices in the interviews in order to ensure I covered them all.

#### **4.4.1. Elite interviewing**

My interviewees can be identified as elites, “who are leaders or experts in a community, usually in powerful positions” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 171). Brinkmann and Kvale underline the importance that the interviewer should be “knowledgeable about the topic of concern and master the technical language” (p. 171). Even though I prepared for the interviews, I struggled to overcome the “power asymmetry of the interview situation” (p. 171), particularly in the first two rounds of interviews. This asymmetry was especially apparent in the interviews with the two experts in the first round and the interviews with chefs in the second round. For example, in the interview with Robert, the interviewee was constantly correcting the way I asked the questions and emphasized that I needed to formulate questions differently. However, after gaining more knowledge about the topic, I was able to conduct the interviews in a way that caused my interviewees to perceive me as “an interesting conversation partner” (p. 171). From the third round of interviews onwards, the interviews turned out to be more a conversation than an interview and revealed new and interesting insights into the topic.

The peculiarity of interviewing elites is also manifested in the difficulty of getting access to interview data, as also emphasized by Hertz and Imber (1995). This holds true for both the interviews with chefs and restaurateurs and the interviews with actors of the valuation devices. My accounts of these difficulties are presented in the following. Even though the data collection took time, it had the advantage that it allowed me to constantly reflect upon the topic and develop my interview questions further in an iterative way. For example, while identifying certain patterns throughout the different rounds of interviews, I was able to analyze these patterns and focus on these aspects in the following interviews.

#### **4.4.2. Chefs and restaurateurs**

To give the reader an idea about how difficult it is to gain access to chefs and restaurateurs, I describe several failed attempts to secure interviews, even with a reputable reference. My first interview, for example, took place in the beginning of November 2014 with journalist Marie, with whom I got in touch through a PhD colleague at my department. In the interview, she already indicated that it might be difficult to get in

contact with different actors within Copenhagen fine-dining, both from the restaurant and the valuation devices. However, she was happy to help me to get in touch with chefs and restaurateurs. Accordingly, she gave me the contact details of three managers of three fine-dining restaurants in Copenhagen to whom she had spoken before as a journalist. I approached these three persons via mail; however, only two of them answered me, stating that they would get back to me at a later stage – which they never did despite multiple follow-ups. In a second attempt to get in contact with fine-dining restaurants, I approached 15 restaurants in Copenhagen without any reference, asking for the possibility of an interview. From these 15 attempts, I either never received a response or the few (three) who responded wrote in a one-liner that they were not available for an interview.

Following this, I altered my contacting email. Rather than talking about “reviews, ratings and rankings”, I approached them asking for an interview about “culinary innovation”. Eventually, I was able to get in touch with one chef of a restaurant in Copenhagen who agreed to an interview. From then onwards, the overall process of getting in touch with interviewees in the restaurant realm was made easier by a snowballing effect. Except for the first interview with Jon, all interviewees from restaurants were approached through suggestions of chefs and restaurateurs that I have interviewed.

Even though this might bias the data collection from only a particular group of chefs and restaurateurs in the fine-dining (which I will further elaborate in the limitations), all interviewees recommended chefs and restaurateurs in different restaurants, which I would argue creates a more diverse picture, ranging from newly founded fine-dining restaurants with little valuations to restaurants that have been established in fine-dining in Copenhagen for many years and are valued many valuation devices. Furthermore, given the responses and the findings through these interviews, I am arguing that I have quite diverse interviews from the restaurant realm. Whereas all interviewees share the Copenhagen basis as well as the fine-dining aspiration of their cooking, the interviewees vary in age, nationality, education, time in the business, and role in the restaurant. Additionally, there is variation in the age of the restaurant for which they are working and the ownership of the restaurant.

#### 4.4.3. Actors of valuation devices

The aforementioned difficulty of getting in contact with chefs and restaurants also holds true for the actors of valuation devices, but was luckily less extreme. My general idea for approaching those working with valuation devices was to get in touch with at least one representative for each of the different groups of valuation devices that I had identified. However, right from the beginning, I was aware that actors of valuation devices are rather restrictive in agreeing to an interview, which is why I aimed to use a snowball strategy in this context as well to get in touch with the actors of different devices.

It took a couple of approaches, a recommendation from an interviewed expert and following-up with actors of the valuation devices, as they did not always respond to my emails, even though they had agreed upon and scheduled an interview, until I was able to schedule a first interview with an actor of a valuation device. From then on, the snowball approach unfolded, and I was recommended to a variety of further contacts after each interview. However, at some point, the possible new interviewees would be too far beyond the Danish context, which is why at some point, I decided to stop scheduling more interviews. Additionally, I was able to cover different types of valuation devices, such as national and international journalists, food bloggers, editors of Guides and the 50 Best list.

There is, however, one valuation device, with which I was unable to get a hold of an agent: it was not possible to get in touch with anyone from the Michelin Guide. Despite writing to different addresses several times, I only received emails like the following: “Unfortunately, I’m not the good contact since I’m in charge of Media relations, but I will forward your request to our communication department.” (E-Mail correspondence Samuelle Dorol, 13-12-2016). As such, I was transferred to many different contact persons within the Michelin organization, without one perceiving him- or herself responsible for my request or showing availability for an interview. Nonetheless, given the wide range of secondary sources that have researched the Michelin Guide, I would argue that for this valuation device, I nonetheless have a rather good impression.

In sum, the snowballing approach helped to move things along, and I was able to get in contact with the various actors working within the different groups of valuation devices.

The only exception was actors from the Michelin Guide. Therefore, I argue that from the valuation device realm, I have a good sample of experts and impressions representing almost all of the different groups of valuation devices.

#### **4.5. Secondary data**

In addition to the 21 listed primary interviews, I have also conducted eleven additional interviews with chefs and restaurateurs in Helsinki, Finland, Santiago de Chile, Chile, and Lima, Peru. Originally, I was considering using these interviews as a comparison to the Danish case. However, given the difficulty of arguing for comparability between these different countries, I decided that this would make the argumentation throughout this thesis rather incoherent, and as such not as strong as it would be by focusing on one particular context. In these countries, the spread of different valuation devices is very different, and so is the perception of these valuation devices. That being said, the eleven additional interviews support my findings, just within a different empirical context. These interviews revealed a similar, but not identical, argumentation about the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices that I present in this thesis based on the Danish context. Therefore, these eleven interviews are used to inform and back-up the analysis, but are not used or quoted per se in this thesis; instead they will be used in future work.

Interestingly, asking for an interview with chefs and restaurateurs in Finland, Chile and Peru was far easier than it was for the case of Denmark. All of my interview requests were answered after my first or, at the latest, second approach, and only a small minority responded that they did not have time for an interview or did not want to participate in an interview. Instead, the interviewees were very open and interested in participating in the study – so interested, that I received a variety of dinner invitations to some of the great restaurants in these countries. Not only these invitations, but also the open and friendly approach to my requests, indicated the openness, interest and appreciation for my study, for which I was really pleased. These invitations never happened in Denmark.

#### 4.6. Ethical considerations of interviewing

Throughout the process of collecting interview data, I was aware of ethical guidelines which were inspired by Brinkmann and Kvale (2015). First, whenever approaching my interviewees via email for the very first time, I informed them upfront about the academic purpose of the thesis, about the purpose of the interviews to gather information, as well as the voluntary nature of the interview. Before the interview started, I repeated the purpose and outlined the overall topic of the thesis. Furthermore, at the interview, I informed the interviewees about the procedures of this thesis, i.e. that it is part of a PhD thesis and that the end result will eventually be published as an academic written thesis. During the interview, I asked all participants if I could record the interview, and, if agreed upon as in almost all cases, I did so.

Second, in terms of confidentiality, I agreed with all interviewees that the name of the interviewee would remain anonymous within the publication and that both the interviews and the transcripts would remain confidential. At the same time, I informed them that I would not publish the whole interview and only use excerpts from its transcription. Through this process and the publication of the thesis, I intend that “the participants will not be disclosed” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 94). Based on this acknowledgement, my interviewees agreed that they may be cited anonymously within the thesis. Overall though, the explication of the confidentiality did “not matter much to the participants” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 93), and most just nodded or agreed without further questions.

Third, I claim that this thesis strictly adheres “to the scientific quality of the knowledge published” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 97). Accordingly, all findings are “as accurate and representative of the field of inquiry as possible” (p. 97). Also, the published results in this thesis are “checked and validated as fully as possible” (p. 97). For example, whenever I changed a certain part or a line of argumentation of the thesis based on feedback from my supervisors or colleagues, I always double-checked the relevant quotations and whether or not they still match the original meaning expressed in the overall context of the quotation in the interview. In sum, I am aware of the ethical issues arising from my



interviews, but am confident to say that this thesis follows ethical guidelines inspired by Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), and therefore handles the interview material ethically.

#### 4.7. Interpretation of text and interview

As a social constructivist thesis following an interpretative approach, the focus is on understanding the meaning of the phenomenon in a given context. In this way, I assume that “reality’ is *always already* interpreted. Thus data never come in the shape of pure drops from an original virgin source; they are always merged with theory at the very moment of their genesis” (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 17). In this way, “there are no such things as facts, pure and simple. All facts are from the outset facts selected from a universal context by the activities of our mind [...]. There are therefore always *interpreted* facts” (Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012, p. 21; citing Schutz & Natanson, 1962, p. 5). In this way, while I interpret all interviews and documents and use them for the analysis of this thesis, the data is assumed to already be interpreted by either the interviewee or the author of the documents.

Accordingly, my own interpretation of the interpreted facts is important to take into consideration. “What is interpreted is not ‘facts’ or ‘data’, but *text*. [...] Facts emerge from the text via a process of interpretation. They are *results*, not points of departure” (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 61). Accordingly, when interpreting the material, I focus on interpretations close to the empirical material. As Alvesson and Sköldberg state, in this way “the researcher allows the empirical material to inspire, develop and reshape theoretical ideas. It is thus not so much that objective data talk to the theory [...]; rather the theory allows the consideration of different meanings in empirical material” (p. 249 f.). Accordingly, I interpret the interview statements with the purpose of understanding the phenomenon under study from the interviewees’ or document authors’ own perspective and take them into consideration in the way these actors experience, describe and express them (Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012).

Despite my consideration, to interpret the interpretations as close as possible to the empirical material, “it must be emphasized that the researcher’s repertoire of

interpretations limits the possibility of making certain interpretations. The repertoire of interpretations means that certain interpretations are given priority, that others are possible but are not so readily emphasized, while yet others never even appear possible” (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 250). Accordingly, throughout the collection and interpretation of text and interview, by critically reflecting upon my preconditions, such as the interviewing of elites, I let these preconditions be transformed. In this way, my ambition is to illustrate the complexity, ambiguity and instability of the phenomenon under study (Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012, p. 63). As such, the picture presented by this thesis is much dependent upon two perspectives, the perspective of the interviewees and writers of the documents, and the perspective of the author.

#### **4.8. Data analysis**

Taking all methodological considerations into account, this thesis analyzes the collected material with three different approaches: a document study based on newspaper articles, an interview-based analysis with chefs and restaurateurs as well as actors working for the different valuation devices, and publications from these valuation devices to supplement the interviews with their respective actors. These three analyses were based on different approaches, but supplement each other in addressing the overall research question of the thesis. The three individual approaches are presented in the following.

Before doing so, it is important to emphasize that the initial focus of the thesis was *not only* on the valuation of valuation devices. The initial, rather broad, research question of this thesis was “How do multiple valuation devices shape and reflect changes in the culinary field in Denmark?” The broad focus was on the emergence of New Nordic Cuisine and how valuation devices can be argued to have influenced the development of it. This question has been the guiding question throughout the whole research process and in particular during the collection of data. Accordingly, the questions to my interviewees did not only focus on how valuation devices were perceived, but also on their impact on, and reflections of, changes in the culinary field. However, in line with the iterative approach outlined above, and the aspiration to keep interpretations as close as possible to the empirical material, the inductive data analysis led to a zooming in within the research.

Even though my data also indicates a possible shaping and reflecting of cuisine through the valuation devices, the statements made about valuation devices were more pressing and prominent. In particular, throughout the three analyses, I stayed as close as possible to the interpretations presented to me by the different actors. Following these allowed me to interpret my empirical material in a way that showed how valuation devices are *valuated* in the given context. Accordingly, I have delimited the research question due to the interpretive approach of this thesis, which the following outline shows.

#### **4.8.1. Analysis of newspapers**

In line with the preliminary research question, the initial purpose of the newspaper analysis was not only a description of the valuation devices, but also on the development of New Nordic Cuisine in Denmark. It aimed at identifying two elements: 1) the evolvement of valuation and their described way of working; 2) a description of the history of New Nordic Cuisine. For the latter, the idea was to take Noma as a representative frontrunner in New Nordic Cuisine. The inductive approach in this research, and my ambition to stay as close as possible to the interpretations shown in the empirical material, led me to start the analysis of the newspapers with five, rather broad questions in mind: 1) What is the focus of this article? 2) What aspect of the restaurant Noma is described in the article? 3) How is New Nordic Cuisine described in the articles? 4) Are there valuation devices mentioned in the article? 5) How are the mentioned valuation devices described by the author of the article?

The first question intended to distinguish between articles that focus on the restaurant Noma, articles that mention the restaurant but deal with it just in the periphery, and articles that mention but do not focus on the restaurant. In the analysis of these articles, articles fitting into this latter category were excluded from analysis. The second question intended to sort the articles by topic. For example, the aspect of Noma addressed in the article could be internal developments within the restaurant or a description of the restaurant through a valuation device. The third question intended to identify the prominence of New Nordic Cuisine as a concept throughout national newspapers. The fourth question intended to identify valuation devices that are deemed relevant by the newspaper. Finally,

the fifth question intended to categorize the description of these valuation devices in the newspaper media debate and to identify how the devices were deemed relevant.

Using these five questions, the newspaper articles were mapped and ordered chronologically, in line with a classification process within document studies (Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012). In addition, the newspaper articles were compared to a timeline, set up beforehand, of important events in the history of the restaurant Noma. This is in line with the overview by Byrkjeflot and colleagues (2013). With the mapping of the newspaper articles, it became apparent that there were only a few answers from the articles to some of the five analysis questions, whereas to others, the answers were much richer and more encompassing. For example, while New Nordic Cuisine was barely mentioned as a concept in the articles, and while it was seldom that the restaurant Noma was described in terms of its cooking or its menu, in almost all the articles analyzed, a valuation device was mentioned and described with regards to the restaurant Noma. In line with the inductive approach, and keeping the author's interpretations as close as possible to the empirical material, I decided to focus on the strong emphasis on valuation devices in the different articles for the analysis. This was further supported by the comparison to the above mentioned timeline, and in the discrepancy between the reporting and the happening of the events (see chapter 5 for further details).

Accordingly, I zoomed in on this aspect and continued to analyze the newspaper articles in a second step on *how* exactly the different valuation devices were described throughout the years of focus. I hereby analyzed the articles using the following questions: 1) *Which* valuation devices are described in the articles? 2) *How* are the mentioned valuation devices described? 3) *What* characteristics of the valuation device are foregrounded? Mapping all newspaper articles along these three questions in a chronological order then allowed me to identify a certain pattern through which valuation devices were foregrounded and emphasized, and through which valuation devices played a less strong role through the course of the years. Analyzing this, it became apparent that there is not only a description of the devices, but that there is a contextual judging of the different

aspects of the devices taking place. This eventually let me to interpret this as a valuation taking place in this context.

#### **4.8.2. Analysis of interviews**

In line with the author's interpretations as close as possible to the empirical material, the analyses of interviews focus on identifying a *meaning* expressed and attached to the phenomenon in focus. This focus is applied to both interview-based analyses, i.e. analyzing interviews with chefs and restaurateurs on the one hand, and actors from valuation devices on the other hand. Analyzing this data means "describing the world as it is experienced by the interviewees" (Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012, p. 23). Therefore, "it is necessary to listen to the explicit descriptions and to the meanings expressed, as well as to what is said 'between the lines'" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 33). I, therefore, very much focus on the responses of the interviewees.

In line with the overall inductive approach, I initially started both data analyses of the different interviews by coding each interview separately in line with "in vivo" words, phrases, terms or labels originating from my interviewees. At the start, the questions were not only related to how valuation devices are perceived. Both the questions by the interviewer and the responses by the interviewee were also about fine-dining in Denmark, the valuation devices' effects on the restaurants and the possible interrelations. These included how the valuation devices were perceived to shape and reflect change within Denmark, and how they were described with regards to New Nordic Cuisine. Accordingly, my coding started from a broader research question of how the valuation devices shaped and reflected change.

As such, I applied a first-order coding (Van Maanen, 1988), which allowed a first identification of relevant themes. I let the codes emerge out of the interview material leading to an inductive coding. Doing so, I clustered words, phrases and terms that were similar to each other. Hereby, codes were only incorporated if they were found across multiple informants (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). To systematize the coding, I used NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software. This helped me to be consistent with the analysis of the

interviews and to be able to follow up with possible overlapping between the different interviewees. Codes that only got responses from two or less interviewees were ignored, so the first initial coding encompassed a total of 13 codes, which table 3 gives an overview of.

#	Name	Description
1	Connection between devices and restaurants	Indications on how devices and restaurants are possible connected; forms of overlaps or cooperation.
2	New Nordic Cuisine	Start and development of New Nordic Cuisine, perception of how New Nordic Cuisine will develop in the future
3	Gastronomy and fine-dining in Denmark	Descriptions and impressions of Danish gastronomy; particularities
4a	Internals of The 50 Best Restaurant list	Descriptions from interviewees within the valuation device on how it works
4b	Internals of The White Guide	Descriptions from interviewees within the valuation device on how it works.
5	Metaphors	Metaphors used by interviewees to describe a certain aspect (mainly meant to use to illustrate a point)
6	Most important valuation devices in general	Perception of interviewees on what valuation device is the most important for Denmark
7	On valuing in general	Opinions on valuing and valuation devices
8a	Opinions on 'Newspapers'	Descriptions from interviewees on groups of valuation devices
8b	Opinions on 'Food Bloggers'	
8c	Opinions on 'Michelin Guide'	
8d	Opinions on 'The 50 Best'	
8e	Opinions on 'TripAdvisor'	
8f	Opinions on 'White Guide'	

9	Other things than devices that matter	Perceptions of interviewees that valuation devices might not be as important as I think
10	Power quotes	Quotes that I classify as a good and powerful description of a certain aspect
11	Trick the system / surprises	Descriptions of situations in which valuation devices were tricked / where the result of the valuation device was surprising
12	Multiplicity	Description of at least two valuation devices
13	Temporality	Description of a temporal dimension within & along valuation devices

Table 3: Overview of first-order codes

Based on this initial coding, I re-read each interview and each code, i.e. along and across each interview. Doing so, I was able to detect conceptual patterns within the interviews and codes. It became apparent that the quotations in each code about the different valuation devices were the longest; that these codes had the highest number of responses; and that the interviewees spoke the longest time within the interviews about the different valuation devices. Furthermore, I became aware that in almost all my interviews, whenever an interviewee spoke about one topic, for example New Nordic Cuisine, he or she tended to drift away from the initial topic and talk about valuation devices within the same response. Finally, when speaking about one (group of) valuation device(s), my interviewees often tended to also speak about another valuation device in the same response. In this way, valuation devices were the most prominent codes, and, throughout the responses to my questions, were foregrounded by my interviewees.

Triggered by this prominence of valuation devices, I focused on the codes of the different valuation devices (i.e. 'opinions on [valuation devices]', 'internals of [valuation devices]', 'connections between devices and restaurants' and 'multiplicity') for the further analysis in order to identify the specific and differentiated perceptions of the different valuation devices. It was apparent that the interviewees not only offered a description of the devices, but judged and evaluated different aspects of the devices. The valuation devices

themselves were subject to valuation. This is what eventually allowed me to interpret this as a valuation of valuation devices.

The remaining codes were either kept for contextual understanding or investigated for their focus on valuation devices. In particular, codes, such as 'fine-dining in Denmark' or 'New Nordic Cuisine' were kept, but not further utilized in the following analysis due to the particular focus of the thesis on the perception of valuation devices. Instead, they helped in understanding the overall context of fine-dining in Copenhagen. Codes, such as 'most important valuation devices', 'on valuing in general', 'trick the system', 'other things than devices that matter' and 'temporality' were eventually investigated on how they potentially complement the new focus of the thesis on valuation of valuation devices.

One strong focus in the further analysis of the valuation of valuation devices was the ambiguous answers of the interviewees. As indicated by Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p. 34), "the contradictions of interviewees [...] may be adequate reflections of objective contradictions in the world in which they live." I therefore put a particular focus on contradictions, specifically the contradictions by respondents on different valuation devices. These contradictions made the differing perceptions between the chefs and restaurateurs on the one hand, and the actors of the valuation devices on the other hand, particularly clear. Becoming aware of the different perceptions made me structure the analysis based on the different actors.

For the interviews with chefs and restaurateurs, I clustered the different valuation devices into groups of valuation devices. I analyzed how chefs and restaurateurs perceive the groups of different valuation devices. The expressed perceptions towards these groups of valuation devices are analyzed for each group individually. Similarly, for the interviews with actors of valuation devices, I analyzed how they describe the valuation devices they work for. I juxtapose the internal descriptions with the external perceptions. Based on this, I focus on how valuation devices and are described by actors of valuation devices. Additionally, I take the different roles of the interviewees into account and analyze how they perceive themselves as well as their counterparts in other valuation devices. These



interviews are supplemented by the different valuation device publications in order to support, but also contradict, the interpretations about their own valuation device.

#### **4.9. Methodological limitations**

The chosen analytical approaches for analyzing newspaper articles and interviews imply a certain prioritization, which is a tricky process. As I regard interesting statements that go beyond the scope of this thesis as irrelevant for this thesis, the analysis is biased by the researcher of this thesis. For the explorative character of this thesis, which had one particular focus to understand one particular phenomenon, the approaches chosen seems to be well suited, but nonetheless come with certain limitations.

First of all, the analysis of the 424 newspaper articles is based on articles from only one newspaper. While the analyzed newspaper Berlingske is described to be one of the most important national newspapers, it is only one of three important national papers. Therefore, it is possible that the analysis of the newspaper is not representative of the newspaper media in Denmark, but only that one particular perspective. Berlingske's articles target one particular group of readers that represent one political angle. As such, other national newspapers, such as Politiken or Børsen, represent a different opinion that might alter the presented newspaper media debate. Nevertheless, Berlingske is described as being the largest and most influential newspaper in terms of restaurant reviews in the country. Furthermore, with regards to Noma, other national newspapers are perceived to have a similar opinion about the restaurant (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015; Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016), thus making the difference in political orientation of newspapers less relevant.

Second, with nine interviews with chefs and restaurateurs of fine-dining restaurants in Copenhagen, there is a possibility that their reflections do not encompass all opinions within Copenhagen fine-dining, but only a sample of it. As outlined previously, there are in total 67 fine-dining restaurants in Copenhagen, which is why it is possible that there are more opinions about valuation devices than the ones presented in this thesis. Similarly, nine interviews with actors from valuation devices might not represent all reflections on

valuation devices. As there is an indefinite amount of valuation devices, it would be extremely difficult and time-intensive to identify all those valuation devices and adequately describe all opinions. However, for the purpose of describing a new phenomenon, Abbott (2004) states that nine interviews is valid to gain insights for a general understanding.

Third, the sample of interviews is biased. In total, I contacted more than 70 different actors, from which only a small fraction responded to the requests. The majority of those responding declined the interview due to the “delicate” topic. The remaining interviews thus likely have a particular interest in talking about this topic, which might bias their answers. These interviews also resulted from a snowballing strategy, which is why it is possible that the interviewees come from only one particular group of chefs and restaurateurs as well as actors of valuation devices, who know each other and are particularly interested in the topic. Nevertheless, as the results are many-faceted, and represent multiple opinions, and because the results match the opinions expressed by chefs and restaurateurs in Finland, Chile and Peru, I am confident to say that the interview sample is still valid and representative of the general opinion on this topic in the restaurant and valuation device communities.

Fourth, in line with the elite interviewing, it is questionable, if I, as an academic researcher, can ever be respected among the elites of chefs and restaurateurs. As chefs and restaurateurs perceive any kind of person without experience in the kitchen as less respectable when discussing the valuation of fine-dining food (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015; Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016), and because the topic is perceived to be rather delicate, it remains difficult to gain the respect of the interviewees in interviews of this nature (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). As such, it is also difficult to challenge the statements of the interviewees and provoke them in a way that could lead to new insights. Nonetheless, since the answers of chefs and restaurateurs were very open and direct, the power asymmetry between interviewer and interviewee seemed to matter less in the case of exploration, but might hinder further research within this topic.

Fifth, analyzing the data collected over the course of my research raised the question as to whether or not the study of perceptions of different actors can best be observed through interviews. In the interview situation, it is possible that the interviewee is influenced by the presence of the interviewer or the way in which the question is asked. As a result, the interviewees might be influenced in their answers about the different valuation devices within an interview situation with a stranger. Regardless, a qualitative approach for identifying a phenomenon suggests the use of interviews for gaining a basic understanding and broad insights into the topic (Abbott, 2004; Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Lee, 1998). Thus, I am aware of this possible influence in the analysis, but was able to gain insights into the phenomenon that otherwise would not have been possible.

Sixth, it is important to acknowledge a culinary effervescence in recent years. To use the words of one of my interviewees: “Food is our rock’n’roll, you know, it’s like food is for us what the Britball was for the late 90s; chefs are the new stars and people are so fascinated, then you have so many people shows” (Interview journalist and 50 Best chair Tomas, 2016). Food in general, and restaurants in particular, have become a prominent theme of interest for the wider public. This is represented not only by the increased use of ecological food, increasing diversity among restaurants, and the increasing number of food travelers, but also by the increasing number of food bloggers and valuation devices in general that write about and judge food and restaurants (Lane, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014). While this thesis on this topic is therefore within its time, the culinary effervescence can also lead to a biased picture and analysis. It can, for example, be asked if the increased number of valuation devices and the valuation of valuation devices is an outcome of this culinary effervescence and therefore only a side effect that will disappear in the future.

Seventh, even within this period of culinary effervescence, Noma as a restaurant and New Nordic Cuisine as a form of cuisine are both considered to be in a particular situation. Describing Noma as a “fairy tale”, Ben states that the development has gained a particularly strong momentum: “They [referring to the international media attention to Noma] loved the idea of a food desert one day becoming a great place [...]. So, from the very first moment, everybody has loved [...] the evolution of this simple idea that a poor

country, culinary wise, could become great, it is almost the American dream” (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015). The development of the restaurant Noma and the new food capital Copenhagen can both be considered as unique cases, both in the development of how the restaurant and the cuisine came about, and in its unusually strong public perception (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013). Accordingly, the generalizability of the analysis of the Copenhagen-centered valuation devices, and the actors in and around them, needs to be taken with caution, as they are central to this unique picture. It remains difficult to transfer the findings to another context. However, from the interviews with further actors within the culinary field outside Copenhagen in Denmark, which are only used for background information, it becomes apparent that there is a certain pattern and trend on how valuation devices are valued within fine-dining. In this way, while the particularity of the Copenhagen fine-dining influences the results, they nonetheless point to a wider trend within the valuation of fine-dining.

In conclusion, I am aware of the methodological limitations of this thesis and have tried to minimize their influence throughout the process. The newspaper analysis gives broad insights into the understanding of both fine-dining restaurants in Copenhagen in general and into the use of valuation devices in the newspaper media debate. Similarly, the interviews provide wide-ranging insights into how valuation devices are perceived. Furthermore, by asking critical and unexpected questions that I was able to develop along the course of the study, I was able to decrease the power asymmetry between interviewer and interviewee. The iterative adjustments of the interview questions after each round of interview made it possible to gain the most out of each interview, as it insured that each interview was individual and tailored to the actor in the field. Thus, I consider the chosen methods as valid and appropriate for the purpose of the study: revealing the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices.

## 5. Valuation Devices in Newspaper Media

Aiming to shed light on the phenomenon of how the multiplicity of valuation devices is valued from different perspectives, this first analytical chapter analyzes how the newspaper media in Denmark describe valuation devices. In order not to restrict the analysis to one particular valuation device and instead give room for different valuation devices, this chapter follows the development of one particular Danish restaurant and how, along its development, different valuation devices are described by Danish newspapers media. This approach allows me to investigate how the description of valuation devices changes, but also identify which valuation devices are described as more important than others. In line with this, it allows investigating the potential effects that these valuation devices have on the restaurants they value.

Even though the focus of this chapter is on how valuation devices are described and discussed in the newspaper media, it also investigates the prominence of these discussions in the newspaper media debate about restaurants. In order to demonstrate this prominence, the analysis expands its focus from just how these devices are described and discussed in relation to valuation devices to include any other themes that appear throughout the development of a restaurant that are not directly related to valuation devices. As such, I also analyze the role valuation devices play in the newspaper media debate of a restaurant *in comparison to* other non-valuation-related themes. The analysis thus presents all relevant themes throughout the debate of one restaurant.

Theoretically, this chapter is rooted in the findings and suggestions of previous research. First, for the purpose of studying the multiplicity of valuation devices, this chapter builds on the work of Mellet and colleagues (2014) who state that the multiplicity of valuation devices can be understood by all existing valuation devices as well as Orlikowski and Scott (2014) who argue for the importance of taking the difference in valuation devices into account. Orlikowski and Scott point out that both the processes and outcomes of their two observed valuation devices in the travel industry are rather drastically different from one another, if not complete opposites. Based on their analysis of these two valuation devices, they come

to the conclusion that “travel is performed differently” (p. 887) due to these two opposing valuation devices. Developing the idea further that two contrasting valuation devices have such strong implications raises the question of how such differences unfold when there are not only two, but multiple valuation devices which are different from each other. As such, this chapter follows the rather different valuation devices in the fine-dining field in Copenhagen and investigates, first, how to understand the multiplicity of valuation devices and, second, following the work of Orlikowski and Scott, what the implications of such a multiplicity of valuation devices might be for the field.

Second, for the purpose of studying the valuation of valuation devices, the studies of Scott and Orlikowski (2012), as well as Pollock and D’Adderio (2012), demonstrate that valuation of valuation devices might be different when explored from different perspectives. As such, these authors argue for the importance of taking different angles into consideration when studying phenomenon. While I have argued that previous research already has taken a first step towards investigating how valuation devices are valued by the valuated object, this chapter investigates how valuation devices are valued by the media. In doing so, it is possible to understand which valuation devices are deemed relevant.

Overall, this chapter provides an answer to the following question: *How do Danish newspaper media describe and discuss multiple valuation devices and their effects on the Copenhagen-based restaurant Noma and how do they, based on this, value the valuation devices?* In order to answer this question, this chapter first outlines the history of valuations of the restaurant Noma. Following this, my analysis outlines the newspaper media debate about the restaurant Noma throughout its history. Along this debate, this chapter investigates how valuation devices are valued in the newspaper media.

Empirically, this chapter focuses on the newspaper media debate surrounding the restaurant “Noma”. The restaurant Noma is the most famous Danish restaurant and is described as having changed how people understand and interact with the restaurant scene. Although Noma is likely not the most successful restaurant in terms of revenue and profit (Khaire & Corsi, 2014), in terms of national and international reputation, the

restaurant is argued to be the most influential restaurant in Copenhagen (Frank, 2015e). Giving its international reputation, Noma has been valued by all the different, in the empirical background listed valuation devices. In line with this, the restaurant is also the restaurant that launched the so-called New Nordic Cuisine (e.g. Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; Messeni Petruzzelli & Savino, 2014). As such, this new form of cuisine, as any new form of cuisine, gained strong attention by the newspaper media by valuation devices (Interview 50 Best list chair Tomas, 2016). This particular interest makes it possible to investigate the way the restaurant is discussed by the newspaper media. It is important to investigate a restaurant that has been valued by ideally all of the above outlined valuation devices. For example, while TripAdvisor includes all restaurants, the 2016 edition of the 50 Best list only includes three restaurants in Denmark, which limits the amount of possible restaurants that can be investigated. Before delving into the newspaper media debate, this chapter introduces the story of the restaurant Noma as presented by the valuation devices.

Studying the restaurant Noma is not new per se. Various studies have investigated different angles of the restaurant and the restaurant's success. Messeni, Petruzzelli and Savino (2014) study how Noma has successfully built upon its heritage within Danish cuisine and has recombined old ingredients in order to innovate Danish cuisine to become New Nordic Cuisine. Similarly, Byrkjeflot, Pedersen and Svejnova (2013) study how New Nordic Cuisine, which began with Noma, became a culinary innovation that diffused both regionally and internationally. Moreover, in a business-related context, the case study by Khaire and Corsi (2014) investigates how Noma became successful. Finally, Christensen and Pedersen (2013) use Noma as a case study to investigate how two valuation devices value the restaurant in different ways.

With the exception of Christensen and Pedersen (2013), however, it can be argued that these studies about Noma have only touched upon valuation devices in the periphery. The studies build upon the valuation success of Noma within the 50 Best list (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; Khaire & Corsi, 2014; Messeni Petruzzelli & Savino, 2014). However, these studies do not focus on how these valuation devices are related to the restaurant's success and

how the valuation devices as such are described. As previously stated, Christensen and Pedersen mark an exception to this and compare the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide based on how the actors of the restaurant “experience the two” valuation devices and their effects on the restaurant (p. 1). Building on this, the following analysis takes a step back and studies how valuation devices are generally described by the newspaper media and how they describe the role of valuation devices in relation to the restaurant Noma.

### **5.1. Overview: story of Noma as described by the valuation devices**

To give an overview of the restaurant Noma, this chapter introduces the restaurant. Rather than doing so in a conventional way, this section tells the story of Noma through the lens of the different valuation devices. To formulate it differently, I show the development of the restaurant along the different point of entries of the different valuation devices. This is done in order to point out how and when the different valuation devices have valued the restaurant. This is meant to give the reader an overview of the restaurant’s history with valuation devices before going into the particular newspaper media angle on the restaurant.

The restaurant Noma opened on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2003. The first review of the restaurant was published just one month later in the daily newspaper Berlingske, which gave a rating of five out of six stars and concluded that the restaurant lacked “the final perfectionistic sharpness” (Rasmussen, 2003). The other two big Danish national newspapers soon followed suit. Politiken gave four out of five chef’s hats concluding that Noma is “definitely one of our very best places to eat” in March 2004 (Brønnum Carlsen, 2004); Børsen concluded that it is “not too much to call the restaurant Noma a sensation” and that the restaurant’s food is “on the same level as the best you can find within the country” (Troelsø, 2004). In 2005, the restaurant had already received its first Michelin Star, less than 18 months after opening (Bjørn, 2005; Frank, 2005). In 2006, Noma was voted for the first time to be amongst the Top 50 Restaurants in the World, according to the Restaurant magazine, and was specifically ranked as number 33 in the world (“Restaurant Noma er nr. 33 i verden,” 2006). Later that year, other international newspapers began to write



about and review Noma, for example in the New York Times (Sherwood, 2006) and The Guardian (“Restaurants. Noma, Copenhagen,” 2006).

In 2007, Noma received its second Michelin star, and was at that point in time, the only restaurant in Copenhagen to have two Michelin stars (Frank, 2007a). The same year, the restaurant climbed in the rankings of the World’s 50 Best Restaurants list and was awarded the highest climber of that year, jumping to number 15 (Bjørn, 2007). In 2008, the Online Ranking TripAdvisor named Noma the best restaurant to dine in Europe (Lai, 2008). The same year, Noma climbed to number 10 on the 50 Best list.

In 2009, Noma continued its way up the list, becoming number 3, as well as being awarded the “chef’s choice”, indicating that the voting chefs in the list had voted Noma to be the best restaurant in the world. Consequently, in the following year, Noma became the best restaurant in the world for the first time, according to the 50 Best list. It kept this position the following 2 years. At the same time, international press praised New Nordic cuisine and the restaurant Noma to have influenced the whole industry (Moskin, 2011). In 2013, Noma moved down in the 50 Best list to become 2, just to take back the highest position the following year. Noma dropped to number 3 in the 50 Best list in 2015 and to number 5 in 2016, before the restaurant closed temporarily in the end of 2016.

While Noma’s image and reputation were developing as a result of the various valuation devices, the newspaper media debate surrounding the restaurant was also developing. With appearances in more international valuation devices, the restaurant also became increasingly international renowned. For example, after Noma was awarded 33<sup>rd</sup> best restaurant in the world according to the 50 Best list in 2006, international newspapers not only started to write about and recommend the restaurant (Sherwood, 2006), but also began referring to the restaurant as one of the “five famous things to come from Denmark” (“Restaurants. Noma, Copenhagen,” 2006), along with Hans Christian Andersen, bacon, Peter Schmeichel and Carlsberg. Similarly, a review by the Danish tourism agency in 2009 (when Noma was moving up the ladder to become number 3 in the world) indicated that there had been increasing attention surrounding food due to the increasing attention in the

restaurant Noma (Harmer Lassen, 2009). Inspired by Byrkjeflot and colleagues (2013)<sup>12</sup>, table 4 summaries the lifecycle of the restaurant Noma and the development of its valuations.

<b>Year</b>	<b><i>Lifecycle of Restaurant / Important Events</i></b>	<b><i>Valuation of Noma among selected valuations</i></b>
2003	Restaurant Noma opens in Copenhagen initiated by René Redzepi and Claus Meyer; co-chef Mads Refslund.	Valuation: Berlingske: 5 stars (out of 6)
2004	Redzepi and Meyer organize the New Nordic Symposium, draft and sign the “Manifesto for the New Nordic Kitchen”.	Valuation: Politiken: 4 hats (out of 5) Valuation: Børsen: 10,8 points (out of 13)
2005	Nordic Council of Ministers support New Nordic cuisine in the “New Nordic Food program” (NNF I); Co-chef Mads Refslund leaves the restaurant.	Valuation: Michelin Guide: 1 star
2006		Valuation: 50 Best list: #33 Valuation: Michelin Guide: 1 star Valuation: New York Times Valuation: The Guardian
2007	Creation of experimental kitchen “Nordic Food Lab”.	Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars Valuation: 50 Best list: #15 + “Highest Climber Award”

<sup>12</sup> While Byrkjeflot and colleagues (2013) has the timeline until 2010, this table continues it with information retrieved from Tishgaard (2015), Berlingske Tidende, and noma.dk.

2008		Valuation: TripAdvisor: “Best restaurant to dine in Europe” Valuation: 50 Best list: #10 Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars
2009	NNF I evaluated; study concludes that NNF can create wealth for Nordic countries – financial support for New Nordic Cuisine.	Valuation: 50 Best list: #3 + “Chef’s Choice Award” Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars
2010	René Redzepi publishes a cookbook.	Valuation: 50 Best list: #1 Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars
2011	Initiation of yearly Food Festival “MAD”	Valuation: 50 Best list: #1 Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars
2012	Noma moves, as a temporary pop-up restaurant, to London.	Valuation: 50 Best list: #1 Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars
2013	Claus Meyer sells the majority of his shares of the restaurant to an American investor and leaves; 63 diners become sick after eating at the restaurant.	Valuation: 50 Best list: #2 Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars
2014		Valuation: 50 Best list: #1 Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars
2015	Noma relocates, as a temporary pop-up restaurant, to Tokyo. Foundation of first sister restaurant “108”.	Valuation: 50 Best list: #3 Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars

2016	Noma moves, as a temporary pop-up restaurant, to Sydney. Noma closes the restaurant at its temporary location.	Valuation: 50 Best list: #5 Valuation: Michelin Guide: 2 stars
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Table 4: Timeline of major events of the restaurant Noma and valuations of the restaurant Noma (developed on the basis of Byrkjeflot et al., 2013)

## 5.2. Noma in the newspaper media

This section investigates in more detail the newspaper media debate surrounding Noma, and how in this debate the different valuation devices were described and discussed. This part of the analysis is based on a review of Danish newspapers writing about “Noma”. As specified in the methodology, I have read and analyzed all articles written about Noma by the second biggest Danish newspapers Berlingske between 2003 and 2017. A list of all these articles can be found in the appendix to this thesis. In sum, these articles are argued to represent the newspaper media debate around the restaurant Noma.

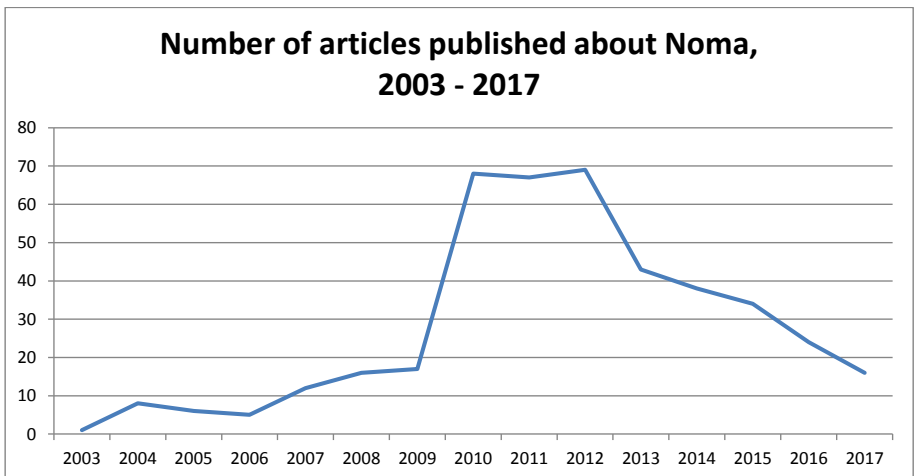


Table 5: Number of articles published about Noma by Berlingske by year, 2003 - 2017

This chapter is written chronologically, exploring the development of the restaurant Noma through the lens of the different articles written about it. All 424 articles are clustered into four different phases, which are differentiated by remarkable events in terms of the valuation of the restaurant. The first phase, referred to as the “early years” and lasting between 2003 and 2006, is characterized by a limited amount of valuations that express interest in the restaurant. The second phase, referred to as “way to the top” and lasting between 2007 and 2009, is initiated with the valuation of the Michelin Guide awarding a second star to the restaurant. In this phase, the debate surrounding Noma is slowly emerging and the restaurant gains more and more attention over time, which is reflected in an increasing amount of publications each year.

The third phase, referred to as “the peak” and lasting between 2010 and 2012, encompasses the first three years in which Noma was ranked as one of the best restaurants in the world according to the 50 Best list. In these years, the debate expanded and Noma received high attention in the newspaper media. This period is also characterized by the highest number of articles published about Noma each year. The fourth phase, the “aftermath”, lasting from 2013 onwards up until today (2017), is characterized by Noma’s drop from the top position in the 50 Best list. In this phase, the previously high attention slowly declined in the following years and the number of publications similarly and consistently decreased. For each of the four phases, the chapter analyzes both summarizes of the focused content of the different articles and analyzes how the valuation devices are described by Berlingske.

### **5.2.1. Early years: 2003-2006**

In the first phase of the newspaper media debate surrounding Noma from 2003 to 2006, a total of 20 articles were published in Berlingske, with a more or less constant number of publications per year. Table 6 shows the progression of the number of articles published each year during this period.

<i>Year</i>	2003	2004	2005	2006
<i>Amount of Articles</i>	1	8	6	5

Table 6: Number of articles published in Berlingske about Noma 2003-06

Overall, most of the articles written about Noma in the “early years” are either a valuation of the restaurant, i.e. a review that the newspaper had published about the restaurant, or referring to a valuation from other valuation devices. To be precise, the newspaper refers to two particular valuation devices: the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide. The remaining articles that are published in the “early years” are rather short press announcements describing activities by chefs of the restaurant (“Chef forlader Kokkeriet,” 2005; “NOMA har den bedste kok,” 2004), as well as describing that the restaurant had opened an inexpensive sister restaurant, which consequently has also been reviewed (“Billigudgave af Noma,” 2004; “Sol, sommer og god grillmad,” 2004).

With regards to its own valuation about the restaurant Noma in the phase “early years”, the newspaper published the first review shortly after the opening of the restaurant. The first review indicates that the value for the price of the restaurant is “recommendable”; however, the restaurant lacks the “perfectionist sharpness” (Rasmussen, 2003)<sup>13</sup>. As such, the review is slightly critical of the restaurant and does not portrait the restaurant to be perfect.

With regards to the articles in relation to other valuation devices, the articles generally mention the restaurant Noma, rather than explicitly describe it. For example, in 2005, an article was published describing how many Michelin stars various Danish restaurants have received. In the article, Noma is mentioned in a small line (“It is also new that the Scandinavian fine-dining restaurant Noma on Christianshavn has received its first star”), whereas most of the article is dedicated to the restaurant Era Ora, which is described as “high class” (Bjørn, 2005). Similarly, the first time Noma appeared on the 50 Best list, the newspaper wrote a rather short piece, more like a press release, that “Denmark is again represented” in the 50 Best list (“Restaurant Noma er nr. 33 i verden,” 2006). It is worth

<sup>13</sup> All newspaper articles were published in Danish, so that the quotations cited in this thesis are all direct translation by the author.

noting that in these years the Michelin Guide was described as the “predominant” valuation device in the field (Bjørn, 2005; Frank, 2005, 2007a).

In sum, the newspaper media debate in the years 2003 to 2006 is characterized by a rather small interest in the restaurant. In other words, the interest in Noma was only in the context of a Danish restaurant achieving international recognition; it was written about as if Noma could have been any other Michelin-starred restaurant in Copenhagen. As such, whenever Noma is mentioned in one of the newspaper articles, this particular article is rather short (fewer than 80 words), or the section that describes Noma is very short.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that throughout these articles, there is a strong focus on valuations. On the one hand, the newspaper has its own valuation, expressed as reviews and ratings, of the restaurant. This valuation can be seen as a way to measure and gauge the interest of the newspaper in the restaurant. On the other hand, the majority of articles are published about the restaurant in combination with another valuation of the restaurant. This focus underlines the described relevance of valuation devices for a restaurant, at least from a newspaper media’s angle. To be precise, Berlingske tends to refer to one of two valuation devices whenever they write about Noma: The 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide.

### 5.2.2. Way to the top: 2007-2009

The second phase of the newspaper media debate about Noma is demarcated with the restaurant being awarded two Michelin stars. The number of articles in 2007 (12) also more than doubled in comparison to the year before (5). In line with this, the number of newspaper articles during this phase consistently increased from year to year, which can be seen in Table 7 below.

<i>Year</i>	2007	2008	2009
<i>Number of Articles</i>	12	16	17

Table 7: Number of articles published in Berlingske about Noma 2007-09

Similar to the phase “early years”, most of the articles about Noma are either a valuation of their own, i.e. a review that the newspaper published about the restaurant, or referring to a

valuation of other valuation devices. The newspaper continues to refer to two particular valuation devices: the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide. The few articles that deal with another topic were predominately published in conjunction with a Danish documentary about the apparently harsh leadership style at Noma in 2008. The newspaper published an opinioned article about the documentary, where Berlingske's editor-in-chief defends kitchen chef René Redzepi, stating he had "gained high recognition for his culinary skills at the restaurant Noma" (H. Christensen, 2008). He claims that the conclusion made in the documentary about him being a "cynical" boss is "the simple, and wrong" one (ibid.).

With regards to its own reviews of Noma, the newspaper published a second review about the restaurant. This review points out that the restaurant has developed since the first review of the newspaper. It marks a certain development of the way the restaurant is discussed. Reviewer Søren Frank praises the restaurant with the words "after such a meal [...] one is very happy to be Danish" (Frank, 2007b). In the same review, Frank justifies the first review, which Berlingske had published three and half years ago and had not the best valuation, with the words that it was critical "even though two of the city's most talented young chefs René Redzepi and Mads Refslund are behind the pot. At that point in time, the place's New Nordic Cuisine was still only in an experimental stage", which has changed to a degree now that with "at every single dish," they "hit the bull's eye" (ibid.).

As previously discussed, the majority of articles mention Noma only to point out that The Michelin Guide or the 50 Best list had published a valuation of the restaurant. Analyzing these articles, there are two interesting developments that occurred simultaneously through both of the valuation devices.

On the one side, in these articles mentioning Noma due to the valuation of the Michelin Guide or the 50 Best list, the prominence of Noma in these articles was increasing. For example, in 2007, when Noma received two Michelin stars for the first time, a long article was published in Berlingske about how Noma received its second star (Frank, 2007a). While the article is intended to describe the overall results of how many Michelin stars Danish restaurants have received, more than half of the article is dedicated to how Noma received it and how chef and restaurant owner René Redzepi reacted to Michelin stars.



This article discusses how the newspaper media debate surrounding Noma has evolved and makes the restaurant's descriptions a more central element of the article. Rather than being mentioned in just one line (as it was for example in the beginning phase), the restaurant marks more than half of the articles. As such, Noma has become the restaurant that is talked about more than any other restaurant within the newspaper.

Similarly, in articles describing the 50 Best list, the prominence of the restaurant within these articles is altering. As pointed out previously, the first time Noma appears on the 50 Best list in the first phase, the newspaper wrote a rather short piece, more like a press release, that "Denmark is again represented" in the 50 Best list ("Restaurant Noma er nr. 33 i verden," 2006). In the following years of the "way to the top", the length of the articles, as well as the enthusiasm for the restaurant Noma, was constantly increasing over the years between when Noma was climbing the 50 Best list to number 15 in 2007 ("Copenhagen has become a capital on the gastronomical map" (Bjørn, 2007)), number 10 in 2008 ("There have not been many, that have believed in that" (Frank, 2008c, 2008d)), and number 3 in 2009 ("sensational" (Frank, 2009b)). As indicated by the use of more enthusiastic and strong descriptions over the years, the success of the restaurant on the 50 Best list was accompanied by increased attention and stronger vocabulary by the newspaper.

On the other side, in the articles mentioning Noma because of the valuation in the Michelin Guide or the 50 Best list, the way these two valuation devices are described changed: Whereas in the previous phase, the Michelin Guide is described as being the "predominant" valuation device in the field (Bjørn, 2005; Frank, 2005, 2007a), over time, this describing adjective is dropped, especially from the time when the Michelin Guide was no longer described to promote the Nordic Countries properly (Bjørn, 2009; Frank, 2008b; "Stjerneregn i Holland," 2007). In particular, the fact that no Danish restaurant has been awarded three Michelin stars is not well received, leading Frank to first raise the question of whether this "is an adopted policy" and second to state that it gives the impression that "the Michelin Guide is very conservative and only rewards a few very classic French-oriented places in Copenhagen" (Frank, 2009a). When Noma was announced as the best

restaurant in the world, an opinionated article was published in Berlingske (Frank, 2010a) questioning the methods of the Michelin Guide. In this article, Frank states that, in his opinion, the Michelin Guide “looks differently on gastronomy than the rest of the world”. In the descriptions of the years between 2008 and 2009, Berlingske no longer used the word “predominate” when referring to the Michelin Guide.

In direct opposition to the controversial description of the Michelin Guide, the 50 Best list began being described with a more respected tone during this time period. In the first year that Noma was on the 50 Best list, characterizing words like predominate were not used to describe the list (“Restaurant Noma er nr. 33 i verden,” 2006). This term was added in 2007, when Noma was awarded the highest climber in the list (Bjørn, 2007). Interestingly, this was the same year in which the word was no longer used to describe the Michelin Guide.

In sum, the newspaper media debate in the years 2007 to 2009 shows an evolution of newspaper articles about the restaurant Noma. The number of articles was increasing, which indicated an increasing interest in the restaurant, which is arguably related to the better valuations that the restaurant was receiving at the time. In addition to the increasing number of articles written about Noma, the restaurant was taking on an increasingly central role in these articles. The increased interest in the restaurant goes hand-in-hand with the increase in valuations of the restaurant made by the newspaper, thus creating a way to measure and gauge the newspaper’s influence on the restaurant. The majority of articles published about the restaurant also refer to another valuation of the restaurant: The 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide. The description of the two valuation devices is changing: while the Michelin Guide was initially the “predominant” valuation device, this role in the newspaper articles began shifting to favor the 50 Best list over the course of Noma’s rising reputation. As such, valuation devices themselves are valued by the newspaper media.

This valuation of valuation devices is emphasized when taking the overall history of the restaurant into account. While other valuation devices have also written about the restaurant during this period of time (for example TripAdvisor awarded Noma the best

restaurant in Europe in 2008), the newspaper media describe these two valuation devices to be the most relevant ones for the restaurant. This selection of valuation devices to focus on in the newspaper media underlines the valuation of the valuation devices. Berlingske includes only a limited number of the different valuation devices, which are deemed interesting or relevant, while others are completely ignored. As such, the valuation devices themselves are valued, either directly in their description in the article or indirectly by not even being included by the newspaper media. Finally, the focus on valuations underlines the described relevance of valuation devices for a restaurant, at least from the newspaper media viewpoint. To formulate it differently, this strong focus on valuations demonstrates that valuation devices help define how this newspaper reports about a restaurant.

### 5.2.3. The peak: 2010-2012

Berlingske published a total of 65 articles about Noma from the founding of the restaurant until the year 2009. This same number of articles was published about Noma within less than a year in 2010, as well as in each of the following years of “the peak”, which the following table outlines.

<i>Year</i>	2010	2011	2012
<i>Number of Articles</i>	68	67	69

Table 8: Number of articles published in Berlingske about Noma 2010-12

This phase was initiated when Noma became the “world’s best restaurant” according to the 50 Best list. This event created a strong media attention in Danish newspapers, accounting for 18 articles in Berlingske that are directly linked to Noma becoming the number one restaurant in the world. In the two consecutive years, when Noma continued to be number one on the 50 World Restaurant list, the number of articles remained relatively stable, with 67 articles in 2011 and 69 in 2012. This high media interest is reflected in the distribution of the articles: from April 2010 until the end of 2012, there was at least one article published every singly month (in 2011 even two articles) citing Noma in the beginning of the article. These three years encompass the third phase where there was a peak in the newspaper media interest surrounding Noma.

Overall, these three years are defined by the restaurant being awarded the best restaurant in the world according to the 50 Best list. This valuation device has gained the highest attention by the newspaper media. Every year, there are a variety of different articles written about the 50 Best list, not only after the award itself (Frandsen, 2011; Nørgaard Larsen, 2012), but also prior to the event (e.g. Frank, 2012b). While “acknowledging” the 50 Best list (Nørgaard Larsen, 2012), these articles elaborate on what the title “best restaurant in the world” means. For example, the chief editor of the newspaper argues that the 50 Best list is equivalent to the Oscars for restaurants (H. Christensen, 2011). Similarly, as a consequence of Noma receiving its award as the best restaurant in the world for the third time, Berlingske concludes that “the best” in this case means having “the most exciting” food, which is meant to “provoke and push the boundaries” of cooking (Henrik Aagaard & Mostrup Jensen, 2012). By having this strong focus on the 50 Best list, the newspaper repeats, reinforces and, thus, amplifies the valuation made by the 50 Best list.

While the debate centered around the success of Noma on the 50 Best list, the Michelin Guide continued to receive ample press as well. In particular, the comparison between the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide is a point of discussion: “it looks strange that a restaurant that is celebrated as the best of the globe by 837 critics, chefs, restaurateurs and gastronomes worldwide only has two out of three stars”, causing critics to question, “if Michelin can continuously live without fully acknowledging this predominant position” (Frank, 2011a). Frank argues that “if Noma does not receive the third star this will look like a political manifestation from the guide and will confirm the old perception of a conservative guide, which values classical luxury higher than innovation and experience” (Frank, 2011a). In this way, the newspaper asserts a lower value of the Michelin Guide, which is argued to jeopardize fairness, objectivity and innovation in the case of its valuation of the restaurant Noma. Similarly, when the restaurant was awarded the best restaurant in the world for the second consecutive time, there was a longer article describing the success of the restaurant. In the very same article, it is mentioned that the restaurant still only has two Michelin stars, despite the multiple acknowledgements of it being the best restaurant in the world (Frandsen, 2011).

Throughout “the peak” three years of Noma, the description of the Michelin Guide was changing. In 2011, Berlingske journalist Rundager described the Michelin star(s) to be “the highest acknowledgement for restaurants” (Rundager, 2011), but also acknowledged that Noma “was cheated out of the recognition it deserved” by the Michelin Guide (Rundager, 2011). The newspaper media’s expectations for the third Michelin star were increasing in 2011; many journalists were even waiting in front of Noma in order to get a reaction the moment the Michelin Guide announced the stars for 2012 (Kragh-Schwarz, 2012). However, Noma did not gain a third Michelin star that year either. In consequence of this, Berlingske described that the third Michelin star is only of importance for the personality, “but commercially it is not so important” (Bjørn & Kragh-Schwarz, 2012). Changing the focus of attention, the biggest surprise of 2012 was the inclusion of many further restaurants in the Michelin Guide. This change was argued to “may mean that they are slightly more open towards a new style” (Kragh-Schwarz, 2012).

As in the phase “early years”, the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide also received the highest attention by the newspaper media during “the peak”. However, they were no longer the only valuation devices that were written about. Instead, the valuation of Noma in other valuation devices also began to be noticed, with references to Den Danske Spiseguide (Boserup, 2012; “Endnu en pris til verdens bedste Noma,” 2010), international newspapers (“KLIP OG NYHEDER FRA INTERNATIONALE MAGASINER,” 2010), with Time Magazine being a particularly prominent example (Koue, 2012), as well as the Online ranking TripAdvisor, which itself is described as a “recognized travel webpage” (Stubager, 2012). However, these articles remain rather short and also one-off, i.e. they were not followed up. As such, in line with the increased media attention surrounding the restaurant, other valuation devices gained attention by the newspaper media.

The increased media attention surrounding the restaurant as a result of the award in the 50 Best list is supported by an increase in the number of articles written about that restaurant that are *not* connected to another valuation device. While in the previous phase, most articles published by Berlingske were written in reaction to other valuations by other valuation devices, in this phase, an increasing number of articles published by Berlingske

in “the peak” are characterized by a more proactive way of reporting about the restaurant as such. In general, in “the peak”, more articles were published about what was going on within the restaurant, as well as its daily operations. These articles can be seen as an indication of the rising interest in the restaurant, demonstrating the readers’ interest in gaining insights into the restaurant. These articles therefore resemble a variety of topics within and around the restaurant and take different aspects about the restaurant into account. These more proactive articles can be clustered into six different general topics:

First, certain activities that Noma was doing are described: the organization of the MAD Foodcamp in 2011 (Bjørn, 2011b; Frank, 2011d); René Redzepi’s tour to London to make food during the Olympic Games (Hein Møller, 2012) or to Mexico for a special event in 2012 (Engstrøm, 2012); or that the test kitchen cooks for a hospital in a suburb of Copenhagen in order to show that it is possible to transfer New Nordic Cuisine onto a larger scale (Bagge, 2012; Ryberg Pedersen, 2012). Second, internal cooking processes and activities were reported, such as the foundation of the Nordic Food Lab (Jacobsen, 2012) or that Noma was trying out new products (even though they constantly do so) (“Noget i gære på Noma,” 2012). Third, certain suppliers of Noma are presented, such as the producer of the chinaware (Flyvbjerg, 2012a), and the vinegar producer (Skarum, 2013). Fourth, the financial situation of the restaurant is presented in each year (Johnsen, 2010; “Noma fordobler overskuddet,” 2013; “Noma tjener gode penge,” 2011). Fifth, in cooperation with the chef of Noma’s test kitchen, Torsten Vildgaard, Berlingske started to publish a series of recipes on New Nordic Cuisine for people to try in their everyday lives (Flyvbjerg, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2012b). Sixth, some articles were published on the activities of former Noma chefs, following where they are now and what restaurants they now cook for (Bjørn & Quass, 2011).

In addition, articles use Noma as synonymous for anything of high quality. Noma is even becoming a role model outside the realm of fine-dining, for example for the leadership style of René Redzepi (Ankersen, 2011), or for high-end clothing, with some designers hoping for success “if you could just turn Noma into clothes” (Pang, 2011). In line with this, Noma also received prizes for non-cooking activities, such as a designer award for the

restaurant (Søndergaard, 2010). Within the culinary field, Berlingske publishes a weekly restaurant review about a restaurant in Copenhagen. After Noma became number one on the 50 Best list, more and more of these restaurant reviews were directly compared to Noma. For example, the reviews describe the new restaurant as being “best Noma-style” (Frank, 2010b), that you go to a restaurant to “eat Noma-style” (Alfthan, 2011), that the restaurant is on a “very high level close to Noma” (Rasmussen, 2010), go to “small Noma” (Frank, 2011b) or “Noma light” (Frank, 2011c), with more and more reviews referring to Noma (Ellemann Höegh, 2011; Frank, 2012e; Rasmussen, 2011a, 2011b). Comparing Noma to other restaurants is particularly noteworthy, because in these restaurant reviews, there had normally been no reference to another restaurant, but rather the focus had been on describing the experience in the restaurant.

Finally, the newspaper media increasingly indicated that Noma and New Nordic Cuisine gained importance beyond Danish and Scandinavian boundaries. New Nordic Cuisine has been increasingly described as not being only “a Scandinavian May fly” (Bjørn, 2011a), but instead actually “a culinary current – or movement that could replace the molecular” (referring to the Spanish dominating cuisine with EIBulli) (Frank, 2012d). The cuisine could be “exported to Australia or to Mars”, concluding that there is no restaurant that “will not be able to profit from more regional and seasonal raw products” (Frank, 2012d). Accordingly, in another review conducted by Søren Frank about Noma, Frank concludes that Noma “writes world history every time - or at least in the recent Danish history” (Frank, 2012c).

Summing up the third phase of the newspaper media debate about Noma, it can be concluded that with the announcement of Noma as the best restaurant in the world, the newspaper media interest in the restaurant increased drastically. More and more internal activities and processes of and around the restaurant received attention in the national newspaper. In addition, Noma became a reference, not only for outstanding food, but also for other non-food items of high quality. The name of the restaurant itself became a sign of quality and of high standard in the newspaper media debate, which is exemplified by the name Noma being used in the reviews of other restaurants. Similarly, whenever writing about Noma in any of the articles, not only the name of the restaurant is used, but it is

almost always supplemented with the notion “world’s best”. In this way, the newspaper amplifies the valuation of one valuation device: the 50 Best list. In line with the rising interest in Noma, the interest in different valuation devices was also increasing in articles written about Noma. In these articles, a variety of other valuation devices were also named. However, two valuation devices have received the highest attention from the newspaper: the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list, thus reflecting the newspaper media interest in these two valuation devices in contrast to others.

#### 5.2.4. Aftermath: 2013-2017

The fourth phase of the newspaper media debate surrounding Noma began when the biggest hype about Noma started to slow down, after it began dropping from the top position on the 50 Best list and was thus no longer considered the best restaurant in the world. From 2013 onwards, the number of publications written about Noma gradually decreased. Table 9 gives an overview of the dropping numbers of articles published by Berlingske about the restaurant Noma between 2013 and 2017.

<i>Year</i>	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
<i>Number of Articles</i>	43	38	34	24	16

Table 9: Number of articles published in Berlingske about Noma 2013-17

Interestingly, it is possible to see a relationship between the publications about the 50 Best list in general and the overall media attention focused on Noma. In line with the dropping numbers of overall publications, the number of articles written about the 50 Best list also consistently began decreasing – despite a continuously positive description about the list that is the restaurant equivalent to “the Oscars” or the “Palms from Cannes” (Seeberg, 2013). For example, in 2013 and 2014, Berlingske published an article prior to the 50 Best award ceremony (Frank, 2013d, 2014b). In 2015, for the first time since 2010, there was no report prior to the award ceremony of the 50 Best list and no previous indication about the event at all. Instead, there is a rather short report stating that Noma had lost its number one spot in that year (Kaltoft Jensen, 2015). In 2016, there was no article at all about the 50 Best list or the positioning of Noma on that list. However, this development is of particular interest because in 2014, the restaurant had again been awarded the best



restaurant in the world. In contrast to “the peak”, this announcement did not lead to a marked increase in publications, but rather received minimal press from the newspaper. In that year, Noma was consistently described as the Danish “super restaurant” (Runøe Møller, 2014). In line with this decreased interest in the restaurant, Berlingske no longer wrote about Noma in relation to any valuation devices other than the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list.

While the frequency of reporting about the 50 Best list consistently fell until there was even no report about this list at all, the Michelin Guide has been reported about every year in more or less the same way, with continuous description prior to (e.g. “Noma og Geranium på trestjernet kurs,” 2015) and after the publication event. In 2013, Noma continued to be described as being “cheated for the third and ultimate star” for the third consecutive year (Frank, 2013a). This same critique repeated in 2014 (Frank, 2014a) and 2015 (Frank, 2015b). However, besides this critique in regards to Noma, the overall description of the Michelin Guide is changing. In 2014, the Michelin Guide was described in a more positive light as a result of a variety of new stars being awarded in the Nordic region (Damgaard, 2014). Similarly, in 2015, the Michelin Guide “finally” shifting its focus to Nordic cities was well recognized (Frank, 2015b); nonetheless, it was described as a disappointment that Michelin had “omitted to visit all restaurants outside the big cities” (Frank, 2015a). Finally, the restaurant Noma did not play any role in 2016, as it was argued that it would not make sense for the Michelin Guide to award a restaurant that was closing down by the end of that year with a third star (Frank, 2016a). Instead, the restaurant Geranium received three stars and was the first restaurant in Scandinavia to receive this honor. Giving three stars to a Danish restaurant was viewed as a great development for Denmark (Frank, 2016b), so that Michelin Guide was able to gain some of its earlier high valuation back.

The focus of the newspaper media in the “aftermath” continued moving away from the valuation devices. In line with what began in “the peak”, an increasing number of articles published by Berlingske are characterized by a more proactive way of reporting about the restaurant as such, rather than about the restaurant in relation to a valuation device.

Interestingly, two rather critical events for the restaurant gained strong media attention, in particular in comparison to the previous focus on valuation devices.

First, in the beginning of the year 2013, 63 persons (out of a total of 78 guests) got sick within five consecutive days because of acute gastroenteritis after they have eaten at Noma (Kjærside, 2013). There are two specific reports about this event in Berlingske: On the one side, the newspaper cites a report from the national hygiene agency ("Fødevarestyrelsen"), which points out certain flaws in the practices of the restaurant Noma, which led to the possible spread of the disease amongst guests. The late reaction to the spread of the disease, in particular, was criticized. On the other side, on the very same page on the very same day, another article was published with the subtitle "success," in which the newspaper states that this incident is "of course embarrassing for Noma, but this has no meaning for its chances in the fight for Michelin stars" (Steenggaard Nielsen, 2013). This article came to Noma's defense, arguing that it is "unbelievably difficult to administrate" all chefs in a kitchen (Steenggaard Nielsen, 2013). Following the hygiene incident, the national hygiene agency lowered its certification judgment about the restaurant – which was exemplified with a caricature by the newspaper (Hage, 2013).

Second, an introductory letter for new chefs coming to work at Noma, who mostly work for free at the restaurant, was cited by another newspaper. This letter states that if a chef crosses the internal guidelines of the restaurant, he or she will "get fired immediately" and his or her name will be "put on a black list, which is shared with other restaurants around the world" (Nielsen, 2013). Noma officially states that this has been a mistake and they will change this practice. In an opinionated article following this incident, the head of news of Berlingske states that in a letter like this, Noma "threatens its employers with their bread-and-butter". In this rather critical description, he acknowledges that the restaurant is "an essential piece in the picture of the "hip" Danish capital Copenhagen"; however, with such fame, "also comes duties", which Noma seems "to have forgotten" (Suppli Benson, 2013). While the first incident in 2013 with a number of sick customers was described to be just "a fly in the ointment" (Suppli Benson, 2013), the second incident is described more critically, indicating that the way the restaurant Noma is described was becoming more critical.

These two events mark a change in the way media represent the restaurant Noma. The articles in the newspaper placed strong attention on these two particular events. This is particularly noteworthy as these two events received even greater attention than any other event in the “aftermath”, including reporting about valuation devices. As such, articles in the “aftermath” built upon the described importance of the restaurant generated in the previous years and focused on rather critical and potentially influential events for the restaurant. To formulate it differently, rather than seeking to report about the restaurant’s achievements in valuation devices, the newspaper media focused its attention on more critical events happening within and around the restaurant.

This change in the way media represent the restaurant Noma, beyond its focus on valuation devices, endured through the “aftermath”. In this phase in general, further substantial activities, i.e. milestones of the restaurant, were reported: The year 2013 marks an additional special occasion in which the restaurant Noma turned 10 years old. Featuring this event, a series of articles were published with interviews with the founders René Redzepi (Frank, 2013h) and Claus Meyer (Frank, 2013j, 2013i). In addition, the newspaper published several articles describing certain critical events along the journey of Noma, such as events that lead to a different ownership structure of the restaurant (Frank, 2013h, 2013k; Lho Hansen, 2013). Furthermore, Noma’s temporary move to Japan in 2015, as well as its temporary move to Australia in 2016, (Kramer Schou, 2015) were reported. For the move to Australia, the Noma experience was elaborated upon in detail (Frank, 2015d), and further articles dealt with the lifestyle of Australia, as well as other restaurants in Sydney (Frank, 2016c, 2016d; Hansen, 2016). The move to Mexico in 2017 (“Noma skal lave bålmad i Mexico,” 2016), the foundation of the sister restaurant 108 (Frank, 2015g; Kramer Schou, 2015; Rasmussen, 2016), as well as the final announcement that Noma will close down at the end of 2016 (Frank, 2016e; “Noma lukker - og åbner,” 2015), were reported with a detailed article about the last night in the old Noma location (Frank, 2017a).

Similar to “the peak” years, Berlingske continued to write other restaurant reviews, using Noma as a reference, so that the restaurants were, for example, described as Noma’s

“new little brother” (Frank, 2013c). In these restaurant reviews, however, the links to the restaurant Noma itself became less specific than it had been in previous years. In these reviews, Noma is no longer used as an explicit reference. Instead, mentions of Noma were more implicit by indicating that the restaurant is owned or run by a former Noma chef (Frank, 2013b, 2013f, 2013g, 2014c, 2015c, 2015f). In line with the more distanced mentions of the restaurant, these reviews can be understood to indicate that there are also alternatives to Noma. Mentioning the link these chefs have to Noma is therefore used as a sign of quality. In line with this, an article called “where to go, if you cannot get a table at Noma” (Kramer Schou, 2014) explicitly reveals recommendable alternatives to Noma.

An aspect that gained strong attention in the years of “aftermath” is the description about the impact that the restaurant had on Denmark, as well as for the culinary world. For Denmark, the restaurant was described as playing an important role for Danish tourism (Hall, 2013). Copenhagen is recommended as a “must-do” destination in 2013 by the travel guide Lonely Planet due to New Nordic Cuisine (Gosch, 2012), and has also been argued to have become a “gastronomic destination” to visit (Frank, 2013d). Similarly, Noma is described to “have been able to develop the Danish and the Nordic gastronomy to a degree, so that Noma pulls a definite number of food tourists to Copenhagen” (Overgaard, 2014). As such, Noma is described as representing Denmark “in a noble way” and that Danes can simply be happy that Noma was Number 1 (Overgaard, 2014). This is also reflected in the touristic statistics: in an article citing the national tourism agency VisitDenmark, Noma is described as having a great impact on why tourists come to Denmark. The article states that about a third of the tourists coming to Denmark describe food as a reason to visit Denmark (“Noma lokker turister til,” 2014).

In addition to the touristic development, Noma has also been described as having impacted the overall restaurant industry. “Danes are way more interested in gourmet food than before” (Overgaard, 2015) because of Noma, which has helped restaurants all over the country: An analysis of the development of Danish industry after the financial crisis years found that out of all the Danish industries, the restaurant industry has improved the most. This improvement and development of the Danish restaurant industry is arguably a

result of the "Noma effect" (Deichgræber, 2015). This Noma effect not only led the industry to have an increase in the total amount of jobs, but restaurants also started to cook similarly to Noma. For example, an article about the Danish most travelled-to island Bornholm states that "many restaurants" on that island "have found out that the use of local quality "raw products" and "putting regional dishes [...] with a 'Noma twist' on the menu" is beneficial to their businesses (Betak, 2014).

With regards to the importance of Noma for the overall culinary field, it has been argued that there is a culinary movement going on based on New Nordic Cuisine and the restaurant Noma. Citing René Redzepi, an article states that like him, more and more people "started to think differently about how food is supposed to taste" (Frank, 2013d), implying that Noma has influenced the culinary field. While the recognition of the restaurant El Celler de Can Roca as the best restaurant in 2013 (and thus replacing Noma on the top of the list (Seeberg, 2013)) was not described as surprising because it was a step back into the modern, molecular gastronomy, the newspaper emphasized that New Nordic Cuisine, for which Noma stands, is the most promising cuisine "in the future". However, the "paradigm shift" to New Nordic Cuisine is still not in sight, but will come (Frank, 2013e). In response to an article by a British journalist stating that "nobody does like prepared carrots. Nobody", which points out that New Nordic Cuisine has run its course, Berlingske argued, against this pessimistic view, that New Nordic Cuisine is continuing to develop itself further with more diverse ingredients and more restaurants by former Noma chefs (Skarum & Frank, 2016). In sum, the newspaper indicates that the restaurant started "a gastronomic revolution, which has provided Copenhagen with one of the world's most interesting fine-dining scenes" (Frank, 2015e).

After the restaurant closed at its previous location in 2017, Berlingske wrote a final, opinionated article. Overall, the article praises the restaurant Noma for its achievements and its importance for Denmark, and, at the same time, states that the 50 Best is worth more than gaining more Michelin stars (Frank, 2017b). Combining the final statement of Søren Frank with the previous indication of the impact of Noma, this statement can be understood as a sort of streamlining of the Michelin Guide's role for Noma. As such, the

Michelin Guide is not important and instead, the highest achievement that a restaurant can get is within the 50 Best list. Accordingly, the statement can be understood as a final praising of the restaurant and its achievements.

In sum, the “aftermath” of the newspaper media debate about Noma was initiated with two major incidents of the restaurant. They were described in the media with significant coverage and caused, for the first time, a stronger media attention than any other event, including references to valuation devices. As such, it seemed as if the restaurant had lost some of its prior prestige through which it shone during “the peak”. Instead, alternatives to the restaurant were presented in reference to Noma, indicating that there is more than Noma in Copenhagen that is worth exploring. From 2013 onwards, the debate in the newspaper media can be characterized by a sort of “looking back” at the achievements of the restaurant. As such, the debate in the newspaper media focused mostly on the major events and milestones of the restaurant. However, the restaurant was acknowledged and highly revered for its impact on both Denmark’s food scene and the worldwide culinary focus that has been revolutionized through the restaurant. With regards to the valuation devices, the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list continue to be the two most prominent valuation devices which receive the most media attention.

### **5.3. Concluding discussion**

In following the development of the restaurant Noma through the Danish national newspaper Berlingske, this chapter has identified four phases in the development of the restaurant. Subsuming these four phases and comparing them to the life cycle and important events of the restaurant outlined in table 4, which is based upon Byrkjeflot and colleagues (2013), it becomes apparent that the reporting of the important events changed from reporting only a fraction of the important events, to including many more events than the ones identified in the table. In particular, during the phase of “early years” and “way to the top”, there are a number of events identified to be important, but that were not reported, such as the New Nordic Symposium, the Manifesto of the cuisine, and the NNF report. With the overall increasing interest in the restaurant in line with the increase of its valuation on the 50 Best list, in the phases “the peak” and “aftermath”, the newspaper

reported not only about everything in table 4 listed as important events, but also many more events during the development of the restaurant.

Rather than the newspaper being driven by these important events along the lifecycle of the restaurant, this chapter has identified the prominence of other valuation devices in the description of the restaurant by Berlingske. It was shown that most articles that Berlingske published about Noma throughout all four phases are published in connection with valuation devices and their valuation of the restaurant. The newspaper media interest in Noma increased when the restaurant was highly valued, in particular, by two valuation devices, i.e. the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list. Similarly, the newspaper media interest slowly began to diminish when Noma was no longer named the best restaurant in the world on the 50 Best list. In this way, it can be concluded that the in table 4 specified important events of the restaurant do not mark the overall interest of the newspaper, i.e. that events of the restaurant are not “news” for the newspaper worth reporting about. Instead, the development of the restaurant in other valuation devices demarcates the news of the restaurant. To formulate it differently, rather than reporting all sort of events and news, the newspaper defines in particular the news of the restaurant in connection with valuation devices and their valuation of the restaurant.

The chapter identified that valuation devices are not only referred to by the newspapers, but are also themselves valued through the newspaper articles, by encompassing the two elements of valuation in the form of evaluation and valorizing. Rather than “just” describing the valuation devices, they follow the different sub-processes that are part of these two elements, i.e. the valuation devices are selected, assessed, typified and arranged, and they are recognized and diffused by the newspaper (cf. Lamont, 2012). In this way, Berlingske follows the different sub-processes of valuation in line with the understanding of valuation by Lamont, which I have outlined in the theoretical background section.

First, throughout the history of the restaurant Noma in the newspaper articles, the *selection* of valuation devices develops in line with the overall media interest in the restaurant. From all existing valuation devices that value the restaurant Noma, only two

valuation devices are described continuously by the newspaper: the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide. While other valuation devices are indeed mentioned, this only happens in “the peak” phase, in which the media reports rather extensively about any activity or report of the restaurant. It can therefore be concluded that reporting about these valuation devices is caused by the newspaper media interest in the restaurant, rather than a valuation of other valuation devices. In contrast, the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list were reported about almost every year the restaurant Noma was included in the valuation of these two valuation devices. In this way, from all existing valuation devices, Berlingske only refer to a small number of valuation devices, while ignoring other devices completely. It can accordingly be stated that valuation devices are *assessed*. While the assessment is not made explicit in the newspaper, the analysis shows that the characteristics for the assessment of valuation devices are bound to how the restaurant Noma is (positively) promoted through a valuation device.

Second, in line with further sub-processes indicated by Lamont (2012), the two valuation devices that are described continuously by Berlingske, i.e. the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide, are *typified and arranged* (Lamont, 2012). Based on the assessment, valuation devices are typified into “predominant” valuation devices. The analysis shows that the typification of the two central valuation devices changed throughout the development of the restaurant Noma. In the “early years”, the Michelin Guide was described to be the “predominant” valuation device and gained consistently high media attention. However, the media attention in Denmark slowly, but gradually began moving towards focusing on the 50 Best list, which was praising Noma more and more. While the restaurant was climbing the ladder within the 50 Best list, this description of predominance of the 50 Best list was taking over in the newspaper. This typification of the two valuation devices is then arranged. The analysis has shown that the number of articles related to one of the two mentioned valuation devices alters.

Third, the two valuation devices are *recognized* and *diffused*. As Lamont (2012) points out how sub-processes can be intertwined, the sub-processes of valorization are closely bound to each other. By using the adjective “predominate” for one or the other valuation



devices, Berlingske recognizes the value of the two entities, in particular in comparison to the other. As one of the two valuation devices is described as predominant throughout the analyzed period of time, the value of them is constantly recognized and diffused by the newspaper. Furthermore, more implicitly, the description of the restaurant as the “world’s best restaurant” or the “Michelin-starred restaurant”, in particular in the “aftermath” phase, reproduces the position of the newspaper insofar as this reflects and diffuses the two dominant valuation devices in the opinion of the newspaper. Finally, an indication of the *recognition* of “others” can be seen in the increasing amount of articles written in connection with the increasing interest in the 50 Best list. Assuming that the newspaper writes articles on the basis of what they expect their readers wish to read, the increase in articles can be seen as a sign of the recognition of the produced value of the valuation devices by the readership of the newspaper.

In its description of Noma throughout its life cycle, Berlingske follows the sub-processes of selection, assessment, typification and arrangement, as well as recognition and diffusion. Even though some sub-processes are more explicit than others, all sub-processes are present throughout the articles of the newspaper. In this way, the newspaper both evaluates and valorizes other valuation devices within fine-dining. As such, this chapter has identified a valuation of valuation devices.

By taking the development of this valuation of valuation devices by the newspaper into account, it sheds new light on the set-up and constitution of the different sub-processes within the elements of evaluation and valorization over a period of time. It started with one specific point of valuation: in the beginning only one valuation device was in focus, but it evolved further. Given the predominance of the Michelin Guide before the start of Noma, in the “early years” phase, the selection of valuation devices was limited to this valuation device. The assessment and promotion of Noma influenced the valuation of the Michelin Guide as predominant. This set-up is the starting point for the further development of the valuation of valuation devices.

With the entrance of Noma onto the 50 Best list, the picture changed. As it can be assumed that the newspaper observes the 50 Best list on an ongoing basis, marked by

the short notice that the restaurant entered the list as number 33 (“Restaurant Noma er nr. 33 i verden,” 2006), it can be argued that with the entrance of Noma onto the list, the newspaper started to assess the 50 Best list with the same criteria as the Michelin Guide. As the restaurant Noma goes up on the list, the (positive) *assessment* of the 50 Best list influences the *selection* of which valuation devices are deemed relevant to report about – and the 50 Best list became part of the selected valuation devices. Going further, the very same sub-process of *assessment* influenced the *typification* of the valuation devices, as the altering of the description of “predominance” of one or the other valuation devices shows. Both the *assessment* and the *typification* finally influence the *arrangement* process in the evaluation. This is represented by the increasing number of articles published in relation to one or the other valuation device.

At the same time, the outcome of the overall process of evaluation, with the sub-processes of selection, assessment, typification and arrangement, leads to valorization. Based on the ongoing evaluation, it is possible for the two sub-processes of *recognition* and *diffusion* to unfold. Rather than just being present right from the beginning, the two sub-processes emerge throughout the phases of “the peak” and the “aftermath”, as the increased use of “best restaurant in the world” or “Michelin Guide restaurant” shows. As such, the evaluation can be seen as a precondition for the valorization of the valuation devices. Furthermore, the different sub-processes within the evaluation interact with each other and influence the result of each of the different sub-processes. This means that the different sub-processes along the two elements of evaluation and valorization (Lamont, 2012; Vatin, 2013) do not simply co-exist, but build upon and interact with each other.

To sum up, this chapter has done the groundwork for further investigations. On the one hand, it has shown how evaluation and valorization constitute each other. Further analysis is needed to delve deeper into the two elements of valuation, and the following chapters elaborate on it. On the other hand, it is worth taking into account the observation by Lane (2014) that rather than dictate, newspapers disseminate already existing trends (p. 308) and of Mützel (2015) that newspapers mirror existing behavior within fine-dining (p. 150). As such, the valuation of valuation devices through the Berlingske example raises the

question of a further spread of such a valuation *of* valuation devices by other actors within the field, may it be by the restaurants themselves or by other valuation devices. Accordingly, this thesis follows these indications by Lane and Mützel and, in the following chapters, elaborates on further possible forms of valuation *of* valuation devices.

The findings of this chapter shed new light on the understanding of multiplicity of valuation devices, the valuation of valuation devices, and on to previous fine-dining research. First, through the sub-processes of selection, it becomes apparent that not all valuation devices are taken into account. This implies that rather than taking the multiplicity of valuation devices in its entirety into account, the newspaper narrows it down. This is in contrast to the argument of Mellet and colleagues (2014), that specify that the multiplicity of valuation devices encompass all existing valuation devices. Rather than the entirety of all valuation devices as claimed for by Mellet and colleagues, this chapter identifies that the newspaper media limits their focus to two valuation devices.

Second, the analysis identifies that the two sub-processes assessment and typification of valuation devices is based on the results and outcomes of the different valuation devices. This finding both supports and adds to the argument of Orlikowski and Scott (2014). On the one hand, in line with Orlikowski and Scott, the newspaper media takes the differences of the different valuation devices into account. On the other hand, although Orlikowski and Scott emphasize that valuation *practices* are the basis for these differences, the newspaper media focuses on the *results* of these practices. In the newspaper media, the eventual result of any valuation device is important and influences how a valuation device is described.

Finally, in the light of fine-dining research, the development of the substance of Noma's presence in the media is interesting. In particular in the aftermath phase, there was a strong focus on how Noma was described as influential in terms of cuisine, in terms of gastronomic development and in terms of bringing tourists to Denmark. As such, while the media hype had slowed down, the newspaper media interest in the success of Noma increased and continued to indicate its importance. Based on this, it is possible to conclude that Noma's appearance as the number one restaurant on the 50 Best list for

three consecutive years led to the newspaper media's recognition of Noma as a successful restaurant, in the sense that its way of cooking, New Nordic Cuisine, had international influence and appreciation. As such, the 50 Best list can be argued to have influenced the newspaper media debate surrounding the restaurant. It has played an important role for the restaurant and the development of the cuisine, making it internationally renowned.

In this way, this chapter has contributed to research within fine-dining. In particular, it has added insights and expertise to studies that have focused on the restaurant Noma. While previous studies have argued that the reinvention of old components made the innovation of New Nordic Cuisine successful (Messeni Petruzzelli & Savino, 2014) and that the invitation for any restaurant to participate as well as the organized dissemination made the cuisine successful (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013), the newspaper media analyzed in this chapter indicates that the 50 Best list is an essential reason for its success as well. As such, this analysis has revealed that the media describes another reason for the success of the restaurant Noma.

## 6. Inverted Valuation

As the previous analysis chapter has shown, valuation devices not only value restaurants, but they themselves are also subject to valuation. They are valued by the newspaper media, either directly in the reference to them in the articles, or indirectly by not even being mentioned in the newspaper media. This chapter continues with the valuation of valuation devices, but takes a different angle. It focuses on how valuation devices are valued by the valuated object, by chefs and restaurateurs. Following the finding of the previous chapter, that the valuation of valuation devices is different, but nonetheless related to the original understanding of valuation, this chapter theoretically investigates the different sub-processes of evaluation, i.e. selection, assessment, typification, and arrangement, and of valorization, i.e. recognition and diffusion (Lamont, 2012) within the valuation of valuation devices by the valuated object.

As outlined in the theoretical background, there is little research on the valuation of valuation devices by the valuated objects themselves. As Mellet and colleagues (2014) suggest, “future work could therefore study how the restaurant owners and managers themselves [...] welcome and appropriate these new valuation devices” (p. 39). This chapter follows this call, and follows the suggestion of investigating how the valuated objects *perceive* valuation devices. Accordingly, this chapter takes the perception of chefs and restaurateurs into account, thereby providing a new lens on valuation devices. In particular, I analyze valuation devices through the lens of the valuated objects, i.e. interviews with chefs from fine-dining restaurants in Copenhagen. Previous research has pointed out, but not investigated, this particular perception of valuation devices. The valuated object might “welcome and appropriate” new valuation devices (Mellet et al., 2014, p. 39), might have a nuanced weighting of effects and influences of the device (Scott & Orlikowski, 2012), but valuation devices might also be “widely resented” (Sauder & Espeland, 2009, p. 68) by the valuated objects.

In Sauder and Espeland’s (2009) study of a law school ranking, the device gained more and more importance, which eventually led to the silencing of the initial resentment. It is

worth noting, that the situation of Sauder and Espeland's valuation device is rather specific: the valuation device is the only one in their study, but is also described as the dominating one in this field (Parloff, 1998). It is therefore open for investigation, if a multiplicity of valuation devices might lead to a different development of resentment or acceptance of valuation devices. After all, Mellet and colleagues (2014) remind us that the "pluralization of valuation devices [...] does not [...] automatically imply a greater demand (more customers) for restaurant owners" (p. 38).

The valuation of valuation devices is, however, particularly interesting in the case of a multiplicity of valuation devices. As pointed out in the theoretical background, multiple valuation devices imply different valuation practices (Orlikowski & Scott, 2014). These different practices lead to different results in valuation. These practices, it is argued, make a substantial difference on the effects these valuations have on the valuated object. The very same valuated objects might be valuated (substantially) different by different valuation devices and so, for example, be highly recommended by one device and strongly disregarded by another. From this perspective, it becomes particularly interesting how these differences are recognized by the valuated objects and how they assess these different valuations upon them. It is interesting to see on what basis the valuated objects differentiate between the valuation devices and how the different practices of the devices are taken into consideration. This furthermore allows an understanding of the implications of the multiplicity of valuation devices for the valuated objects.

Consequently, this chapter gives an answer to the question: *How do chefs and restaurateurs in Copenhagen restaurants perceive and value the multiplicity of valuation devices and what assessment criteria are implicitly implied in this valuation?* In order to answer this question, this chapter first outlines how chefs and restaurateurs perceive and evaluate different valuation devices. Based on these findings, my analysis elaborates on the assessment criteria on which this inverted valuation is based. Finally, following these assessment criteria, the analysis outlines how chefs and restaurateurs valorize valuation devices.

Before going into the analysis of how the multiplicity of valuation devices is perceived within Copenhagen fine-dining, it is worthwhile to summarize how empirical studies about fine-dining have positioned the different valuation devices. As pointed out in the theory chapter, Bouty, Gomez and Godard-Drucker (2015) focus on one valuation device, the Michelin Guide, and argue that the Michelin Guide has a dominant position amongst the valuation devices. Lane (2013, 2014) comes to a similar conclusion, but compares the Michelin Guide to other valuation devices in a British and German context. As such, she identifies “two major contemporary gastronomic guides” (2014, p. 299) as the strongest competitors for the Michelin Guide. She takes the 50 Best list, newspapers and food bloggers into account, but identifies major flaws among these. She bases her argumentation to some extent on interviews with chefs, in this way providing a potential point of reflection.

In contrast to Bouty, Gomez and Godard-Drucker (2015) and Lane (2013, 2014), who argue that the Michelin Guide is “the most influential” valuation device (2013, p. 361), Christensen and Pedersen (2013) compare the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list and point out that both valuation devices provide a legitimate valuation, which is why both are “winners in the endless series of competition” (p. 18). While basing their study on the restaurant Noma, they provide an interesting point of departure for this thesis. Going beyond these two valuation devices, this chapter aims to identify how valuation devices are manifested among chefs and restaurateurs. Hereby, it is important to note that with the exception of Lane (2013, 2014), previous studies argue for a certain position of a valuation device, but such an argumentation does *not* come from the perception of actors within the field, i.e. chefs and restaurateurs. This makes the forthcoming analysis a particularly valuable contribution to the empirical context.

## 6.1. Before the valuation begins

*“I mean, there’s no doubt that they [valuation devices] mean quite a lot to us. To me.”* (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016)

This quote exemplifies the general opinion that the interviewed chefs and restaurateurs have about valuation devices: all valuation devices are perceived to be important for a

restaurant. However, when asking more in depth questions about these devices, it turns out that chefs and restaurateurs subsume all valuation devices under one category only for rhetorical responses. They barely cluster them into one overall category of “all valuation devices”. Instead, valuation devices are perceived to be distinct from each other and, to use the words of my interviews, “they’re quite separate” (Interview chef Anna, 2016). For chefs and restaurants, it is important to distinguish between the different valuation devices.

To be precise, my interviewees do not distinguish between the devices themselves, but rather between certain *groups* of valuation devices. When I name-dropped a few valuation devices in my question, my interviewees selectively picked on some of these valuation devices in their answers, while never touching upon others. For example, when asking about the different national newspapers, my interviewees mostly picked up on only one of them, which was mostly the one in which they were valued in one particular positive or negative way. The other newspapers are thereby not irrelevant for my interviewees, but they are perceived to be just like the other newspaper. Whenever one of my interviewees elaborated on one newspaper in particular, they perceived this newspaper to be a representative of this particular group. It does not really seem to matter for them, if they, for example, receive six stars from Børsen or five hats from Politiken<sup>14</sup> (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015; Interview restaurant owner and chef Robert, 2015).

This grouping of valuation devices goes for national newspapers, as well as international newspapers, food bloggers, online ratings and national food guides. There are, nonetheless, two valuation devices which are perceived to be distinct from the others: The World’s 50 Best Restaurants list and The Michelin Guide. All of my interviewees suggest looking onto The 50 Best list and The Michelin Guide individually, as an individual “group”.

In line with the classification of chefs and restaurateurs, for the following analysis valuation devices are clustered into the following groups: National Newspapers; International Newspapers; Food Bloggers; National Food Guides; The Michelin Guide; The World’s 50 Best Restaurants list. It is important to emphasize that the classification reflects the

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<sup>14</sup> Six stars in Børsen and five hats in Politken are both the highest possible rating a restaurant can get in the respective newspapers.



perception of chefs and restaurateurs. It can be argued that in this classification, some varieties of valuation devices are not expressed as explicitly as they could be, such as travel guide books (e.g. Lonely Planet) or national food magazines (e.g. Gastro), which have previously been argued to play an important role in reflecting trends (Mützel, 2015). Nonetheless, strictly following the perceptions of chefs and restaurateurs, this chapter identifies these seven groups of valuation devices to be the ones that are legitimate and credible, i.e. the ones that are perceived to matter for chefs and restaurateurs.

## 6.2. Reviewing the reviewer

Overall, chefs and restaurateurs of Copenhagen fine-dining restaurants describe valuation devices in relation to their own experience with these valuation devices. Based on this, they first differentiate valuation devices within the different groups into ones they deem legitimate and others, which they don't. Second, the legitimate valuation devices are described along three qualities. Third, based on the three qualities, my interviewees express their opinion about these valuation devices. The following list gives an overview of these three aspects.

1. *Differentiation*: Which valuation devices are deemed to be the most legitimate within this group and for which of them do chefs and restaurateurs have respect, rather than ignoring them (if applicable)?
2. *Qualities*:
  - a. *Perceived impact*: What kind of influence are these groups of valuation devices perceived to have (had) on restaurants?
  - b. *Measure of quality*: How is the inner workings, i.e. methods, of the group of valuation devices perceived?
  - c. How are groups of valuation devices perceived to integrate new elements of restaurants and cooking?
3. *Appreciation / Critique*: Throughout these three particular qualities of the different groups of valuation devices, my interviewees express their opinion about the groups of valuation devices, or to formulate more precisely, they point out both their

*appreciation* and their particular *critique* towards the different groups of valuation devices.

These three aspects are outlined by my interviewees for all of the groups of valuation devices. They make it possible to indicate the particular differences between the groups of valuation devices. Accordingly, in the next section, the perception of chefs and restaurateurs is presented along these three aspects.

### **6.2.1. Reviews in national newspapers**

#### **Differentiation**

When asking chefs and restaurateurs about Danish newspapers, they commonly refer to the three “big [...] classic” newspapers (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015), “those [that] are the important ones, the ones that you really look at” (Interview chef and owner David, 2016): Børsen, Politiken, and Berlingske. All my interviewees agree that in terms of newspaper reviews, these three are the most important newspapers, and chefs and restaurateurs “don’t care” about the “other ones” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016). As such, my interviewees selectively focus on these three. When referring to the three Danish newspapers, they also refer to the “three legends” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) writing the reviews for the newspapers: Ole Trolsø, Helle Brønnum and Søren Frank. These three people, it is argued, have “the knowledge behind that” and “the focus [...] on what is happening in food” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016).

#### **Qualities**

Despite this respect, the impact of newspapers reviews today is challenged by some of the interviewees:

*“I don’t think [Danish newspapers] are important anymore. [...] I would say food media in this country have a very short term effect.”* (Interview restaurant owner Mark, 2016)

Similarly, Rasmus states:

*“But er... [Having a positive valuation in a national newspaper] that was very important, especially Politiken and Berlingske; if you got a good review there, you would get a lot of guests. They had a lot of influence back then.”* (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016)

Both quotes above show that the importance of national newspaper reviews in today's restaurant world is seen by chefs and restaurateurs lower than it has been years ago. In line with this, another interviewed chef argues that this is making their role “less and less and less and less” (Interview chef Frederik, 2016) important for restaurants. The only exception to this are “cheap restaurants” (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015) and more local, non-international, restaurants (Interview journalist Thor, 2016), for which a newspaper review “can change their life” overnight (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015).

As for the way Danish newspapers reviews measure quality, they are perceived to be journalistic and to review the restaurants in a rather subjective way. Newspapers are perceived to be “entertaining” (Interview chef Frederik, 2016), focusing on a good way to tell the story rather than the actual experience. Furthermore, newspapers are not able “to see [new] things” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016), as “they just judge it on the same parameters as everything else” (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015). These fixed parameters mean that they are perceived as not being able to take innovative elements in the cuisine properly into account.

### **Appreciation and critique**

In line with this journalistic subjectivity, chefs and restaurateurs generally appreciate that their reviews “bring up the negatives in a constructive way” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016). As such, chefs and restaurateurs perceive themselves to be open to criticism and that national newspaper reviews are one legitimate source of this.

Nonetheless, many of the interviewed chefs and restaurateurs criticize newspaper reviews for not being objective, since they often don't “get it right” (Interview chef Frederik, 2016). Also, they are criticized for their one-off visits before reviewing a restaurant since “you cannot tell a restaurant by coming one night” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016).

Sharing his experience with one of the newspapers, restaurant owner and chef Jon illustrates the critical view of newspaper reviews.

*“[W]e had a review from them [name of one of the three most important Danish newspapers] in the very beginning, where I felt that they acted extremely unprofessionally when they were there. And what happened was that they gave us a pretty good review. In terms of stars, we got five out of six. But there were many mistakes and [...] I felt they were mafia methods of wanting to get wine for free. [...] I did not want to accept that after I worked in my sweat and tears for years. That I'm supposed to get judged by people using these methods, because they gave us a five out of six review, but [then] sort of played us down a little bit saying, oh even though they're trying and say it's cheap, it's actually a bit more expensive and a lot, a lot, a lot, of factual mistakes.”* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015)

Similar to the experience of chef Jon, restaurant owner Rasmus describes a “fight” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016) with a Danish newspaper, which he considered to be “very weird” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016). Looking upon the experiences of restaurant owner Rasmus and restaurant owner and chef Jon, it becomes apparent that the “mafia methods” by which some newspaper reviewers apparently try to get parts of the dinner for free are not well perceived within the restaurant scene in Denmark and increase the disrespect for newspapers applying these methods. The overall disrespect towards newspapers also has other aspects:

*“Because when you speak of innovation, the local food critics, they don't apply for anything. How can you not support people trying to do something different? I mean that must be the first job of the food critic. To say, there's something here. This needs time. This needs to be invested in. Try this! It's exciting! No, they come to the restaurant the first day you're open, the second day you're open and they just judge it on the same parameters as everything else, and there is no effort put into making it something special.”* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015)

Restaurant owner and chef Jon indicates that newspapers come in the very first night for their review, and lack an open mind for new, innovative restaurants. As for the former, chefs argued that they are “not ready the first week” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016), making it difficult for the restaurant to perform the way they want to (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016). Yet newspapers tend to come within the first week for

their review, which is seen in resulting in less fair reviews. In sum, certain restaurant owners and chefs “never felt that we got the acknowledgement and appreciation from the local critics” (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015).

<i>Val. device // Quality</i>	<i>Differentiation</i>	<i>Perceived impact</i>	<i>Measure of quality</i>	<i>New Things</i>	<i>Appreciation</i>	<i>Critique</i>
<b>Reviews in National newspapers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Three important ones</li> <li>- vs. “others”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Not important anymore, only short term effect</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on what is happening in the food</li> <li>- Along subjective opinion</li> <li>- Write a story, entertaining style</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Not able to see new things”</li> <li>- Lack of acknowledgment and appreciation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Write negative aspects in a constructive way</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Come in the first week, visit only once</li> <li>- Same parameters for all restaurants</li> <li>- Attempts at extortion</li> </ul>

Table 10: Overview of chefs’ and restaurateurs’ valuation of Danish newspapers

### 6.2.2. Reviews in International newspapers

#### Differentiation

*“Then there’s foreign papers, you know, if you get a good review in one of the big papers in like, the Telegraph or the Guardian or the New York Times or one of these, Le Monde, stuff like that, we’ve been in all of them; then you, you really feel an impact, yeah. In a very different scale and... and as long as it’s a serious newspaper... as for me, I tend to take them seriously.”* (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016)

Despite the geographical differences in the focus of the reviews of national and international newspapers, restaurateurs and chefs have a similar perception of international newspapers. They distinguish between “big papers” or “serious newspapers” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016) and “others” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016). Chefs and restaurateurs focus only upon the former and “take them seriously” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016). The named newspapers in this regard are The New York Times, the Guardian, the Telegraph and Le Monde.

## Qualities

These “serious” newspapers are argued to “really” have an impact “business-wise” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016). The internationality of these newspaper reviews comes into play:

*“I think the foreign diners are a huge [part within the overall number of guests.] There is a need for international press. Definitely. To sustain yourself as a restaurant.”* (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)

Chef and restaurant owner Mark describes the importance of the “international press”, because it attracts foreign guests that are “important for the business” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016). In general, the interviewed chefs and restaurateurs argue that international guests play an important role and make up an average of 70% of their guests (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2016).

Chefs and restaurateurs perceive these international newspapers to be knowledgeable and “quite thorough” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016). This distinguishes them from the national ones, since they visit a restaurant not only once, but “go out three times to the same restaurant to check it before they write a review” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016). For these reasons, my interviewees argue that they are “listening to them”, because they are “serious” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016).

## Appreciation and critique

Another distinction to the Danish national newspapers is in the selection of restaurants:

*“If they had a sh\*itty meal, they just don’t write that article. You know? And I kind of like that.”* (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016)

While the Danish newspapers are perceived to visit every single restaurant at the night of the opening, international newspapers are said to come at a phase at which the restaurants are more established. Additionally, they only write about the restaurant if they value it positively in an international comparison. This more positive approach to writing about a restaurant is appreciated by chefs and restaurateurs.

However, some of the negatively perceived practices of national newspapers are argued to also characterize international newspapers:

*“And there is this journalist last year from [an international newspaper], she sent an email, you know ‘I want to come see the restaurant. Write a piece on it. And I would like the media discount’. And I answer all these people personally [...]: ‘Thank you very much for your interest. Unfortunately we have a no-media comp policy, due to the fact that’ and I explain to them ‘I don’t think it’s the accurate perception if you don’t pay for the food’. This lady puts out on Twitter... she’s got like 20,000 followers so she, she has quite an influence... ‘No wonder [chef’s name] and [restaurant’s name] don’t have that much coverage in the [origin country of the newspaper] due to their non-media comp policy’. [...] So how can these people think that they’re going to write an accurate review and not pay for the food? And I tell them straight up. We probably get so much less press than we should, especially in [origin country of the newspaper], because we don’t comp anybody. It’s just a policy we have.” (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)*

The quote shows that similar to the Danish “mafia methods”, international newspapers sometimes ask for the “media discount”. In this way, International newspapers are similar to the national newspapers and this practice is disdained by chefs and restaurateurs.

In sum, international newspapers are seen as somewhat similar to national newspapers: only the more “serious” newspapers, whose reviews are written by experienced and knowledgeable journalists, are taken into consideration. Also, the negatively perceived practice of trying to get a discount for writing about a restaurant is similar to the Danish newspapers. In contrast to the national newspapers though, international newspapers are perceived to be important for international guests and have a stronger impact in bringing these customers to a restaurant. Also, international newspapers are appreciated for their positive approach to only publish reviews if they like the restaurant.

<i>Val. device // Quality</i>	<i>Differentiation</i>	<i>Perceived impact</i>	<i>Measure of quality</i>	<i>New Things</i>	<i>Appreciation</i>	<i>Critique</i>
<b>Reviews in International newspapers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Big, serious newspapers,</li> <li>- Vs. "others"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Impact on business: attract foreign guests</li> <li>- Chefs listen to critique</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Visit restaurants a couple of times to check</li> <li>- Visit restaurant when established</li> <li>- Quite thorough review</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Publish review only "if they like the restaurant in an international comparison"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Attempts at getting discount</li> </ul>

Table 11: Overview of chefs' and restaurateurs' valuation of International newspapers

### 6.2.3. Food bloggers

#### Differentiation

*"So you need to have some knowledge, and that's where you start seeing some people that are bloggers that are good. [...] It's because they have this constancy, or this level that is always on the standard you expect to have. Then inside them there are some that are a bit more cancer than the others!"*  
 (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016)

Chef and restaurant owner David exemplifies a view of food bloggers that is shared with other restaurateurs and chefs: while there is a multiplicity of food bloggers, chefs and restaurateurs selectively only take the "really good" (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016) ones into consideration and "respect" them (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015). They consider bloggers as respectful based upon two criteria: how many followers the blog has (Interview restaurant owner and chef Robert, 2015; Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015), and how knowledgeable and experienced the blogger is (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015; Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016). However, chefs and restaurateurs have little respect for the majority of food bloggers:

*"[U]nfortunately as much as you don't want to take them seriously, you have to. And there are the good, the very good food bloggers that have a lot of experience and they do have the experience to kind of back up what they're writing and stuff like that, and then there's all these people that are just starting*



*out and they think food blogging is cool.” (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)*

Mark points out the chefs and restaurateurs’ distinction between the “very good food bloggers” and the rest, the majority of food bloggers.

### **Qualities**

In general, chefs and restaurateurs perceive that the importance of food bloggers is increasing, given that they can have large follower numbers:

*“But there is, I mean there’s people that you should take more seriously because they have been here for a long time. [...] And it’s a big deal that they’re eating here, because it is a chance for you to get exposure out there. So it is... you take them seriously.” (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)*

Chef and restaurant owner Mark indicates a widely shared view of food bloggers: their importance is perceived to be increasing and chefs and restaurateurs have to follow them more and more closely. Mark gives a specific example of a food blogger he perceives as valuable:

*“[I]f you’re this big foodie and you travel to eat, I would look at food blogs. I would go online, find out... you can kind of rate food bloggers by... you can, I mean, if you have [a] guy, then you go into their history and you see they’ve been eating since 2012, and they’ve eaten at 500 restaurants. Chances are that that person is going to have a pretty good idea of what a good restaurant is, and then you kind of... I mean, bloggers are so organized, you can go onto a blog, you can see where they ate, when they ate there, and what time of year they ate there at. [...] There’s a guy named [name of a blog]. I respect this guy. He’s been eating everywhere for ten years and he has a good perception of what a good meal is. [...] And this guy is great, because he doesn’t review restaurants; he just talks about his experience. And then you go on there ‘Wow, it looks like you can have a great experience here. It seems like...’ He’s also an amazing writer. So you can feel his emotion when he writes. And then ‘Boom! Wow, I’m definitely going there. He had a good experience there’ [...] I think, bloggers, well-known bloggers are good in that aspect, in finding where to eat. (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)*

In the quote above, Mark highlights the experience shared by food bloggers. Chefs and restaurateurs describe how food bloggers measure quality by describing their experience, and sharing their impression of the restaurant, rather than reviewing it:

*“[T]here’s some food bloggers that I pay attention to in the sense that they don’t write reviews, they just write about their experience. And I think that is truly where food blogging should be. It shouldn’t be writing a review, giving a rating system. You’re not [a] reviewer. You have no education in this, you have... But the guys that actually just write about their experiences and put their experience out there... I mean, when they write this ‘Oh, I had this dish and it wasn’t my favorite dish’ but they don’t go through like ‘(making explosion sounds)’ bullet points of ‘why I didn’t like this and that’. And it’s like... That’s what I think food blogging is about. Blogging is about [the] experience of life.”* (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)

In the quote above, chef and restaurant owner Mark commends the actual valuation work of food bloggers: food bloggers are described to be open to experiencing the restaurant in its unique way rather than just giving points or a review.

In addition to the commended methods of the respected food bloggers, chefs and restaurateurs perceive food bloggers to be open and looking for new, creative and innovative restaurants, making them the ideal platform for the discovery of new experiences and new restaurants.

### **Appreciation and critique**

In the perception of chefs and restaurateurs, blogging allows a space for sharing a personal experience, which is often expressed in a “more positive approach” (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015). Chefs and restaurateurs like the positive and appreciative writing style of food bloggers. However, not all of the food bloggers have this positive approach.

*“When they come here they, I mean, again, we’ve never comped a food blogger, ever. It’s like you pay for your meals here. But when they come, you know it’s, I’m not going to lie to you, when they come and we know about it, and they usually announce themselves before they come.”* (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)

As chef and restaurant owner Mark points out, a couple of food bloggers have the tendency to announce themselves in an attempt to get a free meal. This is, however, harshly criticized by my interviewees.

Furthermore, the task of following and reading food blogs is time consuming. It “fills up so much of your time” (Interview chef Frederik, 2016) and is “very stressful”:

*“It’s... very stressful and I’m trying to figure out a way how not to be pissed off and sad... mostly it’s sad. You know, when people, you know, whatever it is, I mean, acting a fool or really just don’t like it. Fair enough. I mean, we do what we do. If you don’t like it, fair enough. That’s not how it is, but there’s no reason for you to talk trash about... or whatever it is. You also see it with other restaurants, you know of our friends, and some people are like parading them on social media, like what are you guys...? Fair enough that you didn’t like it, but you don’t have to... if somebody else who’s like... you don’t even know them! So you don’t have to like... it’s fair enough that you didn’t like it, but don’t then come back! You can also just write ‘Yea, it wasn’t for me’ but people are actually parading other people. It’s just... to me, it’s just so unnecessary, you know?”*  
(Interview chef Frederik, 2016)

Frederik describes how there are many different food bloggers whose description and valuation of the restaurant does not reflect what the restaurant is aiming to communicate through its food. He gets, in this way, “pissed off” by their incapability of understanding the restaurants, which makes him eventually “sad” to read the different blog entries about his restaurant. Food bloggers are, for him, inexperienced, unable to fully grasp the overall picture of the various restaurants in Copenhagen, and therefore unable of putting the described restaurant in his or her blog into perspective with other restaurants.

In sum, chefs and restaurateurs perceive food bloggers critically, given their increase in numbers and their “spread”. “More and more” people blog about food, without the necessary knowledge (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015). These bloggers are also criticized for attempts at extortion. The few positively perceived bloggers who are knowledgeable and credible, are perceived to have a positive effect on business and are said to be able to identify new form of cuisines. These bloggers are appreciated for their writing style being focused on experience rather than a review and are perceived to be appreciative of the food.

Val. device // Quality	Differentiation	Perceived impact	Measure of quality	New Things	Appreciation	Critique
<b>Food bloggers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Respectful food bloggers = many followers &amp; knowledgeable and experienced actor</li> <li>- Vs. "not so credible ones that think blogging is cool"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increasing importance</li> <li>- Chefs pay attention to their reviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on experience, "in its unique way"</li> <li>- Personal opinion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Cool hunters" = love to discover new pleasures</li> <li>- Open for new, creative experience</li> <li>- Experience rather than review</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Write in a positive, appreciative way</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Announce before they come – attempts at extortion</li> </ul>

Table 12: Overview of chefs' and restaurateurs' valuation of food bloggers

**6.2.4. Online rankings**

*"Yelp is like the most horrible thing on the planet, because you give people a voice where they can be opinionated opinion-makers, that don't necessarily know anything."* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Robert, 2015)

*"TripAdvisor, Yelp; these are terrible platforms"* (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)

Robert and Mark express in a very strong way a view on online rankings that all of the interviewed chefs and restaurateurs share:

*"It's a lot of rubbish; it's a lot of, just filling in stuff that's not important."* (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016)

Online rankings are not popular amongst chefs. In contrast to the three previously outlined valuation devices, where some of the valuation devices within the group are at least partly perceived positively, for the online rankings, my interviewees share the same view for both of them – a negative one.

**Qualities**

Chefs and restaurateurs also perceive their effect to be limited: "if you are not appealing to a very conscious crowd", chefs think that online rankings "don't have much power" (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015) and are "not important" (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016). Similarly, chef David indicates that "fine-dining wise, I

don't give a sh\*t" about online rankings (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) – or to formulate it differently, online rankings "count much less" (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015). Instead, chefs and restaurateurs perceive online rankings to be a somewhat useful tool for a travelling clientele, who are either not interested in fine-dining or "because when you're a tourist, you don't eat [...] fine-dining all the time" (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016). Nonetheless, my interviewees agree that online rankings have an effect on restaurants in terms of (dis-)attracting customers to the restaurants.

As indicated in the table 1 in the empirical background, the reviewers writing for online rankings do not have any specific criteria or basis for their votes. Chefs and restaurateurs perceive this "focusing on everything" (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) nearly impossible to handle, in particular for a person with no "credibility" (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) for doing so. Reviewers for online rankings are perceived to be able to write "whatever they want to say" (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015).

*"But like the TripAdvisor and the Yelp and stuff and so on, I just feel like sometimes people... if they have a bad time... if you have a bad time, you're probably more likely to go on and write on this. That's why there's maybe a lot more bad things said about the restaurant there."* (Interview chef Anna, 2016)

Anna describes the rather negative approach that reviewers take in writing. Accordingly, entries seldom include a description of the food or its quality, but rather irrelevant information about the restaurant which is mostly "negative" (Interview chef Anna, 2016) for "whatever reason" (Interview chef Frederik, 2016).

### **Appreciation and critique**

*"TripAdvisor is the chance to give a voice to people that have no education and no right to give their... I mean, if you go on TripAdvisor and read some of the reviews... they don't even have the ingredients right on some of the dishes. They think they're reviewing and how can it be ..."* (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)

On the one hand, chefs and restaurateurs appreciate the attempts by online rankings to give every person, “just common people” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016) a right to express their opinion. However, on the other hand these persons “won’t necessarily know anything” about food and restaurants (Interview restaurant owner and chef Robert, 2015). My interviewees consider the entries in online rankings as “rubbish” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016) that is not worth reading. The criticism towards online rankings is specifically targeted the persons producing the content and the ratings, from which the online rankings are calculated. They are described to be inexperienced, unknowledgeable, and “unprofessional” (Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016) making them bad reviewers. In addition, the way online rankings produce their final outcomes is perceived critically, given the particularity of their being based on algorithms:

*“It’s online and you go in and you vote, but there are some algorithm behind it that does so that the more you vote, the more power you will get. So the people that have a lot of voting going on, that spend a lot of time on it, get a little bit more weight or I don’t know how much more weight because you can’t see the algorithm, and they decide who is... [...] It’s very hard to understand what the hell is going on. [...] It has its flaws too, because everybody can go in and vote.”* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015)

The algorithm, as the core of how the decision is made, is argued to be unknown, which makes chefs suspicious of this group of valuation devices. The lack of transparency supports the overall critical view of chefs upon them.

In the opinion of my interviewees, the negative sides of online rankings are predominant, which is why most of my interviewees ignore online rankings for their own restaurant. A strategy of chefs and restaurateurs to cope with it is to not “care about those things” and stop “reading” them (Interview chef Frederik, 2016; Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2016) – at least “officially”:

*“Once in a while you have to listen to sh\*t like that! But no, so officially we don’t listen to it at all! Unofficially, you er, some, you know, when they’re bored at night or whatever! [laughs] Once in a while, they check it out.”* (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016)

This is shared throughout my interviews: “it’s just so much unnecessary energy spent on it” (Interview chef Frederik, 2016). Reading through these entries in online rankings make chefs “angry to look at” (Interview chef Anna, 2016).

In sum, chefs and restaurateurs agree that online rankings have an impact on the restaurant, even though there is less impact for fine-dining restaurants. They appreciate that online ranking gives a voice to the common people. Nonetheless, they are critical about this way of valuating through inexperienced people. The valuation is perceived to focus on negative elements and to be based on false premises. This leads chefs and restaurateurs into identifying various strategies that they use to pretend to ignore them.

<i>Val. device // Quality</i>	<i>Differentiation</i>	<i>Perceived impact</i>	<i>Measure of quality</i>	<i>New Things</i>	<i>Appreciation</i>	<i>Critique</i>
<b>Online rankings</b>	n/a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Impact on tourists</li> <li>- Fine-dining = “counts much less”</li> <li>- Chefs don’t want online ranking guests</li> <li>- Chefs try not to “care about those things”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Give voice to common people who have no education</li> <li>- Focus on everything</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Voice to common people</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “So much unnecessary time spent on it”</li> <li>- Focus on negative comments</li> <li>- Critique is based on false premises</li> <li>- Inexperienced, unknowledgeable, unprofessional</li> </ul>

Table 13: Overview of chefs’ and restaurateurs’ valuation of online rankings

### 6.2.5. National food guides

#### Differentiation

By national food guides, chefs and restaurateurs refer to Food Guides that are produced and published in Denmark and focus solely on Danish restaurants throughout the country. These encompass “Den Danske Spiseguide” and the “White Guide”. While Den Danske Spiseguide has been established in the field for many years, the White Guide came to Denmark in 2013. While there are some differences between the two guides the chefs I interviewed perceive the two guides in a similar way. Nonetheless, there is one critical distinction between the two guides: the actor producing the guide. Ben Christensen, the founder of Den Danske Spiseguide, is described as a culinary expert within the Danish

field having eaten in “most places in the world” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016). My interviewees therefore have “respect” for him as a person (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016).

### Qualities

Emphasizing the development, and the age of national food guides, their importance is perceived to have changed over time:

*“We had this guide with the stars called 'Den Dansk Spiseguide', and I was looking there, searching for a job at the best restaurant with the most stars! [Laughs] Because that was my kind of, erm, measure of who was the best, yes. So that's why I went on, to those restaurants. I think today I would do it completely different, now I'm more grown up!”* (Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016)

My interviewees perceive the two national food guides as a positive contribution to the Danish culinary field. In particular, their “specific [focus on] Scandinavia” (Interview chef Per, 2016) is highly valued. Through this, it “strengthens the whole gastronomy” (Interview 50 Best Sebastian, 2016) and makes Scandinavia in general, and Denmark in particular, a culinary hot-spot:

*“But the [Local Food] guides are for primarily, yeah, and also for [...] foodies and so on, people who are very interested in food and restaurants and who take it seriously.”* (Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016)

Through their focus on the variety of many different restaurants in Denmark, they indicate the prevalence of fine-dining in Denmark and make it known “outside Denmark” (Interview chef David, 2016), in particular for “foodies” (Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016).

These guides are perceived to share many commonalities with the Michelin Guide especially, but also the 50 Best list, which is why their methods are often compared with these two valuation devices.



*“[T]he White Guide functions the same way as Michelin or World Best... Only, it integrates many more restaurants.”* (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015)

Former chef Ben emphasizes the wide scope of national food guides in terms of taking “many more restaurants” from throughout Denmark into account. National food guides go into more detail than the Michelin Guide and give a richer description of the valued restaurants (Interview former chef and consultant Chris). The restaurant experience is described in more depth, which is something that my interviewees perceive as valuable.

### **Appreciation and critique**

Chefs and restaurateurs respect the national food guides for their seriousness and their transparency. Both national food guides, Den Danske Spiseguide and the White Guide, are perceived to be fair and open about their reviews of restaurants.

Describing his own experience as a chef, Chris reflects on the development of the importance of the national food guides. While they were formerly perceived to be the defining valuation devices for the culinary field through which young chefs would identify the “best restaurant”, today, especially for high “level” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) restaurants, they only play a minor role and are now perceived to be more peripheral.

My interviewees perceived the selling aspect of the guides as critical:

*“I think it's a guide [referring to one of the two Local Guides] made with an idea of business.”* (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016)

Given that the guides are targeted on people interested in food, the national food guides are perceived as having a focus on gaining income through the selling of their publications, which is argued to potentially influence the positive perception of the guides.

In sum, chefs and restaurateurs perceive national food guides as contributing to the overall Danish culinary field, even though they have a less important role for fine-dining restaurants. They appreciate the serious and transparent way of producing the guides.

However, they perceive it as worthy of criticism that the focus of these guides is merely on gaining income.

<i>Val. device // Quality</i>	<i>Differentiation</i>	<i>Perceived impact</i>	<i>Measure of quality</i>	<i>New Things</i>	<i>Appreciation</i>	<i>Critique</i>
<b>National food guides</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Along the experience of the actors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Contribution for the Danish culinary field" = makes country known outside borders</li> <li>- For fine-dining = only minor role</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on details</li> <li>- Describe experience in depth</li> <li>- Wide scope of restaurants</li> <li>- Journalistic approach</li> <li>- Guide in a more personal way</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Seriousness</li> <li>- Transparency</li> <li>- Fair</li> <li>- Open about their reviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on gaining income through selling their publications (rather than on content)</li> </ul>

Table 14: Overview of chefs' and restaurateurs' valuation of national food guides

### 6.2.6. Michelin Guide

*“Michelin has something that, no matter how much chefs say that they like or they dislike it, everybody likes. It is the institution of the institutions, the guide of the guides. So you will always feel happy, if you get something with them.”*  
 (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016)

In general, for chefs and restaurateurs in the Danish culinary field, the Michelin Guide is perceived to be the “institution” (Interview chef Per, 2016; interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) of the valuation devices, so that all of my interviewees almost praise the Michelin Guide in line with the initial quote from chef David: “of course, Michelin is number one” (Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016); “I respect that [Michelin Guide] greatly” (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2016). Chef and restaurant owner David indicates that for him, the Michelin Guide defines in “which league I’m playing in [...] major league, or am I still in, [...] baseball-wise, in the junior?” As such, the Michelin Guide is perceived to define the crème de la crème, the elite of the restaurants in a certain region.

## Qualities

All these quotes indicate that chefs and restaurateurs not only respect the guide itself, but they feel personally honored when being awarded through the Michelin Guide: “it’s an extreme honor for people working there” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016). The Michelin Guide is thus perceived to be important for personal reasons. This has led to the Michelin Guide having extreme implications within the industry: chef and restaurant owner Mark indicates that certain restaurants do anything to get the highest valuation in the Michelin Guide – being the ultimate goal for this restaurant.

*“I mean, people... people do things for different reasons and there’s a [...] restaurant in Sweden. The whole restaurant is set up to get a third Michelin star. Everything about it! He brings in ex-Michelin inspectors to inspect the restaurant and tell him ‘Ok, you need to do this, and this, and this, to get a third star’. That is like... you might as well sell your soul to the devil. It’s like... it’s terrible. It’s terrible. I just don’t understand how you can work like that and feel satisfied.”* (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)

In line with the respect, the Michelin Guide is also perceived to be “extremely good for the business” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016):

*“We [referring to his restaurant] have a record in the dinner booking that the day we got a Michelin star we got the most bookings they ever had in the restaurant on a day. It was like insane. It just exploded.”* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015)

Supporting the above quotation, all my interviewees agree that the Michelin Guide has “a good effect on tourists” and “accumulates a lot of guests” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016): “in a commercial way, [being in the Michelin Guide] brings much more income to your restaurant” (Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016). As indicated by Rasmus, the Michelin Guide especially attracts tourists who are travelling to a city with the particular purpose of eating in a Michelin-starred restaurant. It in particular increases the number of international guests to a restaurant. Yet despite this strong effect, they also argue that it does not “make the big difference in the long run” (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015).

*“He [referring to a chef of a restaurant in Copenhagen] got a Michelin star, fully booked for two months, and then back to normal. So people kind of ‘Arrw!’”*  
(Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2016)

All of my interviewees acknowledge that the persons working for the Michelin Guide are all former chefs that know the industry. They perceive the way quality is measured as a clear and set process, so that as a chef, it is possible to understand their process. Chef Per specifies:

*“[The] Michelin guide it's more like inspectors, they have like more detailed what they look for and what they feel deserves, and what you have to, how you execute, or what you notice. I don't really know the specifics of what they look for, so it's hard to say. So I think Michelin is like an institution and they have probably a lot of protocols and rules and like systems as well.”* (Interview chef Per, 2016)

My interviewees go further and indicate that the Michelin Guide is much more “slow” (Interview restaurant owner and chef Robert, 2015), meaning that it is less “open” (Interview chef Anna, 2016) to new and upcoming restaurants, disregarding innovation, and promoting classic restaurants “with absolutely no innovation, but just on a high level” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016). These claims about the resistance to take innovative restaurants into account are perceived to be still true, despite the perception that the Michelin Guide has “changed a little bit” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016) to “become a little bit more open” (Interview chef Anna, 2016):

*“I think that what you even 5-6 years ago considered to be a Michelin resultant is different from what might be like a Michelin [...today]. ...Not saying it's becoming more casual but today in Stockholm they awarded one Michelin star to a sushi shop and I have eaten there and it's like, it's just a counter. I think they fit like 12 or 15 people and they are still serving take away sushi and they don't have a waiter. It is just a chef and assistant and I had an amazing meal and it's just a really nice surprise to see them get recognized, while I think a few years back they wouldn't.”* (Interview chef Per, 2016)

Per indicates that the Michelin Guide is more open than it has been before, but for my interviewees the Michelin Guide is perceived to be in favor of “French, classical food” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) and thereby being less open to modern cuisines.

## Appreciation and critique

All of my interviewees appreciate the guide itself, but also the way it produces its valuation of restaurants:

*“The Michelin Guide is done by inspectors. There are supposed to be anonymous inspectors and they go around and they seem to have a very set format that they follow in reviewing the restaurants for the Michelin Guide.”*  
(Interview chef Anna, 2016)

Highlighting the anonymity and the seriousness of the Michelin Guide, chef Anna indicates what all of my interviewees respect about it: “you can’t infiltrate Michelin” (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015).

Despite the seemingly clear set of “protocols and rules” (Interview chef Per, 2016), my interviewees perceive these rules to be different for the Danish market:

*“Why hasn’t one of the big restaurants [in Denmark] been granted three Michelin stars? [...] I mean, people always say “why don’t you have a three star?” and we don’t know! I mean, ask Michelin. It’s not that the food isn’t at the level of a three star Michelin. In the USA, there are a lot of lousy or kind of, not too spectacular, three star Michelin places, so why don’t we have one, I don’t know.”* (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015)

Ben describes a situation that held true until February 2016, when a restaurant in Denmark for the first time did actually receive three stars. Before that, and while I was conducting the first round of my interviews, many chefs and restaurants raised the question of why a Danish restaurant has “not been granted three Michelin stars?” (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015) This question shows that chefs and restaurants in general do not perceive the Michelin Guide to be transparent about their process. This is represented in the unanswered question of what Danish (and Nordic) restaurants are lacking in comparison to their international counterparts in order to receive a third Michelin star. In the opinion of chefs and restaurateurs, international restaurants have received three Michelin stars while being more “lousy” (interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015) than Danish restaurants. This has led to the perception that the Michelin Guide rating is opaque and that its star rating is unequally distributed

internationally. The Michelin Guide is a “mystery” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016; interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016) “working on a CIA style secret” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) in regards to why the Danish market, and in particular the restaurant Noma did not receive the highest valuation of three stars from the Michelin Guide.

Furthermore, most of my interviewees therefore argue that the Michelin Guide is “very conservative” (Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016), in the sense that they have “difficulties absorbing new values” (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015) as well as “following trends” (Interview restaurant owner and chef Robert, 2015):

*“They tick boxes! And I don’t think restaurants are made for ticking boxes. Because every restaurant is unique and you can’t compare... you can’t compare Noma to here, because they are two different restaurants. We have two different visions, we have two different styles of food, everything is different, so how can you compare them? You need to accept the restaurant for the experience that it’s providing for you. So that’s the negative part, I think, for Michelin. And they’re also a bit old school. They don’t evolve with the evolution of restaurants in the world.”* (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)

In sum, chefs and restaurateurs perceive the Michelin Guide to be the traditional, institutional, valuation device that has been defining fine-dining for almost a hundred years. They appreciate the valuation devices to be serious and reliable. However, they criticize its perceived opaque, non-reproducible methods, and it’s lagging behind in terms of appreciating new forms of cuisine.

Val. device // Quality	Differentiation	Perceived impact	Measure of quality	New Things	Appreciation	Critique
<b>The Michelin Guide</b>	n/a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Extremely" good for business = accumulates a lot of guest</li> <li>- Effect on tourists / international guests</li> <li>- Long term impact</li> <li>- Extreme honor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Inspectors (former chefs): protocols, rules, clear processes</li> <li>- Anonymity, also unknown specific procedures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Very conservative, slow and less open</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Seriousness</li> <li>- Everybody likes it: "institution of the institution"</li> <li>- Defines the league, a restaurant is in</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mystery "CIA style secret"</li> <li>- Difficult to follow trends / absorb new values</li> </ul>

Table 15: Overview of chefs' and restaurateurs' valuation of the Michelin Guide

### 6.2.7. The World's 50 Best Restaurants list

When asking my interviewees about the 50 Best list, they almost always compared it to the Michelin Guide. While both the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide are perceived to be the two most important and most influential valuation devices, they are at the same time perceived to be opposites.

*"San Pellegrino [former name of the 50 Best list], I love it. San Pellegrino; I think a lot of young chefs like them. That's more a dream for me. [...] They are really making the difference in the world, research-wise, they are [the] top ranking."*  
 (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016)

#### Qualities

Like the Michelin Guide, the 50 Best list is perceived to have a particularly strong influence on restaurants in different dimensions, for example in terms of guest numbers visiting the restaurant:

*"Well, essentially if you run a restaurant, the best scenario for you is that your restaurant is full. If you're in that [50 Best] list, your restaurant is fucking full. There's almost no way around it."* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2016)

In addition, the 50 Best ensures strong media attention on a restaurant, with requests from different sources:

*“[When we got on the 50 Best list], we got a lot of media attention, like a lot of people started to write in, also a lot of students, PhD students and stuff were like ‘Wow, we’re really interested in how restaurants can be sustainable and blablabla’ and we got a lot of interviews and stuff.”* (Interview chef Anna, 2016)

Another example of the effects of the 50 Best list is its influence on attracting other resources to the restaurant. To be precise, being on the 50 Best list makes the staffing for a restaurant easier, which is particularly helpful since getting skilled and talented staff is perceived to be a crucial element in running a restaurant:

*“Okay, so everybody knows that especially among the high-end restaurants, they are always short of staff. They are always fighting over having good staff to stay [and] work for you because everybody gets paid more or less the same in restaurants, and staff wants to work in good restaurants instead of bad restaurants, and because they won’t get paid more or less, the differences are not that great. [...] To elevate themselves in their careers, young chefs [...] want to be in good restaurants. Preferably well-known restaurants. And the 50 Best changes all that for a restaurant. [...] So, yes, staff turn up, there are a lot of more applications by staff, they don’t have to chase staff to come work in their restaurant, they shop the staff chasing the restaurants for work, which makes life so much easier business-wise.”* (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)

Similar to the Michelin Guide, this respect is based on the person producing the value, but for different reasons:

*“The 50 Best [is more trustworthy]. Because it’s done by people like us. Like it’s... it’s voted on, it seems to be more democratic, more transparent. It’s people who vote who know something about it – at least we know that they know something – about the industry.”* (Interview chef Anna, 2016)

The quote above indicates that the “700 [voters of the 50 Best list] who are in the industry [and] who are looking for the leaders” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016) are perceived to be knowledgeable and experienced since they are part of the food community. The voters of the 50 Best list vary “from chefs to critics, to normal eaters, foodies, bloggers” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) and include more “food people” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016). Chefs and restaurateurs describe themselves as part of this community and perceive the list to be comprehensible:



*“I find it reasonably credible. Because I have eaten at Noma and do think it’s one of the best dining experiences I’ve ever had. And I’ve eaten at some of the restaurants also on that list and I have a good opinion about most of them. Some of them [...are] recognized by other people in the community as being one of the top-top restaurants. So, I think the credibility of that list stands for many reasons.”* (Interview chef Anna, 2016)

Apart from the respect and the influence, the 50 Best list is perceived to be the complete opposite the Michelin Guide in many ways:

*“[The 50 Best list] orchestrates the feeling amongst industry professionals that this is the greatest thing that is happening at the moment. [...] As an orchestrator of an emotion in the market, this yearly compiling of votes is extremely powerful.”* (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015)

Whereas the Michelin Guide is perceived as a valuation device that merely values traditional and classic French cuisine restaurants highly, the 50 Best Restaurants list is perceived to value “exciting” (Interview chef Per, 2016) and “most trendy restaurants” (Interview former chef and consultant Per, 2016), that “shine in the moment” (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015), and that are “within their time” (Interview restaurant owner and chef Robert, 2015). Through this focus, the 50 Best list is perceived to be “very good at catching who is coming up” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016).

### **Appreciation and critique**

Like the Michelin Guide, my interviewees describe the list as “credible” (Interview former chef and entrepreneur Ben, 2015) and respectable. Going even further than the Michelin Guide, the 50 Best list is perceived to be “the closest [to a peer list]” (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2016) that any of the valuation devices can be. My interviewees perceive that the 50 Best list “sort of broke up the picture of the three star being the one top thing to go for” (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015) and offered an alternative. My interviewees describe it in terms like “super cool” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016) or as an “amazing award to win because there is only one” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016), but are at the same time aware that this

implies that it is “super hard to come in” (Interview chef and restaurant owner David, 2016).

At the same time, the 50 Best list is perceived with a certain skepticism since it is “impossible to say” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016) which restaurant is hyped more than another, and to understand the reason for this.

*“Yeah, and it's impossible to predict. Like you can get better, and better, and better, and better, and better, but you don't know what's going on. And some people they get on the list and they rip up the kitchen and they put in 2 million euros and then they fall 20.”* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015)

For chefs and restaurateurs in the Danish culinary field it is impossible to understand how the valuation and the outcome come into place. The inner workings of the 50 Best list are perceived to be unclear and unknown, given that “they change voters all the time” (Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016). This aspect is critical:

*“Everybody says the 50 Best has a big problem with transparency and so on, and I agree. It's very hard to understand what the hell is going on.”* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015)

This “problem with transparency” prevents chefs and restaurateurs from understanding how the valuation device has reached its particular result. Jon refers to the unknown actors and the unknown criteria for these actors that create the 50 Best list. Chefs and restaurateurs do however perceive some of the results of the 50 Best list to represent the “best dining experience” (Interview chef Anna, 2016). However, “some of them” (Interview chef Anna, 2016) are not reproducible for chefs and restaurateurs. In addition to this non-understanding, its affiliation to external sponsors is also critiqued:

*“The Top 50 list is getting bombarded with critics right now for its legitimacy. [...] These lists need to be sponsored and funded, and that's the reality of it. And as soon as you start bringing sponsors and funding into it, that's where you start to get... people start to do things they shouldn't do, because they need the money to do it.”* (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2015)

Going further, chef and restaurant owner Mark gives a specific example of how this is also affecting restaurants:

*“Over the last ten years it’s been really important. But now, like with any list, people are finding flaws in it, and it’s corrupt, blablabla... and people are, people are... I mean a perfect example: Mexico. Mexico put so much money into flying Top 50 voters into Mexico to eat. Last year, all of a sudden, there’s three rest... There’s always only been one restaurant Pujol in the Top 50 list, all of a sudden; four restaurants from Mexico are on the Top 50 list. [...] How is that an accurate list? Because they’ve more or less bribed these Top 50 voters to come down there with free airfares and hotels.”* (Interview chef and restaurant owner Mark, 2016)

In sum, chefs and restaurateurs perceive the 50 Best list to be very important and it has developed itself as an alternative to the Michelin Guide in defining what the best restaurant is. Despite the appreciation, chefs and restaurateurs also perceive its way to produce a valuation to be opaque, and they criticize how it is open to attempts at extortion.

Val. device // Quality	Differentiation	Perceived impact	Measure of quality	New Things	Appreciation	Critique
<b>The World's 50 Best Restaurants list</b>	n/a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Restaurant is full, "no way around it"</li> <li>- Strong influence: staffing, media attention</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Done by "people like us", "food people" = knowledgeable and experienced</li> <li>- Seems to be democratic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Exciting &amp; most trendy restaurant that is shining in the moment and is within its time = restaurants on the list</li> <li>- Very good to catch up and coming restaurants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Top ranking</li> <li>- Credible</li> <li>- Closest to a "peer list"</li> <li>- Orchestrate the feeling amongst industry</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Impossible to predict</li> <li>- Transparency: unclear and unknown</li> <li>- Affiliation to external sponsors</li> <li>- Attempts at extortion</li> </ul>

Table 16: Overview of chefs' and restaurateurs' valuation of The 50 Best list

### 6.2.8. Inverted evaluation

By outlining the three aspects in which chefs and restaurateurs perceive each group of valuation devices, and putting these next to each other, it becomes apparent that chefs and restaurateurs *evaluate* the different valuation devices in the understanding of Lamont (2012). In particular, the three aspects are in line with the sub-processes of evaluation

identified by Lamont (2012), i.e. selection, assessment, typification, and arrangement, which I show in the following.

First, chefs and restaurateurs *select* valuation devices in two ways. On the one hand, they evaluate valuation devices not individually, but as part of a group. They pre-select all existing valuation devices into different groups of valuation devices: national newspaper reviews, international newspaper reviews, food bloggers, online rankings, national food guides, the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list. On the other hand, within each group, chefs and restaurateurs then differentiate between valuable and less valuable valuation devices, i.e. the selection process continues and chefs and restaurateurs contemplate only a small fraction of valuation devices and ignore others completely. This in itself shows that some valuation devices are seen as more important and legitimate than others.

Second, based on this selection, valuation devices are *assessed*. Chefs and restaurateurs assess the different groups of valuation devices along three qualities: their perceived impact, their measure of quality, and their way of integrating new elements. This step shows that chef and restaurateurs understand the groups of valuation devices differently and take the individual actions and practices of the valuation devices into account.

Third, based on these three qualities in the assessment, valuation devices are then *typified*. Chefs and restaurateurs thereby express their opinion on the groups of valuation devices by subsuming the previous step of the assessment of valuation devices. Instead of typifying a group of valuation devices to be just “good” and another to be just “bad”, chefs and restaurateurs have a more reflective opinion of valuation devices. This step shows that they appreciate some aspects within each of the different groups of valuation devices, but also criticize other aspects of each. Rather than just drawing a black-or-white picture of the valuation devices, this typification is subtle.

Subsuming the three aspects, it can be concluded that the inverted evaluation resembles the different sub-processes of the valuation by valuation devices (Lamont, 2012), i.e. the inverted evaluation is unfolding in the same way. In this way, chefs and restaurateurs assess *the value* of the entity they observe, in this case the valuation devices through

which they themselves are valued. These steps of inverted evaluation allow us to draw a picture that demonstrates the evaluation of the valuation devices through chefs and restaurateurs. The following table is such a picture. It juxtaposes the different groups of valuation devices in six columns, which aligns the different sub-processes with the small tables presented at the end of each group of valuation devices earlier in this chapter.

<i>Group of Valuation device // Sub-process of evaluation</i>	<i>Selection</i>	<i>Assessment: Perceived impact</i>	<i>Assessment: Measure of quality</i>	<i>Assessment: New Things</i>	<i>Typification: Appreciation</i>	<i>Typification: Critique</i>
<b>Reviews in Danish newspapers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Three important ones</li> <li>- vs. "others"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Not anymore, only short term effect</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on what is happening in the food</li> <li>- Along subjective opinion</li> <li>- Write a story, entertaining style</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Not able to see new things"</li> <li>- Lack of acknowledgement and appreciation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Write negative aspects in a constructive way</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Come in the first week, visit only once</li> <li>- Same parameters for all restaurants</li> <li>- Attempts at extortion</li> </ul>
<b>Reviews in International newspapers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Big, serious newspapers,</li> <li>- Vs. "others"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Impact on business: attract foreign guests</li> <li>- Chefs listen to critique</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Visit restaurants a couple of times to check</li> <li>- Visit restaurant when established</li> <li>- Quite thorough review</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Cool hunters" = love to discover new pleasures</li> <li>- Open for new, creative experience</li> <li>- Experience rather than review</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Publish review only "if they like the restaurant in an international comparison"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Attempts at extortion</li> </ul>
<b>Food bloggers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Respectful food bloggers = many followers &amp; knowledgeable and experienced actor</li> <li>- Vs. "not so credible ones that think blogging is cool"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increasing importance</li> <li>- Chefs pay attention to their reviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on experience, "in its unique way"</li> <li>- Personal opinion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Cool hunters" = love to discover new pleasures</li> <li>- Open for new, creative experience</li> <li>- Experience rather than review</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Write in a positive, appreciative way</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Announce before they come – attempts at extortion</li> </ul>
<b>Online rankings</b>	n/a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Impact on tourists</li> <li>- Fine-dining = "counts much less"</li> <li>- Chefs don't want online ranking guests</li> <li>- Chefs try not to "care about those things"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Give voice to common people who have no education</li> <li>- Focus on everything</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Cool hunters" = love to discover new pleasures</li> <li>- Open for new, creative experience</li> <li>- Experience rather than review</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Voice to common people</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "So much unnecessary time spent on it"</li> <li>- Focus on negative comments</li> <li>- Critique is based on false premises</li> <li>- Inexperienced, unknowledgeable, unprofessional</li> </ul>

<p><b>National food guides</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Along the experience of the actors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Contribution for the Danish culinary field" = makes country known outside borders</li> <li>- For fine-dining = only minor role</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on details</li> <li>- Describe experience in depth</li> <li>- Wide scope of restaurants</li> <li>- Journalistic approach</li> <li>- Guide in a more personal way</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Seriousness</li> <li>- Transparency</li> <li>- Fair</li> <li>- Open about their reviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on gaining income through selling their publications (rather than on content)</li> </ul>
<p><b>The Michelin Guide</b></p>	<p>n/a</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Extremely" good for business = accumulates a lot of guest</li> <li>- Effect on tourists / international guests</li> <li>- Long term impact</li> <li>- Extreme honor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Inspectors (former chefs): protocols, rules, clear processes</li> <li>- Anonymity, also unknown specific procedures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Very conservative, slow and less open</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Seriousness</li> <li>- Everybody likes it: "institution of the institution"</li> <li>- Defines the league, a restaurant is in</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mystery "CIA style secret"</li> <li>- Difficult to follow trends / absorb new values</li> </ul>
<p><b>The World's 50 Best Restaurants list</b></p>	<p>n/a</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Restaurant is full, "no way around it"</li> <li>- Strong influence: staffing, media attention</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Done by "people like us", "food people" = knowledgeable and experienced</li> <li>- Seems to be democratic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Exciting &amp; most trendy restaurant that is shining in the moment and is within its time = restaurants on the list</li> <li>- Very good to catch up and coming restaurants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Top ranking</li> <li>- Credible</li> <li>- Closest to a "peer list"</li> <li>- Orchestrate the feeling amongst industry</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Impossible to predict</li> <li>- Transparency: unclear and unknown</li> <li>- Affiliation to external sponsors</li> <li>- Attempts at extortion</li> </ul>

Table 17: Overview of chefs' and restaurateurs' valuation of valuation devices

Table 17 gives an overview of the *inverted evaluation* of valuation devices and reveals a nuanced understanding of the different valuation devices.

While the analysis so far has shown the inverted evaluation, the following section develops on the inverted valorization, i.e. the understanding of how value is created in the valuation of valuation devices. In the following analysis on how chefs and restaurateurs valorize the different groups of valuation devices, the chefs and restaurateurs' statements now have to be analyzed differently. Rather than sorting the chefs and restaurateurs' quotations based on what they say about specific devices, I will sort them across the different devices and along the different sub-processes of evaluation. To formulate differently, by delving into the different sub-processes of evaluation that I have been analyzing before, it is possible to identify the inverted valorization. To do so, the following section first unfolds the underlying criteria on which the valuation by chefs and restaurants is based in general. Following this, I elaborate on the implications drawn from these criteria, which concludes in the inverted valorization.

### **6.3. Criteria of the inverted valuation**

Reading across the way valuation devices are evaluated by chefs and restaurateurs, three practices of the valuation devices are expressed. These three practices are recognized by all interviewed chefs and restaurateurs to be particularly valuable for a valuation device. As the following section unfolds, these practices reflect the criteria on which the inverted valuation is based. To formulate it differently, chefs and restaurateurs imply these criteria throughout the inverted valuation.

First, my interviewees describe extortionary situations. Throughout the previous section, I have recounted the experiences that chefs and restaurateurs have with national newspapers, international newspapers, food bloggers and the 50 Best list. Almost all of my interviewees have experienced and can describe attempts to get comps – a free of charge service – by actors from one of these valuation devices. Not surprisingly, this is the cause of frustration for the chefs and restaurateurs. Attempts at anything resembling extortion, such as the reviewer from a newspaper asking for free wine is frowned upon and



decreases the value of the device in the eyes of the chefs and restaurateurs. In being attempted extorted, chefs and restaurateurs perceive a valuation device as not being able to produce an accurate and fair valuation of the restaurant, which is in contrast to what they are perceived to be supposed to do. Accordingly, a valuation device like the Michelin Guide is appreciated for its clear rules based on which it is *not* possible to influence the device. In this way, chefs and restaurateurs clearly invoke a criterion of fairness, and they embrace that equality and respect are core values of the inverted valuation.

Second, my interviewees perceive the practices of certain valuation devices to be opaque. In such cases, the practice through which a valuation device comes to the result of its valuation, is not reproducible for chefs and restaurateurs. In the previous section, I have described the opaque practices of online rankings, the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide, which are all criticized by chefs and restaurateurs in this regard. In the perception of chefs and restaurateurs, opaqueness implies an unreasonable valuation practice by the valuation devices. The assumption of chefs and restaurateurs is hereby that valuation devices try to hide certain unfair or inappropriate valuation practices within this opaqueness and that this goes against an accurate valuation of a restaurant. Opaque practices therefore decrease the perceived value of a valuation device. Accordingly, valuation devices like the national food guides are appreciated for their transparency in producing a valuation. In this way, chefs and restaurateurs embrace the criterion of transparency, and see openness and honesty as values in their inverted valuation.

Third, chefs and restaurateurs criticize valuation devices when they perceive that the devices' final valuations do not reproduce the facts in a correct manner. My interviewees elaborate on such valuations in particular with regards to online rankings and food bloggers. In these valuation devices, the actors are said to value the restaurant based on false premises, such as the wrong ingredients or incomplete dishes, for their valuation of a restaurant. My interviewees show little respect for actors that based their opinions on such false premises. False facts in a valuation decrease the perceived value of a valuation device. My interviewees perceive such false facts to be a result of the inexperience of the actors producing the valuation. These actors are perceived to be ignorant of the valuation

of fine-dining, so that they are actually incapable of producing a fair and correct valuation. Accordingly, the experienced actors from national newspapers or national food guides are appreciated by chefs and restaurateurs. In this way, chefs and restaurateurs emphasize the criterion of perceived truth and highlight accuracy as values in the inverted valuation.

In sum, based on these three common practices of extortion, opaqueness, and falsehoods, it can be argued that chefs and restaurateurs explicitly and implicitly imply these three criteria in their inverted valuations: fairness, transparency and perceived truth. They want valuation devices to reflect these three criteria in their valuation as well as to reflect the accompanied values of equality and respect, openness and honesty, as well as accuracy. If they perceive valuation devices to do so, these devices are appreciated. However, if valuation devices are perceived to not reflect these criteria and values, chefs and restaurateurs are harsh in their criticism. These core criteria for chefs and restaurateurs make manifest certain boundaries in the valuation of valuation devices. If these boundaries are crossed, chefs and restaurateurs tend to criticize the valuation devices for these specific reasons.

### **6.3.1. Ranking and elite group of valuation devices**

Chefs and restaurateurs appreciate none of the different groups of valuation devices positively on all of the three criteria, and all valuation devices are criticized for at least one of the three practices. It can be argued that in the opinion of chefs and restaurants, none of the valuation devices represent a *perfect* valuation device. However, certain valuation devices are appreciated for up to two of the three common practices, whereas others are criticized under all three practices. It can therefore be argued that some valuation devices are perceived to be better than others. Accordingly, it is possible to distinguish between the different valuation devices using the three practices. It is possible, first of all, to draw up a ranking of the different valuation devices, and second, to distinguish between two tiers within this ranking.

The Michelin Guide is appreciated for two of the three common practices and criticized for one, whereas online rankings is criticized for all three of the common practices and only

appreciated for aspects beyond these practices. Based on such a sum, it is possible to create a ranking starting with online rankings at the low end and ending with a shared first place between the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list. As such, this ranking represents the perceived value of all valuation devices based on the opinions expressed by chefs and restaurateurs. It is hereby important to note that the intention of this ranking is to point out that it *would* be possible to sketch a hierarchy, and as such, the table is just one possible picture drawn based on the expressed opinions of chefs and restaurateurs.

This ranking separates two tiers of valuation devices. While chefs and restaurateurs appreciate most of the valuation devices along one of the common practices, there are however two valuation devices, which are appreciated for some reasons, but for none of the common practices: Online rankings and most food bloggers. To formulate it differently, online rankings and food bloggers are criticized under all of the three common practices. This harsh critique of these two valuation devices makes it possible to separate these two valuation devices from the ranking, or at least to put them into a second tier of the ranking. The remaining valuation devices, i.e. national newspapers, international newspapers, national food guides, the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list, make up the first tier, i.e. an elite group of valuation devices. This elite group of valuation devices represents those valuation devices that chefs and restaurateurs appreciate the most. Even though I exclude food bloggers from this group, it can be argued that at least some food bloggers are part of this elite group of valuation devices as well.

The following table 18 illustrates the two tiers of valuation device on this ranking.

<i>Rank</i>	<i>(Group of) Valuation Device(s)</i>	
1	The 50 Best list	Elite Group of Valuation Devices
=	The Michelin Guide	
3	National food guides	
4	National newspapers	
=	International newspapers	
-	<i>Food bloggers</i>	
-	<i>Online rankings</i>	

Table 18: Chefs' and restaurateurs' ranking of valuation devices showing the differentiation of an elite group of valuation devices

Table 18 outlines both a hypothetical ranking of valuation devices and the valuation devices that are part of the elite group. At the same time it allows shedding new light onto the way chefs and restaurateurs value the impact of valuation devices, which the following section unfolds.

### 6.3.2. Creation of value in the inverted valuation

In light of the chefs and restaurateurs' understanding of an elite group of valuation devices, it is worth recalling that chefs and restaurateurs describe how all valuation devices have an impact on the restaurant, which I have outlined for the seven different groups of valuation devices within section 6.2. To recap, these impacts include easier access to "good staff", in the case of entry on the 50 Best list (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016); the media attention and interest in the restaurant, in the case of a Michelin star (Interview chef Anna, 2016); or, more generally, bringing guests to the restaurant, in the case of a positive valuation – and this independent of the valuation device. How they describe the impact of the different devices, however, varies greatly. This difference can be understood in the light of the two tiers of valuation devices.

In particular, the difference is manifested in the way chefs and restaurateurs distinguish between the *impact* of a valuation device *on* the restaurant and the *relevance* of a valuation device *for* the restaurant. Restaurant chef and owner Robert demarcates this distinction:

*“First of all, let me say, I’m not saying the [Michelin] guide is irrelevant. It’s very much relevant. But for me, within [my restaurant], how I approach... it’s not relevant. But if you ask me if it’s important, I think yes, of course it’s important. [...] That’s why Top 50 is relevant in many ways, because it’s much more within it’s time.”* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Robert, 2015)

On the one hand, the Michelin Guide is, in Robert’s opinion, important in the sense that it has the above outlined *impact* on the valuated restaurant. On the other hand, Robert perceives the Michelin Guide to be less relevant than other valuation devices, such as the 50 Best list. In this way, while all valuation devices have an impact, chefs and restaurateurs identify certain valuation devices to be more relevant for a specific restaurant than others. Restaurant owner and chef Jon gives an example for his restaurant:

*“Well, for me the big [ones] in terms of review, official classic review, it’s Berlingske and Politiken. Politiken is probably more our crowd, we [referring to his restaurant] are a little bit more left wing so to say in some senses. It’s more I think our people, and Berlingske because it seems to have the biggest impact that you can sense.”* (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015)

Elaborating on the differences between national newspapers, Jon points out that he perceives only certain of them to be relevant to his specific restaurant. These relevant valuation devices speak to his “crowd” and have “the biggest impact”. For these abilities, they are particularly valuable to him. This implies that chefs and restaurateurs attach (more) value to certain valuation devices (than to others). To formulate differently, chefs and restaurateurs *value* valuation devices. While the quotation by Jon indicates two ways of valuating, in the following, I will show that chefs and restaurateurs value valuation devices in four different ways: valuation devices can be valued for their ability to bring a message of a restaurant across; for their specific measures and classifications; they can be *de*-valuated; they can be ignored.

First, my interviewees in general state that each restaurant intends to send a specific *message* to guests, which can be the restaurant’s mission, its concept, or its approach to cooking. This *message* is essential for a restaurant. Valuation devices are perceived to be valuable for their possible help in spreading this *message* to a wider audience. For

example, asked about the consequences for the restaurant after it received a new valuation in a valuation device on a sustainable aspect of the restaurant, chef Anna states:

*“So I’m really interested in how guests might perceive it [that her restaurant has received a new rank in a valuation device]. It has a lot to do with the communication. We have to communicate it right. You know, like what I said; not give lectures at the table, but have people know about it in some way that’s not a... we’re forcing it down peoples’ throats, like ‘Please come here because we’re a sustainable restaurant’, but more like ‘Please come here because we’re a good restaurant.’” (Interview restaurant chef Anna, 2016)*

Anna elaborates on different possible interpretations that one specific valuation from a valuation device can imply. The valuation can highlight that it is a sustainable restaurant, but it can also highlight that the restaurant is a good one. For her, this distinction is important. Depending on the message that the restaurant wants to spread, one or the other valuation in a valuation device can support the specific message of the restaurant. To formulate it differently, depending on the message, one or the other valuation devices can help in transmitting it to the guests, to the right “crowd” (Interview restaurant owner and chef Jon, 2015). In this way, value is attached to valuation devices that support the restaurant’s communication and the spread of the message of the restaurant.

Restaurant owner Rasmus gives another example of this and emphasizes that valuation devices help transmit the restaurant’s message:

*“Then I told him [referring to the Michelin Guide inspector who was visiting the newly founded restaurant for the first time<sup>15</sup>], this is not a starred restaurant, this is for Bib Gourmand, we want the young people to come here. So it has to be value for money, and we would like to be in that category. Never star. But Bib Gourmand. So I actually told him, I think also we are in that segment, definitely, but I actually told him that we don’t want a star. Because I’ve had stars before, and that was not what I was looking for. [...] I guess he agreed, he understood that I wanted young people to eat fish, and this was our primary goal, and that’s what we wanted to do, so yeah, I think he had that, I definitely think he agreed.”*

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<sup>15</sup> According to Rasmus, this particular Michelin Guide inspector revealed his identity towards Rasmus, because the inspector was about to retire after 40 years of duty soon after the visit to the restaurant. Rasmus acknowledges that an inspector revealing his or her identity has not happened to him before or after. This can be seen as an exception. Rasmus claims that the inspector was in favor of the restaurant and its concept. Accordingly, the inspector initiated a conversation with Rasmus as the owner of the restaurant in order to talk about the restaurant. The quote above recaptures this conversation.

*He understood also the importance of this, you know, too. To develop the business.” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016)*

Second, the quote by Rasmus furthermore elaborates on another aspect of valuation. The valuation that his restaurant received from the Michelin Guide helped him achieve “the primary goal” and “develop the business”. In this way, valuation devices are valued by chefs and restaurateurs for their specific purposes. Chefs and restaurateurs distinguish between the different possible measures and classifications of valuations by the valuation devices, such as the specific rank or award they receive.

Specifically, Rasmus states that his restaurant is set up as a “Bib Gourmant” restaurant, which is described by the Michelin Guide as “good quality, good value cooking” which is “awarded for simple, yet skillful cooking” (The MICHELIN Guide, 2017, p. 7). This means, that it is not the highest possible rating in the Michelin Guide. Nonetheless, Rasmus “never” wants stars for the restaurant, i.e. a higher rating within the Michelin Guide. This implies that chefs and restaurants do not perceive a higher valuation by a valuation device to be necessarily better for their specific restaurant. Instead, the example of the Michelin Guide shows that the interest of a restaurant can be to be a part of a certain valuation device, but not necessarily receiving the highest valuation within this device. In this way, chefs and restaurateurs value the specific measures and classifications of the different valuation devices in accordance with their restaurant’s “goal”. This is particularly noteworthy, as it is in contrast to the description of the different valuation devices, which imply “the higher, the better”.

Third, in contrast to how chefs and restaurateurs value the valuation devices which they perceive to be relevant and valuable to the restaurant, they behave differently towards the valuation by *other* valuation devices, i.e. the ones that they perceive to be of no relevance to their restaurant. These are mostly the valuation devices of the second tier:

*“I don’t think that they hold as much power as they used to do. [...] because... now, you can fight back. [...] I mean, you see it all the time on this Yelp thing. That you know, people they... you know, guests would write a bad review of a restaurant because, for whatever reason, right? And then you see the restaurant responding. Which I think is a good idea, because of course at the end of the*

*day, the guests are our livelihood and we want them to come back and we want everyone to be happy. That's what every restaurant wants, right? And we also don't want to be treated unfairly, you know? And then, I think it's a very important point that you can fight back, if someone is being unreasonable to you. And... this whether it's a critic or it's a guest.”* (Interview restaurant chef Frederik, 2016)

The quote by Frederik demonstrates that it is possible for chefs and restaurateurs to not simply accept the practices of valuation devices, but instead to “fight back”. These valuation devices are perceived to be irrelevant and are of no value to the restaurant. Quite the opposite, they are perceived to be of potential harm to the restaurant, in this example, by spreading incorrect information about the restaurant. In order to avoid this happening to a restaurant, chefs and restaurateurs *de-valuate* the different valuation devices. In this example, they de-valuate the valuation devices by pointing out their factual mistakes publicly. Restaurant chef and owner David offers another example:

*“We're having a problem with [a valuation device] now, [...] because they include us in their guide, and then they send us a bill, for being in the guide! It's like 'what the hell are you talking about?! [...] and they came and say 'oh, we really like the place, and we think it should be in there', and so on. Cool. Er, yeah, bring it on, put us in there. So they came and made some pictures, and suddenly we got a bill for f\*cking 10,000 kroners! [...] I say... 'Are you crazy?' I wouldn't pay 10,000 kroners to Michelin to put me in it, and that's the f\*cking biggest guide in the world! When it's a guide, you don't have to pay it, you put me, find your money in your sponsors, like..! [Laughter] And like with them it's like, I told all, it's a pity for them, because this is stupid, now all my colleagues know that there's no respect and wherever they come they're gonna have the doors closing everywhere.”* (Interview restaurant chef and owner David, 2016)

In David's perception, the valuation device referred to in the quote is of less value than other valuation devices. David demonstrates how the valuation device is de-validated by him spreading his negative perception of the restaurant across to his colleagues in the fine-dining industry. In this way, chefs and restaurateurs de-valuate irrelevant valuation devices by making undesirable elements of them known to other actors – either in the public sphere or to their colleagues. These irrelevant valuation devices are described to be within the second tier of valuation devices.



Finally, it is important to point to a number of chefs and restaurateurs who claim the irrelevance of *all* valuation devices for their daily operations:

*“I never do anything based on what I think a guide is going to think. Ever! I never let the Top 50 guide, the Michelin, any guide influence the decisions I make in this restaurant. And... I mean, we do here... you have to do what you want to do, first and foremost. Because as soon as you start to do what other people want you to do, you might just as well shut your restaurant. Because you're not... this restaurant isn't alive anymore. It's like you're, you're so nervous about getting something or losing something that you stop doing what you want to do and what you originally opened a restaurant to do, and that, for me, I'm more happy with the fact that we serve the wine we want to serve, [...], we don't have don't have tablecloths, we... all the cutlery is in like a metal box. I'm more happy about the fact, and fulfilled about the fact that we do exactly what I think we should be doing and the staff thinks we should be doing. It comes from, like, your heart. As opposed to doing something that's shallow and forced, or something. So for me that's the most important part. That effects our innovation more so than any other aspect.”* (Interview restaurant chef and owner Mark, 2015)

In the understanding of Mark, valuation devices prevent restaurants from innovating. He claims to not perceive any valuation device to be relevant, and accordingly, that he does not take them into account. According to him, this is also what makes the restaurant Noma particularly successful:

*So these lists, in a way, are like a... maybe this sounds harsh, but... [...] They're poison. They are poison that are given to restaurants that kill them. They kill... they kill the restaurant industry in a way. Because they... they make people afraid. To change, to evolve. But I think, I think there's a small percentage of people that aren't afraid. I mean, René from Noma is one of them. And he's constantly changing, and innovating, and challenging stuff like this. And there's a small percentage, there's a group of people that have this formula, or not a formula, but have this... this passion that outweighs lists and stuff. And I mean, this whole creation, this whole restaurant, I think, subconsciously, I created it to challenge the perception of a restaurant.”* (Interview restaurant chef and owner Mark, 2015)

Similar to Mark, there are a number of chefs and restaurateurs that deem all valuation devices to be irrelevant to their restaurant. They claim to not take their valuations into account, but instead continue to work on their own basis, ignoring all valuations. This active choice of not acting upon the valuation of valuation devices is also a valuation of

valuation devices. Similar to the above outlined ways of valuation and de-valuation of specific valuation devices, the non-inclusion of valuation devices is based upon a prior evaluation of the devices. In this way, the inverted valuation in this case is similar in its means, but different in its outcome.

In sum, chefs and restaurateurs distinguish between relevant and irrelevant valuation devices, which is in line with the two tiers of valuation devices. While they value relevant valuation devices in two different ways, they also de-value the other valuation devices. There are also a number of chefs and restaurateurs that deem all valuation devices to be irrelevant to their restaurant. In each way, chefs and restaurateurs define which valuation devices they want to focus on.

### 6.3.3. Inverted valorization

Following the inverted evaluation and how the value of the different valuation devices in the Copenhagen fine-dining are assessed, this chapter has outlined the criteria for inverted valuation, the resulting two tiers of valuation devices and the attachment of value to valuation devices in the two tiers. It hereby becomes apparent that chefs and restaurateurs *valorize* the valuation devices, i.e. create value in the understanding of Vatin (2013). This conclusion can be drawn as the elements outlined in this chapter are in line with the two sub-processes of valorization in the understanding of Lamont (2012), i.e. recognition and diffusion, which I show in the following.

First, chefs and restaurateurs *recognize* the value of the different valuation devices along three common practices. They want valuation devices to reflect the three criteria of fairness, transparency and perceived truth in their valuation, as well as to reflect the accompanied values of equality and respect, openness, honesty, and accuracy. Based on this, the analysis has shown the recognition of these values by all interviewed chefs and restaurateurs. Also, it allowed identifying a ranking of the different valuation devices to further differentiate valuation devices within the elite group of valuation devices.

Second, chefs and restaurateurs *diffuse* the value of the different valuation devices. In particular chefs and restaurateurs focus on the valuation devices from the elite group,

whereas they tend to ignore others. Even though other valuation devices are perceived to have an effect on the restaurant, in the opinion of chefs and restaurateurs, these effects are not desirable in the sense that they do not want these effects to take place.

Summarizing this, it can be stated that chefs and restaurateurs implicitly apply these two sub-processes of valorization. In doing so, chefs and restaurateurs *valorize*, i.e. create value (Lamont, 2012). In particular, chefs and restaurateurs create value for themselves by identifying those valuation devices which should be taken into account. They create the value of a valuation device *for* their restaurant.

#### **6.4. Concluding discussion**

As an outcome of this chapter, it can be concluded that chefs and restaurateurs neither “welcome and appropriate” (Mellet et al., 2014, p. 39) nor “resent” (Sauder & Espeland, 2009, p. 68) valuation devices. Chefs and restaurateurs evaluate the different valuation devices along three qualities reflecting a nuanced weighting of these qualities for each of the groups of valuation devices, which is in line with Scott and Orlikowski (2012). In this way, they have a reflected opinion of the different valuation devices that supports and supplements previous research on how valuation devices themselves are valued by the valued object. This ‘inverted’ evaluation focuses on the practices of valuation devices and takes less of the outcome of the valuation devices into account. Rather than, for example, valuating a valuation device based on how it has valuated a chef’s own restaurant, chefs and restaurateurs’ valuation goes beyond that single event. This analysis has therefore provided a first indication of how the multiplicity of valuation devices is valued by the valued object.

Similarly, the analysis has enhanced the understanding of the multiplicity of valuation devices. Whereas Orlikowski and Scott (2014) demonstrate the importance of differentiating between the objectively identifiable differences of multiple valuation devices, this chapter goes even further and argues that different valuation devices are also *perceived* to be different. Chefs and restaurateurs focus much more on these perceived differences than the more objectively identifiable differences. This perception leads to an

inverted valuation. These perceived differences weigh more in how valuation devices are valued and dealt with by chefs and restaurateurs. Accordingly, when discussing the multiplicity of valuation devices, it is important to also elaborate on these perceived differences of valuation devices which in turn shape the way the multiplicity of valuation devices can be understood.

By delving into the different sub-processes that constitute a valuation in the understanding of Lamont (2012), the analysis has shown that the inverted valuation encompasses both an inverted evaluation and an inverted valorization. As Lamont argues, evaluation encompasses the sub-processes of selection, assessment, typification and arrangement, and valorization encompasses the sub-processes of recognition and diffusion. These sub-processes are also implicitly executed in the inverted valuation of chefs and restaurateurs. In this way, the inverted valuation reproduces the characteristics of valuation.

The first part of this analysis has outlined how the value of valuation devices is assessed, and the second part of this analysis has concluded with the production of value. However, rather than produce the value of the object that is valued, this valorization in the inverted valuation reflects back towards the chefs and restaurateurs and the generated value is mobilized for the restaurant. In particular, the inverted valuation causes chefs and restaurateurs to identify those valuation devices that are deemed to be particularly relevant and important. As such, they make it possible to identify which valuation devices they should focus upon.

The analysis concluded with the argumentation that rather than taking all groups of valuation devices into account in a similar way, chefs and restaurateurs define instead an elite group of valuation devices. For them, this elite group of valuation devices are valuation devices they deem to be relevant for their restaurant and is what they focus on in particular. This has strong implications for the performativity discussion within valuation studies (see for example Pollock & D'Adderio, 2012; Zuiderent-Jerak & Van Egmond, 2015). The analysis reveals that with the growing number of valuation devices, valued objects aim for a selective use of certain valuation devices for their particular purposes. It can therefore be argued that the unfolding of effects of the valuation devices come only

selectively into play. Chefs and restaurateurs try to steer towards the valuation devices from which they take their effects into account, while attempting to be less influenced by other valuation devices. Interestingly, these are not the valuation devices with the highest readership nor the ones with the highest number of restaurants to which they are compared to (such as TripAdvisor and Yelp). Rather, they are the ones which reflect the underlying criteria of the inverted valuation.

Finally, this analysis contributes with new findings within the field of fine-dining studies. The analysis has shown that food magazines are not perceived to be legitimate by chefs and restaurateurs and are instead ignored, which is rather surprising given previous findings (Mützel, 2015). Furthermore, whereas previous research has identified that the Michelin Guide in particular (Bouty et al., 2015), or gastronomic guides in general (Lane, 2013, 2014), but also the 50 Best list (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013) are the most important valuation devices, this analysis has demonstrated a more nuanced understanding of this. It has identified that in the perception of chefs and restaurateurs, a variety of valuation devices are deemed legitimate and important and can make up an elite group of valuation devices.

The implications on research are further developed in the discussion section. The following chapter builds upon this elite group of valuation devices and also continues in its investigation of how valuation devices are valued. It takes another angle on this and investigates how valuation devices are valued by other valuation devices.

## 7. (Inter)Relation of Valuation Devices

The previous chapter has investigated fine-dining chefs' and restaurateurs' valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices and identified what I refer to as inverted valuation. It has identified that chefs and restaurateurs have a nuanced weighting of different qualities, which leads to a reflective opinion about the different valuation devices. Adding to the overall picture of how valuation devices are valued by their associated actors, this chapter investigates how valuation devices are valued by actors of other valuation devices. In doing so, this chapter builds upon both the first and the second analytical chapter. Following my findings from the first analytical chapter, I expand my research into how valuation devices are related to one another and, from the second analytical chapter I build upon the understanding of the elite circle of valuation devices. As such, this chapter focuses on how actors of valuation devices value each other and relate to each other.

As outlined in the theoretical background and reiterated in the previous analytical chapters, there is a lack of research focusing on the valuation of valuation devices. The previous chapter has provided an initial understanding of how valuation devices are valued by objects, which themselves are subject to valuation, in the thesis' context chefs and restaurateurs. This thesis builds on this developed understanding of valuation of valuation devices and continues to investigate the different sub-processes of evaluation, i.e. selection, assessment, typification, and arrangement, and of valorization, i.e. recognition and diffusion (Lamont, 2012). It investigates these sub-processes in the valuation of valuation devices by actors from other valuation devices. To attain a deeper understanding of this form of valuation, Pollock and D'Adderio (2012) study the perception of valuation devices from the point of view of various "actors involved in and around the ranking" (p. 571). Even though not all of these actors' perceptions are incorporated into their analysis, their basic assumption is that valuation devices are accepted and supported by surrounding actors. This analytical chapter builds upon this understanding of acceptance and investigates the perceptions by actors from valuation devices of other devices upon which such acceptance is based. As such, this chapter first studies how actors of valuation devices value each other.

Furthermore, as explored in the theoretical background chapter, existing valuation studies have a strong focus on the influence valuation devices have on the valuated object. What, in contrast, has remained rather understudied is how valuation devices interact with one another. Contributing to this understudied field, this chapter is inspired by the work of Du Rietz (2015). Du Rietz focuses on “the orientation of valuation devices to each other” (p. 163). In her study, she outlines examples of the orientation of valuation devices, which, in turn, affect the work of actors of these valuation devices. Based on these observations, she concludes “that valuation devices are not simply composed in terms of what they assess. The ideas of how something should be valued may come from elsewhere” (p. 163). She acknowledges that valuation devices influence each other, but argues that the influence “concerned not so much the process [...] as the outcome” (p. 162). While Du Rietz points to one possibility of how devices interact with one another, this analytical chapter investigates this interaction in a different context.

Taking these two aspects together – how actors of valuation devices valuated each other and how valuation devices interact with each other – this chapter examines the questions: *How do actors of valuation devices value other valuation devices, how are valuation devices in the elite circle of valuation devices related to each other, and what implications do such interrelationships have for restaurants?* In order to answer this question, this chapter first outlines how actors of the different valuation value both their own and other valuation devices. Based on these findings, my analysis elaborates on how actors of valuation devices interact with other valuation devices. Going further, the analysis investigates this relationship and identifies how actors of valuation devices know each other personally. Finally, the analysis outlines the implications of these interconnected relationships, indicating that there are strong consequences for valuation devices themselves, but also for objects valuation devices valuated, i.e. restaurants.

This chapter mobilizes data from interviews conducted by the author with actors of different valuation devices and includes four newspaper journalists, both national and international, two 50 Best chairs, a manager of the 50 Best list, the editor of the 50 Best list, one food blogger, and the (former) editor of the White Guide. These are supplemented

with two expert interviews, one with a restaurant consultant and one with a food entrepreneur. I consider these two interviewees to be in-between valuation devices and restaurants and, accordingly, are argued to have an independent perspective on valuation devices. While the interviewees represent a broad range of actors as well almost all of the different groups of valuation devices, this set of interviews does not include one major valuation device: the Michelin Guide (see chapter 4 for further details).

This chapter attempts to compensate for this lack of interview data by drawing on secondary sources concerning this device. Fortunately, there are many of them (Bouty et al., 2015; B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013; Lane, 2014). This secondary data gives an indication of the functions of the Michelin Guide. In addition, with all the other interviewees, I have spoken *about* the Michelin Guide, so that this device can nonetheless be considered to be included as all other devices. Nonetheless, the author of this thesis acknowledges that this makes a difference and creates a certain bias. In particular, the secondary data does not take the Michelin Guide's view on the findings of this thesis into account. Likewise, it gives no indication of the perception of, or possible relations of the Michelin Guide with other valuation devices. The interpretations only stem from the interviews with actors of other valuation devices.

Before delving into the analysis, it is worth restating how empirical studies focusing on fine-dining have taken the perception of valuation devices into account. As outlined both in the theoretical background and in the second analytical chapter, there is a lack of research that takes the perception of valuation devices into account. One notable exception is the work of Lane (2014), who also, to some extent, takes into account how chefs in fine-dining perceive such valuation devices.

Furthermore, as outlined in the theoretical background, there is a lack of research that takes into account how valuation devices relate to one another. However, there are several indications of how such interrelationships might unfold. Christensen and Pedersen (2013) elaborate on the differences between the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list and indicate that they are potentially oriented towards each other, thus providing a potential point of departure for studying the relationship between various devices. Furthermore,



Mützel (2015) argues that valuation devices “shape the culinary field as well as being shaped by it” (p. 151). She specifies that actors of valuation devices are influenced “by the context in which they are embedded, such as [...] practices and other actors” (p. 151). But she does not elaborate on how these practices and actors might originate from other valuation devices, which is why it is possible to argue that other actors and the practices of other valuation devices might also influence the practices of valuation devices. Therefore, the following analysis will be an important contribution to the current empirical knowledge.

### 7.1. Valuable valuation devices

In line with chefs and restaurateurs, actors of valuation devices begin the valuation of valuation devices with a selection of valuation devices. They focus their valuation of valuation devices on only a certain number of devices. Similar to the newspaper media, in the selection they disregard others completely. As such, some of the valuation devices are perceived as not being “worth anything” (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016), while others are deemed very “helpful” (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015), “credible” (Interview 50 Best chair Sebastian, 2016) and are seen with “respect” (Interview journalist Thor, 2016). Interestingly, the in the valuation included devices are overlapping with the elite circle of valuation devices defined by chefs and restaurateurs. Table 19 gives an overview of the different valuation devices that, based on my interviews, are perceived as part of the elite group of valuation devices by actors of valuation devices.

<i>(Group of) Valuation Device(s)</i>	
The Michelin Guide	Elite Group of Valuation Devices
The 50 Best list	
National food guides	
Food bloggers	
National newspapers	
<i>International newspapers</i>	
<i>Online rankings</i>	

Table 19: Elite group of valuation devices according to the actors of valuation devices

It is worth emphasizing that this elite group is slightly different from the one presented according to the chefs and restaurateurs in the previous chapter. While chefs and restaurateurs exclude most of the food bloggers from this elite group, actors from the valuation devices include them. Alternatively, actors of the valuation devices ignore international newspapers, which are respected by chefs and restaurateurs. Apart from these slight differences, actors of valuation devices build on the same classification of valuation devices within the elite group of valuation devices.

Following the selection, actors of valuation devices assess and typify the different valuation devices within the elite group. Similar to the how chefs and restaurateurs value valuation devices according to their practices, also in the valuation of valuation devices by actors of valuation devices, the focus is on the individual practices of the different devices. As such, actors of the valuation devices do not value the device as a whole entity, but rather the different practices of these valuation devices individually. However, rather than to focus on a specific set of qualities as chefs and restaurateurs, actors of the valuation devices describe valuation practices, which they *think* influence the perceived value of the particular devices. To formulate it differently, actors of valuation devices focus on how practices are perceived to be valuable and not valuable and on how these practices of valuation devices in their opinion increase or decrease the perceived value of that valuation device. The following section elaborates on this assessment and typification for each of the different valuation devices within the elite group of valuation devices and outlines the valuable and disadvantageous practices of each of the devices.

### **7.1.1. Reviews in National newspapers**

#### **Valuable practices**

Actors from valuation devices perceive reviewing new restaurants as a particularly valuable practice of reviews in national newspapers.

*“And we will also rather rigorously follow our colleagues in other printed media and [their] online media to see what they write about. Online media, in particular, is very helpful in terms of what is opening on this and that corner in Aalborg and in Odense.”* (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015)

Given the geographical focus of national newspapers being within Denmark, they are argued to be able to identify new restaurants throughout the country. In line with this identification, they are also able to review these restaurants right after they have opened. Similar to actors of other valuation devices, food reviewers from the national newspapers themselves also highlight this practice in their work:

*“[A]s a news media, you have to be quick, and when interesting restaurants are opening in Copenhagen, people are almost competing to get their review out first. Sometimes we are joking with [one reviewer of the three national newspapers]; normally he’s there on the opening day, or, in the first week.”*  
(Interview journalist Thor, 2016)

Journalist Thor emphasizes that this practice is a *must* in the work of national newspapers. He specifies that this practice is so important that this it is described to be the core practice of in the reviews of national newspapers.

*“I think we focus on what’s the new thing in Danish cuisine, [...] and I think we summon up some tendencies in the Danish gastronomy that make an impact on the food scene, I think.”* (Interview journalist Thor, 2016)

Both actors from different valuation devices and food reviewers writing for national newspapers themselves, perceive the practice of newspapers reviewing new restaurants right after their opening as particularly valuable.

### **Disadvantageous practices**

Hand in hand with the practice of reviewing a restaurant as soon as possible after its opening, food reviewers from national newspapers need to be very flexible, often visit the restaurant alone and write the review alone. However, this practice of reviewing restaurants by a single author is seen by several of my interviewees to decrease the perceived value of national newspapers.

*“[I]f you read the reviews printed by [...] the daily newspapers, they will be entertaining and they will reflect one person’s experience for one visit, which is all very fine, but [...] It doesn’t necessarily translate or it is not reproducible.”*  
(Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015)

In the view of Søren, this practice implies a subjective opinion and thus is argued to reduce the objectivity of a national newspaper so that is perceived to be disadvantageous.

Going further, food reviewers from the national newspapers themselves view their way of integrating online media to be disadvantageous:

*“I think, in fact, we [...] have a problem, because we are, in a way, writing about food the same way we did 10 or 15 years ago. [...] And it's a very good way to tell a story, but it's also a very traditional way to tell a story and do a food/ restaurant review. So we ought to be better to use the new platforms digitally, and the new ways to tell stories digitally. I think you can do a lot of things with pictures and maybe video if you want, to show how a meal is; so I think we're doing much the same as we've done the last 15 years ago.”* (Interview journalist Thor, 2016)

The “very traditional” way of writing food reviews is perceived to be disadvantageous. With the possibilities in online media to not only express a valuation not only through words, but also through pictures, Thor describes that losing out on these possibilities is disadvantageous for reviews made by national newspapers. In the view of Thor, reviews in national newspapers potentially may therefore not have the same impact as they had “10 or 15 years ago”.

In sum, on the one hand, reviews in national newspapers are perceived to be valuable for their core practice of focusing on reviewing new restaurants in Denmark right after they have opened. On the other hand, as it resembles one subjective experience, the practice of reviewing restaurants by a single actor is perceived to be disadvantageous, and so is the traditional style of writing reviews. Table 20 summarizes the practices that are perceived to be valuable and disadvantageous within reviews of national newspapers.

<i>Valuable practices</i>	<i>Disadvantageous practices</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Focus on new restaurants in Denmark</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subjective experience</li> <li>• Traditional style of writing reviews</li> </ul>

Table 20: Valuable and disadvantageous practices within reviews in national newspapers

## 7.1.2. Food bloggers

### Valuable practices

Similar to national newspapers, food bloggers are also perceived to be valuable due to their focus on new restaurants.

*“[They] love to discover something new, try something new. And that’s the age we’re living in, you know, discovering new pleasures [...] So, I think you need to have some novelty, [...] something that nobody has seen before.”* (Interview 50 Best chair Tomas, 2016)

By describing that food bloggers “love to” take new elements into account, 50 Best chair Tomas, on the one hand, emphasizes that this practice is particularly valuable. On the other hand, he also describes food bloggers to be “cool hunters” that are searching for “new pleasures”. Whereas it is perceived as a “must” for food reviewers from newspapers to identify new restaurants, for food bloggers, it is perceived as a “want to”. Food bloggers are argued to *want to* identify and find new restaurants. In line with this, food bloggers not only take new restaurants into account, but also have a focus on identifying novelty within fine-dining and among restaurants. Furthermore, food bloggers can be distinguished from the national newspapers because they seldom are restricted to national boundaries, but instead have an international scope.

Jannick furthermore views food bloggers as valuable for allowing more persons to value:

*“So, I see there is a lot of criticism towards the restaurants, but in a sense, it’s becoming more democratic.”* (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)

The quotation indicates that food bloggers take a “democratic” stance in the sense that, first, a food blog as such allows more inexperienced people to write about food and express their opinions and, second, that valuers are not bound to a particular valuation device, but can create their own. In his opinion, this is something valuable and makes fine-dining food more accessible to a wider audience. However, comparing Jannick’s point that food blogging allows less experienced individuals to write reviews with the previous analytical chapter, in which chefs and restaurateurs classify food bloggers by their experience and number of followers, it can be argued that in the quotation above, Jannick

describes the ideal of food blogging causing a more open approach of valuation devices. Nonetheless, in practice, the “serious” food bloggers are perceived to be more experienced.

### **Disadvantageous practices**

Jannick’s quotation above not only points out a valuable practice of food bloggers, but also indicates that, in combination with the possibility of more inexperienced persons to review a restaurant, food bloggers might have incentives to create untrustworthy valuations. Jannick elaborates on this:

*“I think, that [it] is [...] increasingly difficult and sometimes unfair to the restaurants because people sometimes take the opportunity to complain for no reason or for not having a free meal or [just to be] mean because of their competitors or something.” (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)*

Some food bloggers are accused of writing a food blog for their own benefit, i.e. to get meals for free. This practice is perceived to be disadvantageous because it moves the focus away from the practice of creating a trustworthy valuation of a restaurant. In line with this perception, Thor elaborates on a big number of food bloggers in Denmark:

*“[T]here’s quite a large scene of bloggers in Denmark, as well as a large scene in other countries, but [in Denmark,] you have to be a member of Dansk Madforening; you have to be in a media organization which [is] working under the Danish law [...], so that makes it possible for restaurant owners or anybody else who reads a review to make a complaint [...]; it’s a jury but of the press. If they find there’s been something wrong with this review, you can make a complaint. And in that way, our members [have] to be in a system where their reviews are edited and there’s an editor-in-chief. So [...] that makes it impossible for bloggers to get into our guild. Because they are not under the same system.” (Interview journalist Thor, 2016)*

Journalist Thor describes this “large scene of food bloggers” rather critically. In the quotation above, he establishes a distinction between edited newspaper articles and food blogs, which in his opinion are less valuable because that they cannot be judged or held accountable for any mistrustful activity. In his comparison, food bloggers can basically write whatever they want in a way that might harm another person or a restaurant, but they

cannot be held accountable through the “jury of the press”. In his opinion, food bloggers are less valuable with regards to their freedom to write in any way they please.

In sum, on the one hand, the practice of wanting to identify new restaurants and novelty as well as the democratic aspects of food blogging enhance the value of these devices in the eyes of the actors of valuation device, because it is described to invite also inexperienced people into fine-dining. On the other hand, the latter practice also decreases the perceived value of food blogs, because inexperienced actors are described to potentially produce untrustworthy reviews. Table 21 summarizes the practices that are perceived to be valuable and disadvantageous by food bloggers.

<i>Valuable practices</i>	<i>Disadvantageous practices</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Focus on new restaurants internationally; “cool hunters”</li> <li>• Make fine-dining more accessible</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Untrustworthy reviews</li> <li>• Possibility to write whatever they want; no jury</li> </ul>

Table 21: Valuable and disadvantageous practices of food bloggers

### 7.1.3. National food guides

#### Valuable practices

Whereas the first two outlined (groups of) valuation devices in this section are perceived to be valuable because they include restaurants that have just opened, the practice of giving an overview of all restaurants in the country of national food guides is described as being valuable:

*“White Guide is [...] a good way to get an overview of restaurants in Denmark.”*  
(Interview journalist Thor, 2016)

Along the same line, Sebastian elaborates:

*“I see [White Guide] more like a tool for any person who is interested in food than as a general rating. Of course, I would have a look at the top 30 restaurants here, but this is more of a journalistically written opus that would describe and guide me in a more personal way than The 50 Best or The Michelin Guide. [...] Reading this guide would, in one minute, give me the exact view or the style of*

*the restaurant and help me form my opinion on the restaurant.” (Interview 50 Best chair Sebastian, 2016)*

Sebastian highlights that national food guides not only are valuable for giving an overview, but also for their way of giving this overview. They are described to have a personal writing style guiding the reader. The basis of this practice is specified by actors working for the national food guides by making a comparison to other valuation devices:

*“There are these two other guides: Danmarks Bedste Spisesteder and Den Danske Spiseguide, none of which really contain reviews and also neither does this one [pointing to the Michelin Guide]. So, we really only have... three guides covering, to some extent, Danish restaurants. None of them really talking about what you can expect as a guest apart from, sort of, level of stars or plates or whatever it is that they hand out. And I think with the increasing interest and awareness of quality aspects in fine-dining, it was just a question of time before somebody came in and said "look, we're going to actually, sort of, put a qualification on the rating" and so it just seems that we're the ones to do that, which I'm very happy about.” (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015)*

Søren underlines that the valuation device encompasses both a review and rating, and, in this combination, is argued to guide the reader more. In this way, he describes the national food guides to combine a unique combination of two forms of valuation:

*“So even though... it is based on a subjective experience, somebody is out there trying it out, having an experience, feeling something about it, liking the taste or not liking the people. We are trying to sort of channel that into something, which is slightly more quantifiable and thereby creating something which is, I would say, some kind of mix between the subjective and the objective.” (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015)*

White Guide editor Søren highlights the “mix between subjective and objective”, which is, in his opinion, particularly valuable. Søren believes that the White Guide makes the subjective experience “more quantifiable” making the national food guides particular valuable. With regards to the “objective”, he refers to the practice of other valuation devices being less transparent than national food guides, which he elaborates in the following.

*“And in terms of the three written guides, I would say that the big difference is that we have full transparency of our rating system and we have a rich*



*qualification of the rating in terms of text work: explanation, analysis, valuation and hopefully, you know, a certain amount of some inspirational, maybe even poetic, text that people can feel inspired reading.”* (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015)

In the description of Søren, the White Guide’s valuation is standardized and transparent, which is why it is argued to be particularly valuable.

### **Disadvantageous practices**

While the practice of giving an overview of all restaurants in Denmark is perceived to be valuable, this practice requires certain financial investments in creating this overview. The way the national food guide makes these investments is however perceived to be a disadvantageous practice:

*“White Guide [... has] problems with money so in fact they have [...] problems getting money into the business. [...] They don't sell that many copies. [...] When I bought this one, I asked [...] ‘how many have you sold of this?’ and I think they [Danish bookstore] had sold about 50, in one month. Yeah, it's one of the large book chains in Denmark, and if they sell 50, it's not a big sell. So, so they had to find sponsors, so you can say the impact of this is maybe more business-to-business for the sponsors, not for the ordinary restaurant guests.”* (Interview journalist Thor, 2016)

In the quotation above, Thor raises certain doubts about the financial situation of the White Guide, in particular, as well as national food guides in general. The national food guides are described as struggling financially. As a result, forcing them to focus on other activities that go beyond the valuation of restaurants might potentially influence the actual work of producing high quality valuations. As such, this focus degenerates the perceived value of this group of valuation devices.

In sum, on the one hand national food guides are perceived to be valuable for the practice of giving an overview of restaurants in Denmark and for their way they do so by combining objective and subjective elements in the valuation. On the other hand, this practice requires a certain financial investment and the way to make such investments through funding from external sponsors is described to be disadvantageous. Table 22 summarizes

the practices that are perceived to be valuable and disadvantageous for national food guides.

<i>Valuable practices</i>	<i>Disadvantageous practices</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overview of restaurants in one country</li> <li>• Objective and subjective valuation of the experience</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Additional focus on funding from external sponsors draws attention away from their valuations</li> </ul>

Table 22: Valuable and disadvantageous practices of national food guides

### 7.1.4. The World's 50 Best Restaurants list

#### Valuable practices

Whereas the national food guides are valued for giving an overview of the restaurants throughout one country, in this case Denmark, the 50 Best restaurant list is perceived to be valuable for mapping gastronomy with a more global scope:

*“And the 50 Best changes all that for a restaurant. Suddenly you come on to the radar, on to the gastronomic radar, and that’s what’s the 50 Best is. It is not really a ranking, you can’t take it too seriously, but whether it is 1 to 5, or 40th; it is not relevant, it is a radar, and it is basically is a question of being on the list or outside of the list. And there are a lot of people around the world who look at the list for inspiration because it is a kind of parameter on what’s happening in creative gastronomy.”* (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)

Journalist Jannick perceives the 50 Best list to be a global “gastronomic radar”. He specifies that the 50 Best list is particularly valuable for its ability to point out upcoming and trendy restaurants around the world. Søren elaborates on this:

*“Well, obviously the San Pellegrino list [former name of the 50 Best list] is a marketing stunt, a very well carried out marketing stunt. It is great and I, for one, appreciate that kind of list; it is like listening to [...] new music on the hit chart; it’s great, it’s fun.”* (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2016)

Søren points out that the 50 Best list is not only a radar, but it is also a way of presenting and promoting upcoming and trendy restaurants around the world. As such, it points out restaurants that are “great” and “fun”, but which at the same time are deemed to have the fulfill certain requirements to be able to be promoted. For example, most restaurants from

the Top 50 restaurants are located in big cities around the world, which makes them easy to visit. Becoming part of the 50 Best list thus implies entering into the spotlight of the gastronomic world.

Introducing a practice to increase the 50 Best list's objectivity is argued to make the 50 Best list valuable:

*"[W]e needed to demonstrate to the world that this was not a random list. Sometimes 50 Best in the past has been portrayed as very unscientific, [and] completely subjective. [...] [W]e wanted to demonstrate [...] that we were taking this seriously ourselves, and also reassure people that this was not open to easy manipulation. That is important. Now we are not saying that there is no chance that anyone can influence this list somehow, but we are trying to make it very clear, very difficult for them to do that."* (Interview 50 Best list editor Lars, 2016)

In the quotation, Lars describes a change within the practices of the 50 Best list. As outlined in the previous chapter, chefs and restaurateurs criticize the 50 Best list for its opaque practices used to create the valuation. Chefs and restaurateurs are not the only source of this critique; it is also expressed by a number of different sources (e.g. Lane, 2014). As a response to this critique, Lars explains that the 50 Best list decided to introduce a new control process in 2015 with "Deloitte as an independent adjudicator", which is described as "an important step for" the 50 Best list (Interview 50 Best list editor Lars, 2016). As such, the 50 Best list changed one of its practices that was seen to be disadvantageous into one that is seen to be valuable. In order to counter the criticism as much as possible, the 50 Best Restaurants list gives wide room for the adjudicator:

*"Their role is simply to effectively observe the whole process, from the selection of the voters through to the actual voting process."* (Interview 50 Best list editor Lars, 2016)

The "whole process" is described to include a wide range of activities within the 50 Best list; even the "events are adjudicated by the Deloitte" (Interview 50 Best list manager Lena, 2016). Alternatively, the 50 Best list did not become more transparent, but rather incorporated an independent observer who approves the process and deems it legitimate. The purpose of the introduction is clear: the 50 Best list wants to guarantee the anonymity

of their actors and does not want to change their internal processes, but, at the same time, they want to prove to the public that their process is controlled by an independent source, guaranteeing the fairness of the procedure.

In line with this, the 50 Best chair, Tomas, also states:

*“What people need to understand is [that] this is a ranking, a list, and as every list, it has its good things and it has its bad things. It is as clean... from my point of view, given what I could see in these years, [...] as possible.”* (Interview 50 Best chair Tomas, 2016)

Tomas emphasizes that, in his opinion, the 50 Best list is “as clean as possible” and has changed for the better as it has countered the criticism it was facing. In his opinion, the 50 Best list is as valuable as it can get, given the voting schema upon which it is based that produces rankings of the “best restaurants in the world”.

### **Disadvantageous practices**

Interestingly, even though the 50 Best list intended to counter the criticism of perceived opaqueness by introducing an independent adjudicator, the process remains to be seen to be relatively opaque. Jannick describes the way the 50 Best list creates its valuation to be disadvantageous:

*“So the list has changed. I mean, first of all, we have to admit there is a lot of junks [...] on the list as well, [...] There is no jury that sits down and decided contenders together. [...] The jury changes all the time, and the jury is expanding and that has happened in the last few years.”* (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)

As pointed out before, the 50 Best list changes 33% of the voters every year, which in Jannick’s perception is too much. Jannick furthermore states the following when asked about how he perceives the criteria of the list:

*“That’s impossible to say because there is around a thousand people in the jury, and I’m sure they look for completely different things. So, the list is not based on consensus.”* (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)

The voting system upon which the 50 Best list is based (rather than a consensus-based decision decided upon by a jury) is seen by Jannick relatively ambiguous in terms of what the voters look for in the valuation of “the best” restaurants. On the one hand, a voting system makes it possible to identify many different upcoming and trendy restaurants. On the other hand, this practice implies that the list is less coherent because the voters look for “completely different things”. As such, the list is perceived to encompass a variety of different restaurants. To formulate it differently, any restaurant at all has the potential to make the list, regardless of its quality, popularity, or how recently it opened.

In sum, on the one hand, the 50 Best list is perceived to be valuable for the practice of being a global gastronomic radar and mapping upcoming and trendy restaurants. Similar, the newly introduced, external legitimation of its opaque valuation practice is argued to be valuable. On the other hand, the instability of the voters and their undefined focus in what are the requirements of a restaurant to be “the best” are described to be disadvantageous. Table 23 summarizes the practices that are perceived to be valuable and disadvantageous for the 50 Best list.

<i>Valuable practices</i>	<i>Disadvantageous practices</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Global gastronomic radar</li> <li>• External legitimation of opaque process</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Instability of voters</li> <li>• Unclear focus of voters</li> </ul>

Table 23: Valuable and disadvantageous practices of the 50 Best list

### **7.1.5. The Michelin Guide**

In line with the description by Lane (2014), my interviewees, without exception, perceive the Michelin Guide to be one of the most respected valuation devices within the elite circle of valuation devices.

#### **Valuable practices**

One reason for the actors of other valuation devices’ respect for the Michelin Guide is that it has been without competition or comparable alternatives for many years, thus creating a benchmark for all other valuation devices, as journalist Jannick describes:

*“[B]efore [the 50 Best Restaurants list], [other valuation devices,] they came, they went, they started, and they folded into bankruptcy, and so on. But the Michelin Guide has stayed on for a hundred years. And suddenly there is this other guide [referring to the 50 Best list] that just keeps growing and growing and growing and growing, [...] but they haven’t changed the business model in the Michelin guide. They haven’t taken on sponsors like the 50 Best [list] has; they haven’t seemed to have changed their criteria much.” (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)*

Jannick, as well as other interviewees (e.g. Interview journalist Marie, 2014; Interview journalist Thor, 2016), describe the Michelin Guide as a very stable valuation device. This stability is perceived to be valuable because it makes the Michelin Guide reproducible and somewhat predictable. Hand in hand with this consistency, Jannick highlights the independence of the Michelin Guide in comparison to the 50 Best list. Being independent of sponsors or other external sources makes the Michelin Guide trustworthy (Lane, 2010, 2014). It is perceived to be valuable both for its consistency in the way it values restaurants, and in its independence.

Furthermore, in contrast to what chefs and restaurateurs describe in the previous chapter, actors of the valuation devices claim the Michelin Guide takes new restaurants into account.

*“In the modern gastronomy world there is [the] view that the Michelin is really outdated. And it does not promote young cuisine, it does not see creativity, it does not understand the modern world of restaurants, and I think that is complete rubbish. I think that Michelin really understands what, with a few mistakes, and definitely not without fails like anybody, but they try to look for [new] restaurants and they always have, you know. They gave three stars and two stars and one stars to all the great chefs that we know. They are quite quick to pick up on chefs around the last decades in modern time.” (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)*

In the quote, Jannick contradicts the criticism that chefs and restaurateurs express towards the Michelin Guide of not taking “creativity” and new trends in cuisine into account. Instead, he emphasizes that the Michelin Guide actually takes new, “young” cuisine into account as well as new regions (Bouty & Gomez, 2013) into account. In this context of the criticism that is raised by chefs and restaurateurs, and that previous

research has also pointed to (e.g. Lane, 2014), being able to take on new trends is what makes Jannick perceive the Michelin Guide to be valuable. Giving a further example, food blogger Anders Husa states:

*“Finally, it seemed the [Michelin] Guide was catching up with the revolution that had taken place in the Nordic dining scene! If they hadn’t made this move [including also restaurants in the Nordics outside the major cities in their valuation], they would risk being considered insignificant and outdated yet another year, and lose even more ground to the White Guide.”* (Husa, 2017)

Food blogger Husa argues that the Michelin Guide has changed and opened towards the “Nordic dining scene”. By this, he refers to the newest edition of the “Michelin Guide Nordics”, which is more inclusive of the Nordic Countries and goes beyond its major cities. Husa points out that the Michelin Guide has changed certain elements of its publications, which is already a significant departure from its perceived stiffness in many other aspects, which also chefs and restaurateurs describe. In this way, taking on these changes, and striking “a balance in including these changes” (Interview journalist Marie, 2014) makes the Michelin Guide be perceived as valuable by actors of other valuation devices.

Finally, the Michelin Guide is often compared to the 50 Best list:

*“The difference is that, you know, on the 50 Best, there are only 50 restaurants or a hundred if you put it that way, but it is 50 restaurants whereas the Michelin guide includes thousands of restaurants across the world. So, yes, the Michelin guide is more inclusive than the 50 Best.”* (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)

Similar to what actors of valuation devices describe for National Food Guides, the Michelin Guide is perceived to be more inclusive with more restaurants around the world. By making the comparison to the 50 Best list, Jannick elevates the practice of the Michelin Guide to be more inclusive. In this way, he perceives that the Michelin Guide is able to evaluate more restaurants. In contrast to the 50 Best list, which is perceived to limit its valuations to a specific number, there is no numerical limit to how many restaurants are evaluated by the Michelin Guide. In this way, he perceives the practice of including more restaurants as valuable.

### Disadvantageous practices

While the Michelin Guide is appreciated for its ability to take new trends into account, it is the same time criticized for being slow in taking up these new trends and developments, as is exemplified in the above quotation by the food blogger Husa. In line with the description by Christensen and Pedersen (2013), that the Michelin Guide focuses on continuity and steady development, many of my interviewees perceive this practice to be disadvantageous, as it not able to take up new trends on time (Interview newspaper journalist Marie, 2014; Interview 50 White Guide editor Søren, 2015; Interview newspaper journalist Thor, 2016). In this, the Michelin Guide is described to have “too much trust in the good old understanding of a restaurant” (Interview newspaper journalist Marie, 2014) and it takes time for the Michelin Guide to take on the trends. Rather than promoting trends, as the 50 Best list is described, the Michelin Guide is described as “following trends” (Interview newspaper journalist Marie, 2014).

Furthermore, the opaque valuation practice by the Michelin Guide is elaborated on, for example by Thor:

*“I think it's difficult to see how, in detail, Michelin works. Of course you can, what they say themselves, but it's difficult to see behind the scenes. It's the same with, World's 50 Best; there's been a lot of fuss about [their valuation practices], from different regions and countries.”* (Interview journalist Thor, 2016)

In the quotation, Thor makes the comparison to the 50 Best lists and points out that both are perceived to be opaque in their practices. Furthermore, he highlights that there is “a lot of fuss” about these practices, as they leave room for interpretation, and certain decisions of awarding stars or a specific rank are, in the opinion of actors of other valuation devices, not reproducible. In this way, my interviewees speculate on the particular criteria that are actually relevant for the Michelin Guide. Similarly, Lane (2014) finds contrasting indications on whether or not “only the quality of the food is considered” (p. 291). Accordingly, and similar to the 50 Best list, leaving room for interpretation and the opaqueness are perceived to be disadvantageous practices of the Michelin Guide. Interestingly though, this



opaqueness creates “a lot of fuss”, i.e. high attention for the guide by other valuation devices:

*“[The Michelin is] mysterious about their guide! [...] That’s crazy. But then, they get attention in another way, because every year the national journalists say, ‘we don’t understand why they’re [referring to a restaurant in Copenhagen] not getting a star because they are bla bla bla, and then they get lots of attention. So I think in the end, it’s OK, because they’re still respected from the national journalist team.” (Interview consultant Chris, 2016)*

While in the quotation above, Chris first agrees that the practices of being opaque are disadvantageous, he also acknowledges that the Michelin Guide nonetheless “get lots of attention”. This underlines that despite the opaqueness, which is valued as being disadvantageous for the Michelin Guide, the Guide is a device that is followed by other devices. In this way, it can be stated that despite its disadvantageous practices, it is one of the most respected valuation devices, which also previous research has highlighted (Lane, 2010, 2014).

To sum up, on the one hand, the Michelin Guide is perceived to be valuable for its consistency in valuing restaurants and for its ability to take new and upcoming restaurants into account. Similarly, it is argued to be valuable for including a wide range of restaurants. On the other hand, its slowness in changes, as well as the opaque valuation practice is described as disadvantageous. Table 24 summarizes the practices that are perceived to be valuable and disadvantageous for the Michelin Guide.

<i>Valuable practices</i>	<i>Disadvantageous practices</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consistency and independence in valuing restaurants</li> <li>• Catching up with developments in cuisine</li> <li>• Inclusive with restaurants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Slow to change</li> <li>• Opaque in how restaurants are valued</li> </ul>

Table 24: Valuable and disadvantageous practices of the Michelin Guide

### 7.1.6. Valuing valuation devices

So far, this chapter has shown how actors of valuation devices value other valuation devices. Following the initial selection of valuation devices into an elite group of valuation devices, the valuation devices within the elite group are assessed and typified along their practices. Interestingly, in this way, it is not the whole valuation device that is valued, but instead only their practices which are deemed valuable or disadvantageous *for* the device. In this way, actors of valuation devices have a nuanced understanding of the individual practices of the valuation, but do not express an overall opinion or reflection about the different devices.

Based on the above, it is possible to identify general practices that these actors deem to be more valuable than other. Although reviews in national newspapers, food bloggers and the Michelin Guide have different geographical scopes, both are deemed valuable due to their practice of taking new restaurants into account. National newspapers, as their name implies, have a focus on national restaurants and identify food trends within the country, whereas food bloggers are perceived to pick upon various national trends and thus are able to make international comparisons of these trends. The White Guide and the 50 Best list are deemed valuable due to their practice of mapping gastronomy and highlighting certain top restaurants. Similar to the national newspapers and food bloggers, the national food guides and the 50 Best list also apply this practice with a different geographical focus. Whereas the national food guides operate on a national basis, the 50 Best list provides an overall international gastronomic radar for great and trendy restaurants.

Furthermore, the decreasing value of national newspapers and the Michelin Guide, the valuable aspect of the White Guide and the changing practice of the 50 Best list emphasize the importance of a valuation device being transparent. Actors of the different valuation devices perceive the practice of being transparent as very valuable. Interestingly, the understanding of transparent is different across different devices. The editor of the White Guide, for example, perceives elaborating on its specific selection criteria as making the process transparent. By increasing transparency surrounding their selection process, actors of the national food guides believe that they are able to make a subjective

experience objective. The 50 Best list also has an open and transparent process that is perceived by its actors to be reproducible. However, my interviewees do not perceive the practices of the 50 Best to be transparent enough, which has led the valuation device to change its practices and introduce an independent adjudicator to support the fairness of this process. Even though the independent adjudicator does not directly enhance transparency, the intention behind its introduction is to give a guarantee that all processes are carried through with integrity.

In addition, all valuable practices of the valuation devices indicate that valuation devices are valuable in that they make restaurants visible. National newspapers highlight new national restaurants, food bloggers and the Michelin Guide do the same with a more international focus, the White Guide rates these different restaurants and maps them, and the 50 Best list is perceived as the international gastronomic radar. All of these practices point out that a high value is placed on valuation devices when they make new restaurants visible and demonstrate their quality. In sum, actors from the different valuation devices highlight four practices through which a valuation device can potentially increase its perceived value.

#### **7.1.7. The *other* valuation devices**

So far, this chapter has shown how actors of valuation devices, i.e. reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters, perceive different groups of valuation devices within fine-dining and hereby value the practices of the devices. In doing so, my interviewees often interpret these practices to be valuable or disadvantageous in comparison to other valuation devices. In this way, it can be argued that an essential element of this valuation is the comparison to *other* valuation devices.

Especially two valuation devices are used as a reference for such a comparison and stick out: the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list. These two valuation devices are described as two opposites:

*“So, in a way, The 50 Best was a reaction against The Michelin Guide – pretty much. So, I would actually have a hard time to combine those two. And because they would be hard to put together because they have been their opposites for a*

*while and, no that would not maybe be so easy.” (Interview 50 Best chair Sebastian, 2016)*

In this quotation, 50 Best chair Sebastian highlights that the 50 Best was created as an alternative to the Michelin Guide. In his view, the 50 Best list is intended both to compete with the Michelin Guide in its predominance and prestige, and to oppose the practices of the Michelin Guide by taking a different approach to valuing restaurants. Lars explains that there are inherent differences between these two:

*“I am not trying to compare us with the Michelin. [...] They will rate hundreds, if not thousands, of restaurants in one country. Some of them even do not have a star, so they cover not always with one star. [...] So, of course, there is an element of competition there, but we do not feel we are head to head. We are very, very different anyway.” (Interview 50 Best editor Lars, 2016)*

Despite claiming to not compare, Lars elaborates in the quotation on a number of differences between the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide. Lars emphasizes that, in his opinion, the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide are “very, very different” – which my analysis has shown is in line with previous research (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013). “Not trying to compare” is meant to emphasize that the two valuation devices are very different.

Going further, and pointing out that the Michelin Guide is also very different to other valuation devices, Ben elaborates in further detail:

*“It seems to be a little bit more political, as some sort of **sect** that sits down there and finds out whether this region should have a three star or not.” (Interview food entrepreneur Ben, 2015; my emphasis)*

Ben is not the only one describing the Michelin Guide as a “sect”. Journalist Jannick describes it in similar terms:

*“The Michelin is completely **different** and it’s a bit **strange**, because they really look for the restaurants all though the Michelin car tire company has no business in the restaurant industry. They don’t sell rubber tires in the restaurants so it doesn’t really makes sense from that perspective any more, but they get respected in the field of luxury, and I think the cars are associated with luxury*

*among many other things across the world.*" (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016; my emphasis)

The quotations by Ben and Jannick underline a widespread understanding of the Michelin Guide: given its opaque practices, it is perceived to be "strange", (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016) and "very different" (Interview 50 Best list editor Lars, 2016). For actors of the different valuation devices, the Michelin Guide is not "just like any other" valuation device (Interview journalist Marie, 2014), but is perceived to be *the other device*. This specific perception of the Michelin Guide makes it a particular benchmark towards which actors of valuation devices have a strong focus in their comparisons.

The perception that the 50 Best list was created as a reaction to the Michelin Guide implies that these two valuation devices, in particular, but also all valuation devices in general, are in competition with each other. Being in competition implies that they compete to have the most appropriate valuation of a restaurant, based on the most valuable practices. However, this competition is unique, because actors of the valuation devices also view other valuation devices as necessary:

*"[It is a] kind of competition with friends. [...] Those people [are] in competition, but we are not trying to kill them, you know, we need them as well and they need us."* (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015)

By referring to other valuation devices in general, White Guide editor Søren describes a "competition with friends" and emphasizes interdependency between the different valuation devices. Valuation devices "need" each other in the sense that they rely on each other (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013). Actors of valuation devices perceive other valuation devices to be somewhat important for their own practices and their own valuation, e.g. by making restaurants visible. This makes it possible for other valuation devices to identify new restaurants and incorporate them into their own work – which is supported by Søren in his aforementioned statement that he "follows" other valuation devices closely.

These findings seem to support the findings by Du Rietz (2015) that valuation devices are oriented towards one another. Interestingly, in their relation to each other, actors of

valuation devices are very much concerned with the process and the practices of valuation, rather than the outcome of the valuation. This is in direct contrast with the findings of Du Rietz, who claims the opposite.

Furthermore, it seems that the valuation of valuation devices encompasses two interconnected elements of valuation, as argued for by Vatin (2013), i.e. evaluation and valorization, the former representing the assessment of value and the latter representing the creating of value of an entity. On the one hand, the two steps of the valuation of valuation devices by actors of these devices assess the value of the practices of valuation devices. On the other hand, by pointing out the way they relate towards each other according to their valuable practices, actors of valuation devices at same time create value by building upon each other. In this way, similar to chefs and restaurateurs, also actors of valuation devices produce value *for* their valuation device. Going further, this chapter elaborates on the relationship between valuation devices by focusing on the actors producing the valuation devices.

## **7.2. Actors of valuation devices**

Throughout the interviews with actors from different valuation devices, my interviewees were fairly open about “their” valuation devices. As the first part of this analytical chapter reveals, my interviewees were open in describing their practices and how they handle their valuation devices. There are, however, two particular topics about which all interviewees did not want to talk: the upcoming valuation result of a restaurant and the actors producing the valuation. For the former, my interviewees did not want to reveal how the valuation results of restaurants in general would continue to develop in the next publication of the valuation devices. For example, in the interview with the 50 Best list editor, he claimed that he knows about the upcoming list and knows which restaurant will rank the best in the world in the upcoming list. However, he did not want to reveal this well-kept secret and override their publication. This is understandable, given that this is the core business of valuation devices.

For the second aspect, i.e. that actors of valuation devices did not want to talk about the people producing the valuations for the device, I became intrigued that, with exception of the national newspapers<sup>16</sup>, no valuation device representatives wanted to talk about their actors. Whenever I asked my interviewees about the actors of their valuation device, but also when I asked about the actors of other valuation devices, they did not reveal any names, other than names that had already been published, for example on their webpage.

*“It’s a bit complicated because there are not that many people who really know who’s doing the reviews for the White Guide. [...] I think it would be quite difficult for you to get to know who’s writing for White Guide.”* (Interview journalist Thor, 2016)

Underscoring this hesitation to reveal their actors, journalist Thor reveals that even he, as an insider in the field, is not entirely aware of who is currently writing for the White Guide following a recent change in editor. Instead of naming people, my interviewees state that it is “important” for the business to stay anonymous (Interview 50 Best editor Lars, 2016), and thus do not make their actors public at all. In their perception, revealing names would potentially influence the integrity and fairness of the valuations (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015; Interview 50 Best editor Lars, 2016). An instance when such integrity could be compromised would be if a restaurant would try to please the actors producing the valuations, thus potentially influencing the valuation in their favor (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015). However, actors from valuation devices intend to value a restaurant in a way an everyday customer would experience it, i.e. without receiving any kind of special or out-of-the-ordinary treatment (Interview journalist Thor, 2016).

The valuation device which is the most restricted in this regard, is the Michelin Guide (Bouty, Gomez, & Drucker-Godard, 2013; Lane, 2010, 2014). It is described as a “secret” (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016), emphasized by the fact that “you don’t know the names of the critics and inspectors” (Interview journalist Thor, 2016).

*“The one thing that speaks for the Michelin guide is that it’s a hundred percent untouchable; you can’t invite a Michelin inspector for lunch and have a dialogue with him. Generally speaking, you can’t.”* (Interview journalist Jannick, 2016)

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<sup>16</sup> At every newspaper valuation, journalists print their name next to it – so that anonymity is not given.

Jannick underlines what previous research has stated for the Michelin Guide. As outlined in the empirical background section, previous research has emphasized the independency and secrecy of the Michelin Guide (Bouty et al., 2013). As such, the “financial and organizational features safeguard the integrity and reliability of the Michelin Guide” (Lane, 2014, p. 290).

*“The Michelin Guide, I think, is still such a special institution that has such traditions. I mean, I sort of see that it is not possible to combine it with something like The 50 Best because they are so different, they are based on such different criteria in their voting and in their picking of the restaurants and on how to handle them.”* (Interview 50 Best chair Sebastian, 2016)

By “special institution”, Sebastian refers to the “traditions” of the Michelin Guide with independently hired, full-time inspectors that are actually not allowed to work for any other institutions except the Michelin Guide. As such, it is described as being an independent valuation device, which remains more anonymous in its way of working than other valuation devices. Its anonymity is also described by my interviewees as one of the crucial elements of the Michelin Guide’s success. This is exemplified by its completely anonymous actors who are independent from any other valuation devices, at least on a professional level. According to Lane (2014), the Michelin Guide’s inspectors’ “salaried status and their anonymity are said to safeguard their independence from chefs and any other interested parties in the food industry” (p. 289). As such, there is no professional interaction between actors of the Michelin Guide and those of other valuation devices, making the Michelin Guide an isolated valuation device in terms of its reviewers.

### **7.2.1. Elite circle of actors of valuation devices**

While, not revealing any names, my interviewees do, however, acknowledge that they are aware of who the actors are from both their own, as well as other, valuation devices. For example, in the interview with Thor, he points out a few persons who *have* written for the White Guide in the past, thus demonstrating his awareness of the actors. Similarly, in their respective interviews, both 50 Best chair Tomas and Sebastian state that they know which actors are producing the various valuation devices. Furthermore, as previously outlined above, the 50 Best voters are represented equally by chefs and restaurateurs, food



writers, and well-travelled gourmands. The academic chair of a region appoints the voters of his region. When asking 50 Best chair Tomas about his experience with getting in touch with persons that he perceives to be potential voters in his region, he responds:

*"[I]t is kind of easy because I know most people, most writers and journalists and chefs and ... gourmands. It could be tricky because wealthy people who travel is a very tricky category, but you get to know them because you always can spot who is interested in something else, even if they are professionals or I would directly relate it to the food community. [...] Whenever I travel I try to connect with local journalists and talk to some local chefs"* (Interview 50 Best chair Tomas, 2016)

In the quotation, Tomas states that he "knows most people" from all three categories of voters of the 50 Best list, as they are all part of a "food community". Within this food community, it is easy for him to "spot" people and thus include them as voters for the 50 Best list. Tomas describes that he includes persons from the food community as voters for his region in the 50 Best list. Furthermore, one of the categories of the 50 Best list, made up of food writers, is representative of valuation devices, or, to be precise, from the elite circle of valuation devices. Within this category, Tomas describes that he is able to "connect with" and "talk to" other actors of other valuation devices. Therefore, he has personal interactions with actors of other valuation devices. In this interview, Tomas confirms that he is in regular contact with many actors of other valuation devices and is also "good friends" (Interview 50 Best chair Tomas, 2016) with quite a few of them. This experience is shared by other interviewees (Interview 50 Best chair Sebastian, 2016; Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015; Interview journalist Thor, 2016), who also point to regular interactions with actors of other valuation devices:

*"We have some quite funny meetings in Danske Madforening, because we are all competitors, but we gather, drink some wine, have some food, taste some restaurant courses and have a party once a year! [Laughter] But, you can feel underneath the surface [that] people are competitors, and they are teasing each other and they are trying to get their stories first, and everything like that! It's quite funny!"* (Interview journalist Thor, 2016)

Journalist Thor points out that even though they are "competitors" in the sense that they work for different valuation devices, they have regular interactions. In these regular

meetings, they exchange their opinion about “some restaurant courses” and also “tease each other”. Arguably, they also very likely discuss and exchange their experiences of other restaurants they have visited, such as the ones they visit at these meetings. Therefore, it can be argued that actors of valuation devices know each other very well and have personal interaction with each other. To be precise, this argumentation unfolds for all actors of valuation devices but the ones of the Michelin Guide, who I have identified to be isolated.

In particular, referring to the “food community”, Tomas indicates that there is a limited number of actors working for valuation devices. As described in the background section, chefs perceive the culinary scene in Denmark in general and in Copenhagen in particular to be rather small. This same perception also holds true for valuation devices. My interviewees describe that there is a rather limited amount of people who are knowledgeable about the Danish fine-dining field and capable of doing valuations about restaurants (e.g. Interview 50 Best chair Sebastian, 2016). As such, there exists an elite circle of actors of valuation devices. Within this elite circle, actors know each other and interact with each other routinely.

### **7.2.2. Overlapping of actors across valuation devices**

While the number of knowledgeable actors from the elite circle of valuation devices is arguably relatively stable, the actual number of valuation devices is increasing. Consequently, some individuals are actors for multiple different valuation devices. This implies that there is overlapping by the elite circle of actors of valuation devices across the elite group of valuation devices in the Danish culinary field. This is described by my interviewees.

*“They [our food critics] all have other jobs on the side, but I would say, I'm trying to think of anyone who might not be involved in food writing beyond the White Guide job, but I don't think such a person exists. I think they are all professional food writers. [...] We've been fortunate to have that kind of people in our network who would give their services. It is not super well paid, but it gives a lot of food experiences, so, you know, a little money and a great experience makes a lot of people willing to go and do that, even though they are very established in their fields and have great jobs on the side. But they want to do it anyway. And I'm*

*very happy about that because, in my experience, it is just a different level of analysis that these people can provide compared to somebody who, say, is a journalist [...and] may be great at communicating, but they need the reference to put the food experience into perspective. So, we need people with both [...] a gastronomy professionalism and a communication professionalism, and that's how we try to comprise the team of critics.” (Interview White Guide editor Søren, 2015)*

In the quotation, Søren explains that the food critics writing valuations for the White Guide also work for other valuation devices. The position that food critics writing for the White Guide have, in addition to being a food critic, varies from being a journalist of local newspapers to being a food blogger. Rather than working solely for one valuation devices (e.g. the White Guide), Søren emphasizes that all White Guide actors simultaneously work as actors for other valuation devices as well. He describes this dual role of actors of valuation devices as being an advantage for the valuation devices, since it causes the actors' analyses to be of higher quality, or, in his words, on a “different level”. It can be understood that, because of this dual role actors have at various valuation devices, these actors are actually knowledgeable persons in the Danish fine-dining. From the perspective of the actor, he or she can use the very same experience, on which he or she bases the valuation, not just for one particular device, but also for another valuation device. This means that valuations are not produced for one particular device, but rather are tweaked and transferred so that they can be used for multiple different devices.

In addition to the White Guide, the most frequently cited example of this dual role of actors of valuation devices according to my interviewees is the 50 Best list. By definition, one third of the voters within the 50 Best list fit within the category of food writers. Food writers voting for the World's 50 Best Restaurant list have already indicated their expertise in the field based on their written valuations in newspapers or guides. This expertise, in particular, is the reason they become part of this list. As such, judges for this list acknowledge that their voting for the World's 50 Best Restaurant list is based on their previous experiences gained in their roles working for other valuation devices.

*“[A food blogger] might be on The 50 Best list as a voter and [he or she] might be a food writer who writes a big review in some magazine. So [...] it is possible*

*that they would have the very credible connection through some other work that they do. But, otherwise, I think that most of the most respected [...] among the food writers or bloggers [...] would [...] generally be connected to some magazine or some other forum or opus where they are read or where people follow them.”* (Interview 50 Best chair Sebastian, 2016)

Sebastian outlines an example of how the 50 Best list includes actors from different valuation devices, in this case, a food blogger. In the quotation, he further outlines how actors of valuation devices use their experiences on which they base their valuations. In this case, they use a blog or “forum or opus where they are read” to further explain their experience and argumentation for their particular valuation. This same experience is then eventually used to vote in the 50 Best list. As such, actors of valuation devices use their dual role in different valuation devices for different purposes and in different forms. 50 Best list editor Lars highlights this and gives another example: actors from international newspapers also have a dual role.

*“In the UK, we have Xanthe Clay [as the academic chair] who is a food columnist for Daily Telegraph, The Telegraph from the big newspapers.”*  
(Interview 50 Best list editor Lars, 2016)

Going further, he provides an additional example of such a dual role, referring to another academic chair: Lars Peder Hedberg, who is the 50 Best chair of Scandinavia.

*“Lars Peder Hedberg is the co-founder of The White Guide in Sweden, [a] well-established kind of food gastronomic writer, publisher, expert et cetera.”*  
(Interview 50 Best editor Lars, 2016)

In addition to being the academic chair for the 50 Best Restaurants list, Lars Peder Hedberg is still working for the White Guide as the publishing editor for all the variations of the White Guide. Because of these two different roles, both being in charge of White Guide and acting as one of the academic chairs of the 50 Best Restaurants list, he can use his reviews of restaurants for both valuation devices. Thus, his situation demonstrates the personal overlapping between the White Guide and the 50 Best Restaurant list. This particular overlapping between these two valuation devices indicates how predominant the overlapping of actors has become.

There are likely cases in which the personal overlapping is not limited to only two different valuation devices, but even three, i.e., there is a triple overlapping of valuation devices. As described above, all the reviewers of the White Guide also work for other valuation devices (e.g. local newspapers). Therefore, the very same person writing reviews for a local newspaper also writes reviews for the White Guide, as well as serving as a voter of the 50 Best Restaurant list. Similarly, a food blogger has a food blog, at the same time as writing for the White Guide, and acting as a voter on the 50 Best Restaurant list. The very same actor writing a review for one particular valuation device uses a variation of the very same review for another valuation device.

To sum, it can be stated that there is a personal overlapping of actors within the elite circle of actors of valuation devices, in particular between national newspapers, food bloggers, national food guides and the 50 Best Restaurants list. This overlapping not only occurs across two of these valuation devices, but also for cases in which one actor writes valuations for three different valuation devices. While the 50 Best list is built upon the concept of personal overlapping of food writers, this credo is also implemented in the White Guide. Both valuation devices have a rather integrative approach, through which they include various reviewers. They are devices through which the personal overlapping is spread into further devices. As such, they build upon already existing expertise and channel this into another form of valuation used by another valuation device.

Because of this overlapping, it is important to emphasize the distinction between valuation device and actor of valuation device. While the valuation devices build upon each other in their valuation practices, the actors working for these valuation devices are often actually the same, thus blurring the boundaries between the valuation devices deemed part of the elite group. As such, the elite circle of actors for each valuation device overlaps, but is not identical with the elite group of valuation devices.

Based on these findings, it is possible to extend the understanding of how valuation devices orient towards each other as described by Du Rietz (2015). While Du Rietz, as well as the first section of this analysis chapter, has argued that the orientation of valuation devices towards each other is linked to the devices themselves, this section has

demonstrated that the *actors* of valuation devices are also interconnected: they know each other and interact with each other, so that there is a personal overlapping between valuation devices. As such, this section has further developed the understanding of the relationship between valuation devices. There is, however, one valuation device that is perceived to be excluded from this elite circle of actors of valuation devices. Again, this is the Michelin Guide.

### **7.3. Implication: trickle-down effect**

So far, the analysis has demonstrated that valuation devices build upon each other and that actors of valuation devices are both interconnected and overlapping across various valuation devices, forming an elite circle of actors of valuation devices. Furthermore, the analysis has explored how these two forms of interrelation, between actors of valuation devices and the valuation devices themselves, affect the work of valuation devices. In addition to this, the following section elaborates on how these two forms of interrelation are consequential for the restaurants in Denmark.

In the first part of this analytical chapter, I have shown that valuation devices are related to each other and responsible for making restaurants visible. Local newspapers, as well as food bloggers, are the valuation devices that initiate the visibility of new and upcoming restaurants. Sebastian gives an example of such an initiation of this development:

*“If one or two or three [valuation devices] write [about a restaurant], then you will follow them and be curious.”* (Interview 50 Best Chair Sebastian, 2016)

National newspapers and food bloggers identify new restaurants that they perceive to be particularly valuable. The positive valuation of a particular restaurant by “two or three” valuation devices catches the attention of other valuation devices, or, to use the words of Sebastian, they become “curious”. Based on this identification of new restaurants, actors of other valuation devices, such as national food guides, the Michelin Guide or the 50 Best list, also potentially visit this particular restaurant and value it as well. 50 Best chair Tomas elaborates:

*“I’ve seen it for the last ten years. At first, it is always a very small group of people talking about this wonderful coffee from Nicaragua or [...] ceviche in Peru because you know they have these wonderful fish, so, at first [...] you have the very, very, very cultivated foodies who write for [...] very specialized magazines and after them, you have the bigger audiences, food magazines. And after them, you have the travel writers, so you know it goes, it trickles [...] down from [...] the cool hunters or the foodies [...] who are always looking for something new until they found some: a thing or a country or a chef. And everybody gets fascinated by it, and it starts trickling down.”* (Interview 50 Best chair Tomas, 2016)

Tomas outlines that valuation devices build upon the valuations of other valuation devices in a particular order and calls this “trickle-down”. First, national newspapers value new restaurants in a national perspective. The best of these restaurants are then picked up by the national food guides, which allow the mapping of these restaurants in a national context. Simultaneously, food bloggers compare these new restaurants in an international context and, in particular, value the best ones. Further developing the international comparison, the Michelin Guide is perceived to value the best of these restaurants. Finally, the most appealing fine-dining locations eventually appear on the global gastronomic radar by appearing on the 50 Best list. Taken together, the different valuation devices build upon one another in this particular way. This can be described as a certain sequence of valuation devices, along which restaurants are valued. As such, the “trickle-down” describes a diffusion of the visibility of a restaurant along different valuation devices.

Based on the “trickle-down”, the identification of a new restaurant and the positive valuation of it are described as being particularly crucial for a restaurant to become successful, as Chris specifies:

*“So it’s very important from the beginning. [...] If you have some writers coming out and seeing what are you doing, and they write [positively] about you, [...] or] if they start to write bad about you, it’s really [...] very important, especially for the ambitious restaurant.”* (Interview former chef and consultant Chris, 2016)

The quotation shows that, in addition to the timing of the publication of valuation results, these valuation devices writing positive reviews about the restaurant is an important factor

in their success, especially for “ambitious restaurants”. Therefore, Chris emphasizes that the first valuation devices visiting a restaurant define the future success of a restaurant. If the valuation is positive, they are taken into consideration by other valuation devices, so that the word spreads. Alternatively, if “they start to write bad about you”, restaurants are perceived to have less chance of becoming successful. As such, the first valuation of a restaurant can influence which restaurants are included by other valuation devices. Based on the origin of this within what Tomas calls “trickle-down”, it is possible to argue that the interrelation of valuation devices has effect.

This trickle-down effect is amplified by the personal and professional interactions of actors of valuation devices, as Thor points out:

*“I can make a supplement to that [trickle-down effect ...]. I made a review of it [a restaurant that I visited], and I think things are spreading via Facebook and [a national newspaper] has been there, and [a person from one of the National Food Guides], he was there, had lunch; so, news [is] travelling, and then if you're lucky as a new restaurant, you get a good review, attract other critics, get more good reviews [...]. Food critics are talking, and are going places which they like, of course, and in a way, that is the way of building a reputation for a restaurant.” (Interview journalist Thor, 2016)*

Describing the situation for a particular restaurant that was valued for the newspaper he is working for, journalist Thor specifies how the personal interaction of actors of valuation devices is part of the trickle-down effect in two ways. First, actors of the different valuation devices interact with each other and make each other personally aware of a new restaurant, which might potentially be an up-and-coming restaurant. In their interaction, these valuation device actors spread the word about a restaurant and encourage their colleagues from other valuation devices to visit such a restaurant as well. Second, an actor who has made a positive valuation about a restaurant might also reproduce this valuation through the other valuation devices for which he or she is working. Depending on the valuation devices he or she is valuating for, it would be possible to create a situation like Sebastian has described, in which a few valuation devices positively reporting about a particular restaurant make the other devices aware of that restaurant.



In addition, this trickle-down effect is substantially enhanced in the moment an actor of one of the early identifying valuation devices is reproducing his or her positive valuation of a restaurant in another valuation devices along the sequence of devices. 50 Best chair Sebastian describes the possible implications for such a restaurant by making an analogy to previous developments in politics:

*“If we compare it to [...] some historical [events] in human history, in politics, you would see [...] that people actually did not like that guy but a few guys voted for him and supported him and still he rose the power. Of course, it may sound dramatic but ... it is still something that, when you see the development of a person coming to power, you would see that there were some people that did not like him. Okay, but who were the people actually who liked him? Well they maybe were the right people to give him the support so he could still rise. And then when he rose, he got more votes, and he got more publicity. And then still, those who did not like him, they gave it up and said: ‘Well, I do not like him, but I do not care.’ And then they backed off. They could not stop him. So, I mean, some of these guys actually have been unstoppable in their rise to popularity and fame. And this is because in the trade and within the community of people who actually form opinions – be it an old food traveler, or a young foodie, or a top chef or a young chef who puts all his money into restaurants, or a blogger or a food writer. If most of these people actually still are fascinated or interested in following this one restaurant or this chef, then it is still they who make the decisions and form the general view and attitudes towards the restaurant. The other ones who would say: “Aw, this, this... ants in the food, this is nonsense, I, I, this is ridiculous.” No one still listens to them because they do not have a vote, they do not have a vote on their blog, they do not have a vote of people listening to them, caring about food. They cannot vote in a restaurant voting. They will not write the articles, they will not do the film clips or write the newspaper articles about that person. They will not hand out the Michelin Stars with them.”*  
(Interview 50 Best list chair Sebastian, 2016)

In the quotation, 50 Best list chair Sebastian highlights the importance of “the right people” valuating a restaurant. “Right people” hereby refers to actors that can have multiple roles, in which they value the same restaurant for more than one valuation devices. Thus, Sebastian argues that the personal overlapping of actors of valuation devices is also essential for the future success of a restaurant. As such, to receive a positive review initially is even more crucial when a restaurant is valued positively by actors working for multiple valuation devices.

Through the valuation by these actors, a certain dynamic is developing. It can happen that a positive valuation of a restaurant spreads out across a variety of valuation devices, due to the potential multiple roles held by many actors of valuation devices. This also influences other valuation devices when their respective actors become “curious” about such a restaurant, as previously indicated by Sebastian. Being valued positively by the right person, but across different valuation devices, thus helps the restaurant become successfully described in several different valuation devices. Furthermore, it is possible that other critiques published about a particular restaurant make less of an impact once a restaurant has received several positive reviews in various valuation devices. As such, a restaurant can become an influential and important restaurant with only a few actors valuing the restaurant positively supported by the multiple roles of actors of several elite valuation devices.

Therefore, the trickle-down effect indicates the importance of the person, in contrast to the importance of the device. All valuation devices are based on the individual opinions of that particular device’s actors. Since the actor of one device might be the first to value a restaurant and thus define whether it is “worth” visiting for other valuation devices, especially since the actor of one device is in many instances the very same actor of another device, his or her opinion about a restaurant can shape the valuation for more than one valuation device. To formulate it differently, an actor who is either one of the first to value a restaurant, or possibly working for more than one valuation device, can shape the valuation of more than one valuation device. He or she can therefore have a significant impact on the result of the trickle-down-effect. For example, a particular actor visits a restaurant. Assuming he or she likes this restaurant, he or she can boost the trickle-down of this restaurant through different valuation devices. However, if he or she dislikes the restaurant, the development of the restaurant will be hindered by his/her presence in various valuation devices that all will publish negative valuations of the restaurant.

In sum, the combination of the two forms of interactions, of actors of valuation devices and of the valuation devices themselves, create a trickle-down effect. At the core, this effect is triggered by three elements. First, valuation devices build upon each other, as well as

determine which restaurants are potentially worth valuing. Second, actors of the different valuation devices interact with each other and thus spread the word about a restaurant. Third, the very same actor of one device might be the same actor within another device. In their combination, actors of valuation devices “trickle-down” the valuations of restaurants and can thus support a restaurant in becoming successful.

Even though these two forms of interactions accelerate each other and are interconnected, it is important to point out an important distinction within them, which forms around “the other” valuation device, the Michelin Guide. While the Michelin Guide is argued to be an essential part of the first element in which valuation devices build upon each other, I could not find any indications that it interacts with other actors of valuation devices due to its secrecy and independence (Bouty et al., 2013). Instead, as also previous research has pointed out, the Michelin Guide is perceived to be independent “from chefs and any other interested parties in the food industry” (Lane, 2014, p. 289). This chapter has shown that this independence and its anonymous actors have amplified the valuation of the Michelin Guide as “the other” valuation device. As such, it is an important player among the different valuation devices, but it is also not part of the interrelation of actors of valuation devices. It is instead found to be working on its own.

At the same time, it is important to point out that even though this thesis could not identify forms of interactions of actors of the Michelin Guide with actors of other valuation devices, it nonetheless found indications that the Michelin Guide has responded to other valuation devices. For example, the Michelin Guide is perceived to have taken in more restaurants in the Danish culinary field into account in response to the expansion of the White Guide. Similarly, Christensen and Pedersen (2013) indicate a potential orientation of the Michelin Guide to the 50 Best list. In this way, the Michelin Guide could potentially be argued to show a form of response to other valuation devices. However, these remain as possible indications, which I am not able to interpret further, as I could not get access to talk to the Michelin Guide.

#### 7.4. Concluding discussion

Following the suggestion of Pollock and D'Adderio (2012) to study various actors' perceptions of valuation devices, this analytical chapter has identified the way actors of valuation devices value valuation devices. Whereas the study of Pollock and D'Adderio is based on the assumption that valuation devices are accepted and supported by other valuation devices, this chapter has identified that this assumption does not hold true for all valuation devices. Instead, actors of valuation devices build upon the understanding that there is an elite group of valuation devices, as well as valuation devices outside of this group. For the elite group of valuation devices, actors value the practices of these valuation devices to be valuable or disadvantageous, whereas the valuation devices not within the elite group are not taken into account at all. As such, actors of valuation devices only select, assess and typify a fraction of valuation devices through their valuations.

This analytical chapter also supports and enhances Du Rietz' (2015) argumentation that "valuation devices are oriented towards each other" (p. 163). The first part of the analysis establishes that actors of valuation devices are oriented towards each other in the sense that they value practices of valuation devices. However, while being oriented towards each other, these devices focus on practices rather than on the outcome of the valuation devices, which is in contrast with the findings from the study by Du Rietz. It becomes apparent that the practice of making restaurants visible is, in particular, a practice upon which other valuation devices rely. As such, the orientation towards each other can be understood to be contingent upon other valuation devices identifying new restaurants.

Furthermore, the second part of the analysis demonstrates that it is not only the valuation devices as such that are oriented towards each as described by Du Rietz (2015), but also the actors producing the valuation of valuation devices, who know each other and interact with each other. Actors are described as being within a "food community", in which they interact with each other, thus creating an elite circle of actors of valuation devices. Within this elite circle, the very same actor potentially produces valuations for several different valuation devices. Accordingly, this chapter has identified a personal overlapping across

valuation devices. As such, this section has further developed the understanding of the relationship between valuation devices further.

Additionally, it can be concluded that actors of valuation devices describe multiplicity of valuation devices on two levels, which enhances the understanding of multiplicity (cf. Orlikowski & Scott, 2014). On the one hand, there exists an indefinite number of valuation devices valuating fine-dining restaurants thus creating a multiplicity of devices. On the other hand, the multiplicity of valuation devices goes beyond the organizational boundaries of the devices. As previously indicated, actors of valuation devices are also often acting across several different valuation devices. In doing so, they cross the organizational multiplicity of valuation devices and narrow the number of independent valuation devices down. From this point of view, the number of valuation devices is no longer defining the multiplicity of valuation devices, but the multiplicity of valuation devices is rather a creating a construct surrounding the valuation devices. It is an illusion of many unique and unrelated valuation devices presented to persons beyond the actors of valuation devices.

Moreover, by outlining the “trickle-down” effect created by the two forms of interrelation, this analytical chapter adds to the existing literature the social-technical discussion of devices. Apart from the more technical understanding of valuation devices, upon which previous research has had a strong focus (Muniesa et al., 2007; see also Zuiderent-Jerak & Van Egmond, 2015), this analysis reveals that actors – people producing these valuations for devices – are also an important factor in the understanding of valuation devices. Actors of valuation devices interact with their fellow actors in other valuation devices on a personal and professional level, and thus cross the organizational boundaries of the different valuation devices and bring social aspects into play. By social, I refer to personal connections of actors of devices. As such, this chapter enhances the discussion of devices by adding a new dimension.

Finally, this analysis contributes new findings and insights to the field of fine-dining. This chapter has provided another example, in addition to the study by Lane (2014), of how valuation devices are perceived. Rather than by chefs and restaurateurs, it has shown how valuation devices are perceived by actors of these devices, thus creating an

additional form of valuation. Furthermore, this analysis has enhanced the work of Christensen and Pedersen (2013) on the differences between valuation devices. In addition, it also has enhanced the understanding of Mützel's work (2015), which explored how valuation devices are influenced by the various elements surrounding them. Whereas Mützel has argued that valuation devices are shaped by the culinary field, this chapter has shown that valuation devices also rely on one another and build upon each other. Therefore, I argue that, in addition to the devices themselves shaping the valuation devices, the actors producing these devices also play a crucial role.

Further developing the analysis, the following chapter presents the findings of all three chapters, juxtaposing and discussing their theoretical contributions, in order to eventually answer to the overall research question.

## 8. Discussion

This thesis investigated how the multiplicity of valuation devices is valued from three different perspectives. In doing so, it studied the description of valuation devices in a national newspaper. It studied the perception of valuation devices on the part of chefs and restaurateurs. And it studied the perception of valuation devices on the part of reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters. Comparing these perspectives, I will in this chapter elaborate and discuss the findings with a number of theoretical viewpoints. First, I will discuss the *understanding of a multiplicity* of valuation devices in fine-dining. Second, this chapter will look at the *understanding of valuation of valuation devices*. Third, interpreting the findings of this thesis as a form of reactivity, this chapter will put them in the context of previous research on *reactivity*. Fourth, I argue how it is important, in addition to the focus on devices, *to bring people back into* the studies of valuation and devices. Fifth, I discuss the implications of this thesis' findings for research in *fine-dining*. Finally, this chapter elaborates on the *empirical implications of the valuation of valuation devices* along the commonalities and differences of valuation devices.

### 8.1. Understanding multiplicity

Building on previous research within the realm of multiplicity (Du Rietz, 2015; Mellet et al., 2014; Orlikowski & Scott, 2014), this thesis started off with the understanding that there are a variety of different valuation devices within fine-dining that independently observe restaurants in Copenhagen with different foci. This understanding of multiplicity has been substantially altered along the different analytical chapters. How this is so will be unfolded in the following.

First, rather than understanding multiplicity as the accumulation of all valuation devices, this thesis argues that *multiplicity is constricted*. Based on the analyses of how different actors in and around valuation devices in Copenhagen fine-dining; i.e. Danish newspaper media, chefs and restaurateurs, as well as reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters; describe and perceive the multiplicity of devices, I argue that these actors narrow down all present reviews, ratings and rankings in two ways.

First, most valuation devices were identified to be bundled together, and second, a few valuation devices seemed to be largely ignored. For example, chefs and restaurateurs clustered valuation devices into seven groups of valuation devices, and ignored devices such as travel guide books. In this way, only a limited number of (groups of) valuation devices are taken into account by the categories of actors, so this thesis argues for a constricted multiplicity of valuation devices. This argument reinforces the work of both Sauder and Fine (2008) and Pollock and colleagues (2018) in arguing that not all valuation devices are taken into account by the actors of the field.

Second, developing the constricted multiplicity further, this thesis argues that the *multiplicity of valuation devices is ordered hierarchically*. In all three analytical chapters, the categories of actors distinguish between the different devices. For example, the actors of the valuation devices studied in the third analytical chapter interpret a few of the reviews, ratings and rankings to be within an elite group, including food bloggers, whereas others are interpreted to be in a second tier, such as online rankings. Similarly, the chefs and restaurateurs also interpret a number of valuation devices to be more elite than others. In this way, within the above outlined constricted multiplicity, valuation devices are hierarchically differentiated. This argument supplements the understanding of multiplicity from the view of Mellet and colleagues (2014), who point out how to possibly differentiate between valuation devices. Enhancing their different “models” (p. 57), this thesis argues for a hierarchical differentiation of valuation devices based on the views of the categories of actors studied in this thesis.

Third, specifying both the constricted multiplicity and the hierarchical ordering of the multiplicity, this thesis argues that *multiplicity is individually defined*. This thesis argues that multiplicity is interpreted differently by each actor studied and that the ordering of valuation devices is also not the same throughout the three analytical chapters. To give one example illustrating the argument, all categories of actors studied in this thesis interpret and rank the group of international newspapers differently. The studied newspaper articles of Berlingske seem to largely ignore international newspapers and the studied actors of the different valuation devices order international newspapers within the second tier,



whereas chefs and restaurateurs perceive them to be relevant and amongst the elite group of valuation devices. In this way, the actors studied narrow down the international newspapers and also rank this group of valuation devices differently. Rather than understanding the multiplicity of valuation devices in the same way by all actors studied, it can be argued that the understanding of a multiplicity of valuation devices depends on the perspective taken. To formulate it differently, the “key differences” (Orlikowski & Scott, 2014, p. 883) between the valuation devices are defined in different ways. This enhances previous research elaborating on differences between valuation devices (Mellet et al., 2014; Orlikowski & Scott, 2014) in arguing that the actors in, and around, valuation devices themselves define such key differences for their own case. Interestingly though, all three analytical chapters describe two valuation devices to be the most important, i.e. the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list. This will be discussed further in chapter 8.6.

Fourth, rather than understanding valuation devices to be independently observing restaurants, this thesis argues that *valuation devices are interrelated with each other*. From the perspective of reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters, this thesis identifies specific relations between valuation devices within the elite group of valuation devices. Valuation devices build upon each other in their valuation; and several actors of valuation devices work for different valuation devices and produce a valuation of restaurants in two or more devices. This can imply that the valuations by the different devices are related to each other and potentially influence the outcome of each other. These findings contribute to the call in previous research to study the relations “that have been, or are being forged between different valuation” devices (Kjellberg & Mallard, 2013, p. 27). While Du Rietz (2015) provides initial insights into the relationship between different valuation devices in the sense that they are oriented towards each other, this thesis finds that the relationship between valuation devices is more complicated than that. In particular, the thesis has identified that the relationship can be seen as twofold, with an organizational and a personal element through which valuation devices are interrelated. This thesis has argued for a possible implication that can be drawn from this interrelation of valuation devices. As unfolded in the third analytical chapter, I pointed out that the combination of these two forms of interrelation can

determine the success or failure of a restaurant. In this way, this thesis argues that beyond the initial hierarchical differentiation between an elite group of valuation devices and the second tier, the relations of valuation devices towards each other are less hierarchical, but rather collegial in the sense of actors of valuation devices cooperating with each other and producing valuations in different devices. To be precise, the actors of most devices cooperate (this does not include the Michelin Guide). The distinctiveness of the Michelin Guide will be further discussed in chapter 8.6.

While discussing these findings, it is important to point out that there is a bias in the data that potentially influences these different interpretations of valuation devices and the individual definitions of multiplicity. The interview questions focused on the interviewees' interpretations of the different valuation devices. Hereby, the answers reflect the interviewees' personal experiences with valuation devices in the form of personal encounters. It is possible that these personal encounters represent reviews, ratings or rankings with which my interviewees have had a particular positive or particular negative experience, for example in the way a chef or restaurateur has gained a valuation from a device, or in the way a reviewer or journalist works or has worked for one of the devices. These experiences are likely to be the ones my interviewees remember most vividly and express in the interview. This is reflected in some emotional responses with strong vocabulary from my interviewees when expressing their opinion about one or the other valuation device. In this way, the individual interpretations of my interviewees about certain valuation devices might reflect valuation devices that were particularly prominent in their own work and in this way influencing the above arguments.

In sum, the combination of the three different analytical chapters allows for a new understanding of the multiplicity of valuation devices. Rather than the initial understanding of multiplicity as a variety of different valuation devices within fine-dining that independently observe restaurants in Copenhagen, *this thesis argues that the multiplicity of valuation devices can be interpreted as a constricted, individually defined, and hierarchical assemblage of interdependent valuation devices.*

## 8.2. Understanding valuation of valuation devices

This thesis has analyzed how valuation devices within Copenhagen fine-dining are described and perceived by different categories of actors. Throughout each of the three analyses, it became apparent that there is not only a description of the devices, but also a contextual judging of different aspects of the devices. This eventually let me interpret this as a valuation of valuation devices. Based on this, this thesis argues that not only a variety of products and services are valued, but that also the valuation devices that value a restaurant are valued themselves by a Danish national newspaper, by chefs and restaurateurs, as well as by reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters. Rather than continue the recent discussion in valuation studies of valuation *through* valuation devices, this thesis enhances our understanding of valuation by discussing the valuation *of* valuation devices themselves.

In order to identify and argue for a valuation, this thesis has used the understanding of Vatin (2013) that there are two elements of valuation, i.e. evaluation and valorization. Both elements of valuation consist of a number of different sub-processes, or steps, which were unfolded in the theoretical chapter and were inspired by Lamont (2012). Accordingly, throughout the analytical chapters, I have identified that the valuation of valuation devices follows an evaluation encompassing the sub-processes of selection, assessment, typification and arrangement, and a valorization encompassing the steps of recognition and diffusion. These steps were used to show how exactly the valuation of valuation devices unfolds. The sub-processes were not only a helpful analytical tool to identify valuation, they at the same time shed new light on understanding valuation in four ways.

First, this thesis argues that *the elements, evaluation and valorization, as well as the corresponding sub-processes of valuation build upon each other step-by-step within the valuation of valuation devices*. Throughout all three analytical chapters, this thesis has shown that the different steps of valuation are linked to each other. In particular, the content of the different sub-processes is argued to be dependent on another sub-process. In following the valuation of valuation devices closely over a longer period of time in the development of the restaurant Noma in the first analytical chapter, for example, I argue

that the assessment step forms the basis for the recognition and diffusion. In this way, this thesis identified a sort of sequence along which the valuation of valuation devices unfolds. This sequence of the different steps makes it possible to argue that the steps of valorization follow the steps of evaluation. In order for the overall element of valorization to unfold, an evaluation is required. This argument enhances previous studies, which argued that the two elements of valuation are “intertwined in reality” (Lamont, 2012, p. 205) by opening and unfolding this interdependence. This thesis shows how the different sub-processes within these two elements build upon each other.

Second, this thesis argues that the *two elements of valuation, evaluation and valorization, can be two-directional*. To illustrate this argument, it is helpful to recollect the evaluation and valorization of the Michelin Guide by restaurant owner Rasmus. He states that receiving a star rating from the Michelin Guide is “an extreme honor for people working there [at a restaurant]” (Interview restaurant owner Rasmus, 2016). On the other hand, though, he also emphasizes that for him “this [referring to his own restaurant] is not a starred restaurant, this is for Bib Gourmand”, referring to the different ratings of the Michelin Guide. In this way, he assesses the Michelin Guide to be valuable as a device, independent of his own restaurant. At the same time, he creates a value of the Michelin Guide *for* his restaurant in the way he perceives it with regards to his own restaurant. These two statements make it possible to argue that the two elements of assessing and creating value can imply different values within the valuation of the same valuation devices. In the above example, the assessment of value is argued to be linked to the value of a valuated object, i.e. the valuation device. The creation of value, however, is not solely linked to the valuation devices. It is rather a value that is also linked back to the actor producing the valuation. This argument enhances the existing understanding of valuation (Lamont, 2012; Vatin, 2013). Previous research stated that both the value assessed and the value created in a valuation is the value *of* the valuated object. Instead, this thesis argues that the assessment of value and the creation of value do not necessarily go hand-in-hand, but can go into two different directions. In the element of valorization, i.e. the creation of value, value can also be created *for* the valuator.

Third, rather than arguing that *the* valuation of valuation devices exists, this thesis argues for *unique forms of valuation of valuation devices that are constituted along the realms of the actors producing it*. In the opening table 1, I have identified and illustrated 14 ways to distinguish between the valuation devices. When comparing the findings of the three analytical chapters with this overview table, it can be argued that only half of these criteria were mobilized for the valuation of valuation devices within this thesis. This thesis, for example, found the form of the valuation, i.e. whether it is a ranking, rating or review, to not be mentioned in the three analytical chapters. Instead, the actors read through the particular form and interpreted the results in their own way. To illustrate this, throughout the analyzed articles by Berlingske, the newspaper articles interpreted the results of the restaurant Noma on the 50 Best lists, which stated that the restaurant is number one on the list, in a way that states Noma to be the best restaurant in the world. At the same time, the Michelin Guide was understood to not reflect “the best” in the same way, as it did not award the restaurant the highest possible rating. In this understanding, Berlingske translated both valuations by the two devices into one common understanding; the understanding of whether or not Noma is valued as the best restaurant. In doing so, it can be argued that it was not relevant, whether the valuation was produced by a rating, ranking or review. Similarly, chefs and restaurateurs, as well as reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters, interpreted the results of the valuation devices in their own way independent of their form, for example by arguing that the restaurants beyond the top 20 in the 50 Best lists are the ones to watch. In addition, further criteria from table 1 were not mobilized within the three analytical chapters, i.e. the criteria of how often a restaurant is visited, the follow-up of actors before the result, the way the result is made public, the way actors are chosen to be part of a valuation device, and the visibility of the awards.

While half of the criteria of the overview table 1 are argued to not be taken into consideration, the remaining seven criteria; i.e. inclusion of restaurants, the persons producing the valuation, the anonymity of the actors (in form of visibility), how the decision of valuation is made, the process of valuation, the basis of the valuation, and the classification; are argued to form the basis of the valuation of a valuation device in all three

analytical chapters. This thesis therefore argues that these seven criteria can be argued to determine the perception, legitimacy, importance, and relevance of a valuation device for the actors studied in this thesis. For reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters, for example, the inclusion of restaurants, the persons producing the valuation, the process of valuation, and the basis of the valuation are central in identifying whether the practices of a valuation device are valuable or disadvantageous. Interestingly though, these seven criteria are not compiled in the same way for all valuations of valuation devices. Instead, the different categories of actors interpret these criteria in different ways. In line with what I have argued for the individually defined multiplicity, also the valuation of valuation devices unfolds differently and depends on the perspective taken. While each of the three different analytical chapters argue for a valuation, the application and execution of such a valuation is different in all three instances. This supplements the findings of previous research (Mellet et al., 2014; Sauder & Espeland, 2009; Scott & Orlikowski, 2012), which have demonstrated different directions in which a valuation of valuation can go. Building on these studies, this thesis has pointed out three different, individually defined ways of how a valuation of valuation devices unfolds.

Finally, based on my interpretation of a valuation of valuation devices, it is important to emphasize that this *valuation of valuation devices was conducted implicitly*. Neither of the categories of actors analyzed in this thesis was explicit in exercising a valuation of valuation devices. Accordingly, this thesis argues that the valuation of valuation devices happens tacitly. This tacit practice implies that the actors studied do not express their perception as a valuation, but it can nonetheless be interpreted as one. Despite this implicitness of the valuation, this practice is argued to have strong implications for how to “make things valuable” (Kornberger, Justesen, Mouritsen, & Madsen, 2015), as it will be further unfolded in chapter 8.5., 8.6., and 9.2.

In sum, by using the different sub-processes of valuation (Lamont, 2012), this thesis points to ways of opening the black box of valuation. It shows that the two elements of evaluation and valorization build upon each other. Furthermore, it argues that the creating of value in

a valuation is understood as creating value *for* the valuing actor. Finally, this thesis argues that the valuation of valuation devices is an implicit practice.

### 8.3. On reactivity

As elaborated upon in the methodology chapter, all the data collected had a strong emphasis on the description of the different valuation devices. This focus can be argued to resemble the centrality of valuation devices for the actors studied. Within this focus, this thesis has argued that an alteration of the different perceptions and descriptions of the valuation devices takes place over time. The Danish national newspaper, for example, has changed the way it describes and assesses the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list. While the Michelin Guide was assessed to be “predominant” in the beginning of the period studied, with the climb of the restaurant Noma on the 50 Best list, this assessment was altered and the 50 Best list became assessed as the “predominant” valuation device, whereas the Michelin Guide was no longer described in this way. Combining the centrality of valuation devices, their assessment in the various descriptions and perceptions, as well as the alteration of their valuation, it can be argued that the actors studied *react* to the valuations made by valuation devices<sup>17</sup>. In line with the understanding of reactivity by Espeland and Sauder (2007) that “individuals alter their behavior in reaction to being evaluated, observed or measured” (p. 6), this thesis argues that the perceptions and descriptions of the actors studied in this thesis can be understood as reactivity. In line with this argumentation, this thesis argues that the valuation of valuation devices and its following implications are understood as effects of reactivity and reactive responses (Pollock et al., 2018). Unfolding this argumentation, this thesis sheds new light on the understanding of reactivity in four ways.

First, this thesis argues that not only the actors of the valuated objects, but also the *actors in and around the valuation devices show forms of reactivity*. The second analytical chapter has pointed to forms of reactivity by actors of the valuated objects, i.e. chefs and restaurateurs, for example in the way they exploit valuation devices for the purpose of

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<sup>17</sup> Even though this thesis found indications of a possible relation between the alteration of the description of valuation devices and the “original” valuation, we cannot know for sure that there is also a causal relation through which the original valuation causes the alteration.

spreading the restaurant's message. In this way, the thesis supports previous research, stating that actors of the valued objects react to being valued, such as law schools (Espeland & Sauder, 2007, 2016), business schools in Europe (Wedlin, 2006) and the US (Sauder & Fine, 2008), or within the IT industry (Pollock & D'Adderio, 2012; Pollock et al., 2018). In addition, this thesis also argues that *all* actors studied in this thesis respond to the "original" valuation. For example, the different reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters respond to the "original" valuation in the form of interacting with each other in combination with their work for one or the other valuation devices. Similarly, as outlined above, the national newspaper Berlingske has altered its description of valuation devices. In this way, this thesis has pointed out that also actors that are not themselves "evaluated, observed or measured" (Espeland & Sauder, 2007, p. 1), react to the "original" valuation. This thesis supplements the list of actors that show forms of reactivity, while previous research has focused only on the valued objects (Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Pollock et al., 2018; Sauder & Fine, 2008; Wedlin, 2006).

Second, *this thesis enhances the list of possible reactive responses*. Previous research has pointed to a variety of possible choices on how to respond to the initial valuation, ranging from ignoring (Wedlin, 2006) and side-stepping the valuation devices (Pollock et al., 2018), via negotiating the valuation (Pollock et al., 2018) and transforming information taken from the valuations (Sauder & Fine, 2008), to adapting to the valuation devices (Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Pollock et al., 2018; Wedlin, 2006). While supporting a number of these possible choices of how to respond, such as ignoring valuation devices, this thesis also demonstrates further reactive responses. In particular, it argues that valuation devices can be exploited for the purpose of spreading the message of the restaurant and for the purpose of their specific valuations, as shown in the case of chefs and restaurateurs; that valuation devices can be de-valuated by pointing out their factual mistakes, also in the case of chefs or restaurateurs; and that valuation devices can be interrelated with each other in the case of actors working for the different valuation devices. In this way, this thesis points to many further possibilities of how actors in and around valuation devices can respond to these devices, and in this way contributes to existing research.



Third, this thesis argues that the *valuation of valuation devices can be understood as a prerequisite for the different reactive responses*. All categories of actors studied are argued to first value the different valuation devices, based on which they subsequently react to them. Chefs and restaurateurs, for example, first deem certain valuation devices irrelevant, and, as a form of response to them, de-value these devices. In other words, the different reactive responses just outlined unfold *following* a valuation of valuation devices. This finding both supports and enhances the work of Sauder and Fine (2008) who take the identification of the most influential valuation devices as the starting point for their analysis of reactivity. This thesis hereby argues that a valuation and reactive response takes place towards all, and not only the most relevant, valuation devices. In addition, this finding enhances the observation by Pollock and colleagues (2018) that “it was intriguing to see how these groups drew explicitly on tools and presentation formats that industry analysts had developed to rate vendors and their products” (p. 62). While Pollock and colleagues identify how this “ranking the rankers” (p. 62) was done by experts within the field *for* actors of the valued objects, this thesis identifies this valuation of valuation devices to be more widespread and to happen *by* the actors of the valued objects themselves. In this way, it enhances the understanding of reactive responses in the way that these are following a widespread valuation of the devices.

Fourth, the thesis argues that the *trigger causing reactivity can be twofold*. This can be seen when zooming into the reactivity of reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters. First, valuation devices are interpreted to react to each other’s actions. For example, the Michelin Guide is perceived to have altered its geographical focus within the Nordic countries to cope with the wider geographical spread of the White Guide. Second, valuation devices are interpreted to react to the criticism that they face, which is not coming from another device. For example, the 50 Best list is said to have altered its creation of the list by including the independent adjudicator Deloitte to oversee the voting process. In this way, reactivity is triggered both by competing valuation devices and by criticism of the valuation devices, and is therefore argued to unfold beyond the “original” valuation of the device. This twofold reactivity enhances our understanding of the possible cause of reactivity. While previous studies limited it to the “original” valuation,

(Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Pollock & D'Adderio, 2012; Pollock et al., 2018; Sauder & Fine, 2008), this thesis argues that the trigger can be related to the "original" valuation, but moves beyond the boundaries of ranging from valuator to valuated object.

In sum, this thesis contributes to existing research within reactivity. This thesis argues that not only actors of the valuated object show forms of reactivity, but that reactivity can also be found by further actors "in and around" the situation of valuation (Pollock & D'Adderio, 2012, p. 571). In addition, this thesis supports and enhances the variety of possible reactive responses. It argues, at the same time, for the relevance of the valuation of valuation devices, as this is argued to be the prerequisite for a reactive response to unfold.

#### **8.4. Bringing people back in**

As outlined in the theoretical background chapter, studies of devices emphasize the importance of studying the socio-technical aspects of a device, based on which Zuiderent-Jerak and Van Egmond (2015) argue that device studies have "a more materially oriented focus" (p. 45). In line with this, this thesis also supports the importance of the devices. Whenever referencing a valuation device, the newspaper media describes the device as the producer of the valuation of a restaurant. Even though the newspaper media indicates that there are persons associated with the device who produce the valuation, the focus of their description is always on the device itself. For example, when quoting the spokesperson of a valuation device, the newspaper has him or her speak on behalf of the device, rather than as an actor doing the valuation. As such, newspaper media attempts to focus on the impersonal mechanisms of the device. Similarly, the inverted valuation of chefs and restaurateurs is based on the practices of valuation devices. In this way, it is the device that is valuated. Additionally, the relation of valuation devices to each other is based on replicating and emulating practices, thus highlighting the importance of the device.

On the other hand, however, this thesis is in agreement with the argumentation of Zuiderent-Jerak and Van Egmond (2015), that devices is only one part of the story. Both chefs and restaurateurs and actors of valuation devices point out that there are *persons*

producing the actual valuation. Chefs and restaurateurs for example point towards to very specific actors in national newspaper, who they perceive to be knowledgeable in producing the valuation. Actors of valuation devices intentionally avoid naming the persons working for them indicating the importance of the actors and the mystique surrounding them. This distinction makes an important difference: it is not only the device that defines the actions and interactions of valuation devices; additionally, there is also a personal component. This thesis demonstrates that valuation devices are interrelated on a personal level. *Actors* of valuation devices interact with each other, and exchange their opinions, as well as their valuations of restaurants. In addition, there are a variety of examples, such as the dual role actors of both the White Guide and the 50 Best list have, showing that the very same persons produce a valuation for more than one valuation device, thus crossing the boundaries between the devices. These examples demonstrate that *social*, in the sense of personal relations, also matter for valuation devices and that these supplement the materiality of valuation devices.

As such, the person behind the actual practices of valuation devices spreads his or her valuation through a number of different valuation devices. This makes the device a means to an end, because the device is used to express one person's opinion in several different ways, thereby amplifying the valuation. Additionally, actors of valuation devices interact with each other on a regular basis. This interaction implies that actors of valuation devices exchange opinions and are influenced by each other's valuations.

In sum, this thesis demonstrates the importance of the social, *in addition* to, the material understanding of devices. While previous research has elaborated on a variety of different aspects of what "social" entails (Fourcade, 2011; Pénet & Lee, 2014; Zuiderent-Jerak & Van Egmond, 2015), this research points out a new dimension to the social element by highlighting the importance of both personal and interpersonal aspects and their perception. Both aspects influence the practices and outcome of the valuation of the material valuation devices.

### 8.5. Valuation devices in fine-dining research

Finally, this section draws on the arguments made within this chapter and discusses them in the light of fine-dining research. In doing so, this thesis enhances the understanding of valuation devices within fine-dining in different ways. First, and foremost, this thesis highlights the importance of valuation devices for fine-dining (Gomez & Bouty, 2011; Karpik, 2010; Lane, 2013, 2014). Previous research argues that valuation devices structure fine-dining (Gomez & Bouty, 2011), that they are taste-makers (Lane, 2013, 2014), and that without them, the market of fine-dining would not function (Karpik, 2010). Enhancing this understanding this thesis identifies ways in which valuation devices are important for fine-dining. In particular, this thesis argues that valuation devices can be interpreted to define fine-dining restaurants and the way they work.

Second, this thesis enhances the understanding of Blank (2007) and Mützel (2015) that valuation devices shape and are shaped by the culinary field. Whereas Blank as well as Mützel have argued that valuation devices are shaped by the culinary field, this chapter has shown that multiple valuation devices also shape each other in this field. As shown before in this discussion chapter, this thesis argues that valuation devices influence and shape other valuation devices' valuations, thus pointing to a strongly interrelated field.

Third, the thesis both supports and enhances the work of Christensen and Pedersen (2013), as well as Lane (2013, 2014). It supports these studies, which show that different valuation practices potentially lead to *different* valuation results. As outlined before, this thesis identifies that these valuation practices form the basis of the valuation of valuation devices by chefs and restaurateurs, but also by actors of valuation devices, and therefore impact the result of the valuation of valuation devices. Therefore, in each valuation of the valuation devices, the valuating actors prioritize a different focus on the respective practices, which highlights the importance of the *perceived* differences in valuation practices, as outlined before. As such, it can be argued that the perceived differences across valuation devices have strong consequences for both chefs and restaurateurs and for the valued valuation devices, as I have previously discussed. In addition, this thesis enhances previous studies (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013; Lane, 2013, 2014) by

pointing out that different valuation practices can potentially lead to the *same* result. Even though taste is argued to be subjective (Karpik, 2010), finding out that two valuations come to the same result is in itself not particularly surprising. However, the cause of them coming to the same result may be surprising. The thesis has shown that actors of valuation devices produce valuations not only for one, but for various valuation devices. This has not been addressed in previous research of fine-dining and further enhances our understanding of how valuation devices come to their result.

Finally, this thesis enhances Lane's work (2014) on the chefs' perceptions of the different valuation devices. In doing so, this thesis establishes that this valuation of valuation devices also has strong implications for both the actors producing the valuation of valuation devices, as well as for the actors of the "original" valuation, as outlined before. As such, this thesis suggests future research take into account the valuation of valuation devices and concludes that studying valuation devices in this way marks a valuable way to move forward within the area of fine-dining research.

In sum, this thesis has highlighted the importance of valuation devices for fine-dining. It also argues that valuation devices influence and shape the valuation of other valuation devices. Furthermore, it argues that valuation devices are interrelated with each other, so that the same valuation result for different valuation devices is not surprising. Finally, it outlines the relevance of studying the valuation of valuation devices.

## **8.6. Empirical implications of the valuation of valuation devices**

In line with previous research, the thesis has identified how all categories of actors studied evaluate two valuation devices in particular as the most important ones, i.e. the Michelin Guide (Bouty et al., 2015), and the 50 Best list (B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013). While agreeing on the general importance of both the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list, this thesis also argues that the perception of these two devices varies, both in the way they are perceived by the different actors, but also in comparison to each other. In this way, this thesis argues that the perception of valuation devices in fine-dining is altering on an ongoing basis, which can potentially reflect that the entire field of fine-dining might alter.

To illustrate changes in the field of fine-dining, previous research has pointed to the entanglement of certain valuation devices with one form of dominating cuisine<sup>18</sup> (Lane, 2014; Rao et al., 2003). This leaves room for further research to delve into the possible connection between one form of cuisine with a valuation device, such as for example the White Guide with New Nordic Cuisine. In contrast to the connection of other valuation devices to one form of cuisine, the 50 Best list is seen as not connected with one particular cuisine, but seems to alter its favorable form of cuisine on a regular basis.

While this is one way to interpret the findings on the varying perception of the Michelin Guide and the 50 Best list, other interpretations are possible. Following the argumentation of a potential bias within the data outlined in this discussion chapter above, it is also possible to argue that those valuation devices are perceived and described to be particularly important which favor one restaurant or form of cuisine. In other words, it is possible to argue that actors ‘jump on bandwagons’ when they perceive valuation devices.

Finally, the difference in interpretations is mostly visible in the case of the Michelin Guide. Despite agreeing on its importance, the Michelin Guide is perceived differently in all three analytical chapters and its perception develops over a period of time. To name just one example, whereas the Michelin Guide is perceived to be not able to take changes into account both by the national newspaper media and by chefs and restaurateurs, reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters perceive the Michelin Guide to be able to do so. These different perceptions can be argued to be based upon its anonymity (Bouty et al., 2013; Lane, 2010, 2014), in this way leading to different individual interpretations of observations. As outlined before, in expressing the contradiction of their own perception with someone else’s, an individual moves from a perception to a contextual judging of a valuation device. This contextual judging of a valuation device eventually creates a valuation of this. In this way, possible contradictions about the Michelin Guide can shape its perception, so that it can be argued that the anonymity of the Michelin Guide enhances the valuation of it.

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<sup>18</sup> As indicated in the theoretical background, Rao and colleagues (2003) exemplarily argue for the Gault Millau to favor the Nouvelle Cuisine movement in France over the Classical French Cuisine.

## 9. Conclusion

This thesis is situated in the context of a recent development in today's society: valuation devices proliferate and value almost any product or service on the market. As a consequence of this proliferation, there almost always exist multiple devices that value the very same product or service. While this leaves consumers with the task of making sense of this multiplicity of devices, it also affects many more categories of actors surrounding the valuation devices, such as actors of the valued object, actors of competing valuation devices or the media. To research this multiplicity, this thesis is driven by the perception and description of the multiple valuation devices by the just outlined actors. It hereby identifies this phenomenon to reflect a valuation of valuation devices by these actors. In addition to being curious about the societal phenomenon, the thesis also aims to contribute to the theoretical understanding of valuation devices. The concept of valuation devices reflects the theoretical rooting of this thesis within valuation studies and studies of devices. Empirically, this thesis is based within the context of Copenhagen fine-dining. Fine-dining, in general, is characterized by its dependence on valuation devices, and Copenhagen fine-dining, as in other large cities, is characterized by a strong multiplicity of valuation devices. Taking all this together, the thesis focused on the research question: *How are multiple valuation devices valued by actors in and around these devices in the Copenhagen fine-dining context and what are the implications of this valuation?*

This research question was approached in three analytical chapters, which give an answer to the research question. Each of the three analyses has identified a unique, individually defined, way of how valuation devices are valued by the actors studied in and around the valuation devices, i.e. by actors of the valued object, by actors of competing valuation devices and by the Danish newspaper media. Despite the differences, the thesis concludes that all three analyzed valuations of valuation devices unfold in the same way as *any* valuation, i.e. they both assess and create value. In each of the instances studied, the multiplicity of reviews, ratings, and rankings is first limited to a smaller number of devices. The included devices are interpreted to be legitimate, relevant and important, i.e.

the ones worth paying attention to. The devices are furthermore differentiated in a hierarchy. Following this evaluation, all the actors studied are identified to react to the valuation devices. They do not react in the same way to all devices, but differently, depending on their perception which is represented in their hierarchical position. This valuation of valuation devices, and the related reaction, was identified as a way for the studied actors to cope with the multiplicity of devices that target the same object, i.e. the same restaurants. Finally, this thesis concludes that valuation devices are interconnected with each other, which can influence the different devices' valuations of a restaurant. This interconnectedness is furthermore argued to potentially define the success or failure of a restaurant.

This final chapter concludes with the main contributions of this thesis, both for existing research and for valuation in fine-dining, and eventually discusses potential points of departure for further research.

### **9.1. Contributions to existing research**

The findings of this thesis contribute to several lines of research. This thesis has added to the research highlighting the importance of multiplicity, by raising questions about how the multiplicity of valuation devices is perceived and described. As pointed out in the theoretical background chapter, whereas previous studies have argued for the importance of studying multiplicity (Kjellberg & Mallard, 2013; Lamont, 2012), there are only a limited number of studies that actually investigate it (Du Rietz, 2015; Mellet et al., 2014; Orlikowski & Scott, 2014; Pollock et al., 2018). However, this thesis demonstrates the essential differences between multiplicity situations, for example in comparison to a situation with only one valuation device (Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Hawkins, 2012; Pénet & Lee, 2014; Pollock & D'Adderio, 2012; Preda, 2006). In particular, this thesis has argued that a *multiplicity of valuation devices can be understood as a constricted, individually defined, and hierarchical assemblage of interdependent valuation devices*. With this argumentation, this thesis underlines the argument made by Pollock and colleagues (2018) for a 'turn' of multiplicity (p. 67) and develops this 'turn' of multiplicity beyond the



implications for reactivity. It highlights the importance of multiplicity both for the understanding of valuation and for future studies.

In combination with the contribution of this thesis' findings to the understanding of multiplicity, this thesis also contributes to another, hitherto underdeveloped, element within previous research. Following the suggestion by Kjellberg and Mallard (2013) to investigate the "specific relations (of dominance, balance, conflict, etc.) that have been, or are being forged between different valuation" devices (p. 27), this thesis has identified how valuation devices are (inter)related with each other. In this way, this research enhances the understanding of Du Rietz (2015) of how valuation devices are oriented towards each other. This interrelation can become particularly relevant. The implications of an interrelation have not been investigated yet, but are potentially wide-reaching, as it has been pointed out, resulting in the potential success or failure of a restaurant. Developing one form of the interrelations of devices further, *this thesis demonstrates the importance of relations between actors, and the overlap of persons related to the different valuation devices in fine-dining*. This is in line with the suggestion to supplement the material-focus of studies of devices (Zuiderent-Jerak & Van Egmond, 2015) and underlines the importance of the social, in addition to the material, understanding of devices.

With the identification of how valuation devices within fine-dining are perceived and described, which was interpreted as a form of valuation of valuation devices, this thesis furthermore contributes to our understanding of valuation. Following on the understanding of valuation by Lamont (2012) and Vatin (2013), this thesis demonstrates that the valuation of valuation encompasses the elements of evaluation and valorization. Based on this, I argue that the boundaries of understanding the distinction between assessment and production of value in a valuation can be pushed. In particular, the valuation can be two-directional, with the elements of assessing and creating value implying different values. While it was analytically possible to break up the different sub-processes of valuation, it remains difficult to observe this difference in reality, as also argued by Lamont. However, this analytical step allows for understanding valuation better in the future, as breaking up the different process of valuation can help to open up the black box of valuation

(Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013). In this way, this thesis contributes to unfold how valuation works.

By arguing that the valuation of valuation devices can be understood as a reaction to the initial valuation, this thesis discusses the findings in the context of research on reactivity. This thesis contributes to the reactivity discussion in three ways. First, whereas previous research has focused upon reactive responses by actors of the valued object (Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Pollock & D'Adderio, 2012; Pollock et al., 2018; Sauder & Fine, 2008; Wedlin, 2006), this thesis contributes to our understanding of reactivity by pointing out that *also other actors in and around the valuation devices show forms of reactivity*. In this way, this thesis broadens our understanding of reactivity. Second, *the thesis enhances the list of possible reactive responses*. In line with Wedlin (2006) and in particular with the detailed elaboration by Pollock and colleagues (2018), this thesis challenges the view that organizations respond to valuation devices only by conforming to their measures. Instead, the multiplicity of valuation devices allow for different responses by different devices. In line with this possibility of responding differently, third, *the thesis has argued that valuation devices are valued as a prerequisite based on which actors choose between different reactive responses*. This contributes in particular to the finding by Pollock and colleagues on “ranking the rankers” (p. 62). While a hierarchical ranking of devices, as pointed out before, is one part of the valuation, the thesis unfolds the valuation of valuation devices in further detail allowing for differentiated reactive responses.

Furthermore, the thesis contributes to studies of fine-dining by underlying the importance of valuation devices in fine-dining (Gomez & Bouty, 2011; Karpik, 2010; Lane, 2013, 2014) and enhancing our understanding of valuation devices within fine-dining. It shows that valuation devices define fine-dining restaurants and the way they perceived and described. Furthermore, it shows that there exists a constructed multiplicity of valuation devices, rather than a single device, that is the most important for fine-dining (Bouty et al., 2015). In addition, enhancing the argumentation of Blank (2007) and Mützel (2015) that valuation devices shape and are shaped by the culinary field, *it shows that valuation devices influence and shape each other's valuation*. Finally, the thesis supports the work

of Christensen and Pedersen (2013) as well as Lane (2013, 2014) and shows that there exist differences in valuation devices, which have implications for both the devices and the restaurants. Based on these contributions, this thesis argues for the importance of studying the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices in order to enhance our understanding of valuation devices within fine-dining.

Finally, in contributing to valuation studies and to the studies of devices, this thesis also contributes to the overall field of economic sociology. In particular, it enhances our understanding on how both value (singular) and values (plural) are assessed and created in a valuation – in particular through the valuation of valuation devices. In doing so, this thesis sheds light on how certain processes and practices within a market shape and are shaped in turn. While previous studies have shed light on the former, *this thesis enhances our understanding on how certain practices can potentially be reflected in the reactions of market actors*. Studying such reactions makes it possible to identify certain patterns and connections between different practices. These reactions are also relevant, as they help in the understanding of the overall constitution of market processes, and, eventually, how practices and processes within one market are interrelated with another.

## **9.2. Implications for valuation in fine-dining**

In addition to contributing to existing research, this research also has implications for the empirical field in which this study is placed, i.e. valuation in fine-dining. In general, this thesis has identified that actors in and around the different valuation devices value these devices implicitly. As such, this thesis is a first step in making this practice of valuating transparent and explicit for these actors as well as the broader public interested in fine-dining. Actors can become aware of this and actively reflect and engage with their way of valuating in order to steer it even more actively into a desired direction. In doing so, this thesis helps the actors to engage with the different devices more actively, whether it is chefs and restaurateurs, actors working for the different valuation devices, or consumers of fine-dining.

In line with this, and more specifically, this thesis helps chefs and restaurateurs to understand their own practice of valuation as a possible reaction to the original valuation. In this way, chefs and restaurateurs can learn that valuation devices potentially influence their reactive responses to the different devices. Becoming aware of their own way of valuing helps them to think about the possible value they can create with a valuation of valuation devices. The thesis also helps chefs and restaurateurs to see through the interrelatedness of the different actors of valuation devices. This allows them to understand the valuations they gain from the different devices. Furthermore, the thesis provides a basic understanding for chefs and restaurateurs so they can identify how they can potentially promote their restaurant in order for it to become successful amongst the different reviews, ratings and rankings. In this way, chefs and restaurateurs can maneuver within the multiplicity of valuation devices. In doing so, chefs and restaurateurs may be assured that being the 'best' restaurant may not necessarily be the ultimate goal for a restaurant. Accordingly, this thesis undermines the notion that valuation devices dictate the workings of restaurants, and that they alone define what is good or bad. Instead, chefs and restaurateurs can, for example, fight back, choose to ignore some valuation, and influence the perception of valuation devices when sharing their experiences with colleagues.

Furthermore, in the same vein, this thesis helps actors of the different valuation devices, i.e. reviewers, food bloggers, journalists, editors, inspectors, critics, judges, and voters, to understand more about how exactly their practice of valuing restaurants is perceived within the field, which would allow them in turn to take this into consideration in their work. An actor of a valuation device, for example, can identify which aspects are welcomed by chefs and restaurateurs, something that could eventually help them promote their own business. In line with this, actors of the different valuation devices can also identify how they can position themselves within the multiplicity of valuation devices to make the best out of the devices. The thesis also provides insights that actors of the different valuation devices are related to each other, and this helps them become aware that because of this interrelation, they can potentially decide on the success or failure of a restaurant.

Finally, this thesis also has implications for consumers trying to find ‘the best’ restaurant. This thesis has pointed out the different ways in which valuation devices are valued. In particular, the different ways in which the actors studied in this thesis assess and evaluate the different reviews, ratings and rankings can indicate to consumers how to perceive these valuation devices and their advantages and disadvantages. When following this thesis, consumers are given the opportunity to either follow one of the above outlined valuations to identify the differences of the valuation devices or, inspired by the different ways, develop their own valuation of valuation devices. In this way, this thesis helps consumers ultimately make a decision based on the comparison of alternatives and find their best restaurant in Copenhagen within the jungle of valuation devices.

### **9.3. Further research**

Overall, this thesis makes several contributions to existing literature within valuation studies, the study of devices and in fine-dining and in doing so, I hope to have answered a few unanswered questions in these respective fields. At the same, the thesis provides various points of reflection for further research. In general, while this research has contributed to the understanding of multiplicity, as well as of valuation, it can be understood as a first step in developing our understanding of the two fields of research. Further research can continue along the path taken by this research and focus on both the multiplicity of valuation devices, as well as on the valuation of these valuation devices. Pointing to a number of possible aspects that future research can take into consideration in this regard, the following section elaborates on some potential avenues to deepen the understanding of the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices.

First, as outlined above, fine-dining, as well as the Copenhagen setting, mark a very relevant, but also specific context to study the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices. Further research could therefore look into a different context, for example in which valuations are argued to be less defining for the market to function. This could be useful in identifying the role that the context plays for the outcome of this thesis, in particular for the role of the individual actors and their personal interconnection with other actors. In addition, fine-dining in Denmark is described as being centered in and around

Copenhagen. In combination with the centrality of restaurants, it can also be stated that the valuation devices judging the different valuation devices are centered in and around Copenhagen. Such a small and close-knit environment can be argued to foster personal interconnections between the different valuation devices. Further research could therefore study the multiplicity of valuation devices in a larger context or more expansive environment, for example where valuation devices are operating in different parts of a country. This would allow an understanding of how the specific Copenhagen context influences the (inter)relation of valuation devices, amongst others.

Second, within the particularity of fine-dining, this empirical context demarcates another interesting avenue for future research. While this research has identified the Michelin Guide to have a particular role within the multiplicity of valuation devices, further research could investigate this role of the Michelin Guide further – ideally by collecting primary data from the Guide. While a number of studies have already focused solely upon the Michelin Guide (e.g. Bouty et al., 2013; B. Christensen & Pedersen, 2013; Lane, 2010), further research can focus on how the Guide as “the other valuation device” maneuvers within the multiplicity of reviews, ratings and rankings. Another interesting avenue that further research can take is to investigate the changes in the understanding and perception of the different valuation devices, for example the changes in relation between the 50 Best list and the Michelin Guide. One potential starting point for such research lies within the adjustments that these valuation devices have made within the last couple of years.

Third, even though the analysis of the newspaper media demonstrates that the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices changes over time, this aspect gained minimal attention in the overall discussion of this thesis. Therefore, it can be argued that the thesis demonstrates a static picture of the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices. This static picture is rooted in the particular collection of data, over a relatively short time span. Nonetheless, it is interesting to enhance the understanding of the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices by studying the aspect of temporality. For example, Pollock and D’Adderio (2012) argue that devices are “not static, but evolving” (p. 583) and demonstrate how devices and their practices evolve over time. Assuming that a valuation

evolves, it is likely that the valuation of this device is changing as well. Consequently, the perceived multiplicity of valuation devices is also potentially changing, so that a new picture can be drawn at a given point in time. Consequently, this thesis is in agreement with Pollock and Campagnolo (2015) that there exists “a much-needed focus on ‘temporality’” (p. 90).

Fourth, as pointed out before, this thesis has contributed to our current understanding of reactivity in the way that not only actors valuated by valuation devices show forms of reactivity. Also actors in and around these valuation devices show forms of reactivity in relation to the initial valuation. Developing this understanding further by taking the definition of reactivity literally, i.e. that “individuals alter their behavior in reaction to being evaluated, observed or measured” (Espeland & Sauder, 2007, p. 6), it is possible to argue that there might be further forms of reactivity to identify in connection with the valuation of valuation devices. As the initial valuations have been interpreted to be related to a valuation of the valuation devices, so it is possible that also the valuation of valuation devices can lead to further forms of reactivity. To formulate it differently, it is possible that following the valuation of valuation devices, there exist forms of *re*-reactivity. Due to the focus of this thesis, this possibility has not been studied yet, but it is a potential avenue for further research.

Fifth, and finally, this thesis demonstrates the strong implications that the valuation of valuation devices and the multiplicity of valuation devices have, both individually and in their combination. While the findings outline the implications for the valuation devices and the valuated objects, they also indicate that there can be ripple implications, for example, for suppliers of restaurants. However, due to the scope of this thesis, the mechanisms through which these effects take place were not identified. As such, further research could focus on such indirect effects of the multiplicity of valuation devices (e.g. Sharkey & Bromley, 2015). Overall, the implications of valuation devices are argued to play a strong role when taking the multiplicity into account. Following such strong implications identified in this thesis, it is very likely that there are many more implications of this multiplicity that

have not been addressed. Further research is thus needed to identify the full scope of the complexity and intricacy surrounding the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices.

Overall, this thesis aims not only to follow the inspiration laid out by existing studies of valuation and devices, but also to create interest for further research to follow the suggested direction and investigate the phenomenon of the valuation of the multiplicity of valuation devices by actors in and around the devices.



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## **Appendix 1: Interview Guide – first version**

*Thank you very much for taking the time and for being available for an interview.*

*3-year PhD project about the role of different ratings and rankings during the development of New Nordic Cuisine and which role they play for the overall (Danish) culinary field.*

*This interview will of course be confidential and the data will be anonymized*

### **History & Background**

- Can you tell a bit about yourself?
- [Personalized questions based on the background of the interviewee]

### **Role of ratings & rankings**

- How do you see different valuation devices in the (Danish) culinary field on a general level?
- What do they particularly focus on in their observation? What values do they look for?
- In your opinion, what is the most important one?
- Do you think they look at each other?
- Did you ever have the chance to talk to someone representing one of these devices?
- What was for you the biggest surprise in one of these valuation devices?
- How do you think they cope with changes and innovation?
- What role do they play for the Danish culinary field? Before and since New Nordic Cuisine?
- Do restaurants look for devices? / Do diners look for devices?
- How important (financially / personally) is it for restaurants in Denmark / Copenhagen to be valued?
- Do you think valuation devices had an influence on New Nordic Cuisine / on restaurants?

- Do you think they play / did play a particular role for the development of New Nordic Cuisine?
- Do you think they have changed since / because of New Nordic Cuisine?
- Do you think that New Nordic Cuisine could have been such a success without the existence of evaluation devices?
- What would you recommend to people that would like to start a new restaurant in Copenhagen in order to be successful (when they want to focus on New Nordic Cuisine)?

### **Further topics**

- Is there anything that I have forgotten to ask, but that you consider relevant for my research?
- Can you recommend additional persons I can talk to?
- Thank you very much for taking the time and talking to me! This was really helpful and I appreciate your support a lot!

## Appendix 2: Interview Guide – last version

*Thank you very much for taking the time and for being available for an interview.*

*PhD project with the interest on: Perception of reviews, rankings and ratings*

*This interview will of course be confidential and the data will be anonymized*

### History & Background

- Can you tell a bit about yourself?
- [Personalized questions based on the background of the interviewee]

### Rankings & Ratings in Denmark

- Taking the historical development of the haute cuisine in Denmark into account, in particular since the foundation of New Nordic Cuisine, what role did different rankings, ratings and reviews play?
- Has there been any difference within the last couple of years? Where is NNC today? And why?
- How important is it in general for restaurants in Denmark / Copenhagen to be ranked / rated? (financially / personally)  
In what way are reviews, rankings and ratings important for restaurants?
- What do you think are the most important (international, Danish) reviews, ratings and rankings?
- How do you think they cope with changes and innovation?
- How do you see the different reviews, ratings and rankings in the (Danish) fine-dining on a general level?
  - Michelin Guide
  - The World's 50 Best Restaurants list
  - White Guide
  - Den Danske Spiseguide
  - TripAdvisor

- Yelp
- Food Bloggers
- Newspapers
- ... anyone that I forgot? (AOK / Gastro)?

### **The meaning of Rankings & Ratings for your restaurant**

- Which of these reviews, ratings and rankings do you consider most important for [your restaurant]? Why?
- How do you cope with them? Do you get inspiration from the ratings and reviews?
- How would you describe the particular role of ratings and rankings for the development of [your restaurant]?
- Do you interact with the rankings, ratings and reviews?
- In what kind of events and networking do you participate? Locally and internationally? Why these? What role do they play? And what can you gain from these events?
- What would you recommend to people that would like to start a new restaurant in Copenhagen in order to be successful (when they want to focus on New Nordic Cuisine)?

### **Further topics**

- Can you recommend additional persons who I can talk to?
- Could I come back to you for further questions?
- Thank you very much for taking the time and talking to me! This was really helpful and I appreciate your support a lot!



## Appendix 3: List of newspaper articles published by Berlingske about Noma 2003-2017

### 2003

#### Nordatlanten tur-retur

Friday, December 19, 2003 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, GUIDE) Page 6 Svend Rasmussen...  
1330 words Id: e013c00c  
MADANMELDELSE. Restaurant *Noma* holder sig langt væk fra tidens middelhavskøkken og serverer  
superavanceret mad med rødder i klassiske nordiske traditioner og ...

### 2004

#### *Noma* hæver priserne

Friday, January 16, 2004 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, Guide) Page 3 35 words Id: e014fd90  
Den nordatlantiske restaurant *Noma*, der fornylig blev anmeldt til fem stjerner i Guide, har netop hævet  
priserne på trods af løfter om ingen...

#### ZoomUd: Mad så isbjørnene danser

Thursday, January 29, 2004 B.T. Section 1 (1. SEKTION) Page 32 AF BIRGITTE GRUE... 701 words Id:  
e015c4fc  
På *Noma* dyrkes det moderne nordiske køkken. Stilen er enkel og klar – skabt af to unge superkokkes  
forbløffende nytænkning og respekt for det traditionelle. ...

#### Min uge

Friday, March 05, 2004 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, Guide) Page 2 293 words Id: e01a4a07  
Mads Refslund har været Paul Cunninghams højre hånd gennem flere restaurantprojekter. Han fik foden  
under eget køkkenbord, da han med René Redzepi...

#### *NOMA* har den bedste kok

Monday, March 29, 2004 B.T. Section 1 (1. Sektion) Page 16 136 words Id: e01c4ee5  
*NOMA* har den bedste kok Danmarks bedste kok hedder Søren Ledet og arbejder på Restaurant *Noma* i  
København. Søren Ledet blev søndag kåret som vinder af...

#### Danmarks bedste kok kåret

Monday, March 29, 2004 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 (1. Sektion) Page 4 78 words Id: e01c4bb8  
Danmarks bedste kok hedder Søren Ledet og arbejder på Restaurant *Noma* i København. Søren Ledet blev  
i går kåret som vinder af danmarksmesterska...

#### Billigudgave af *Noma*

Friday, May 28, 2004 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, GUIDE) Page 3 30 words Id: e020077f

Restaurant Noma i Strandgade 93 åbner i morgen lillesøsteren Mona Bar & Grill ved havnefronten foran restauranten.

### Sol, sommer og god grillmad

Friday, July 30, 2004 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, GUIDE) Page 4 42 words Id: e023a593

Noget tyder på, at grill sæsonen endelig begynder, og så er det oplagt at besøge den nyåbnede Mona Grill og Bar på Strandgade 93, hvor du kan nyde god...

### Noma anbefaler dansk hare

Saturday, October 23, 2004 B.T. Section 1 (1 Sektion) Page 26 444 words Id: e0297bb9

Noma anbefaler dansk hare Stegt hare med glaserede rødbeder og peberrod Ingredienser: 2 harer (bestilles hos fiskehandleren), 4 små rødbeder, 1...

## 2005

### Chef forlader Kokkeriet

Friday, January 21, 2005 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (1 Sektion) Page 3 65 words Id: e030f38e

Kokken Mads Refslund har forladt gourmetrestauranten Kokkeriet i Kronprinsessegade, som han som køkkenchef skaffede fem stjerner i Berlingske Tidende og...

### En fransk visit

Sunday, February 06, 2005 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, MS BERLINGSKE TIDENDE) Page 26 Vibeke Wern... 1710 words Id: e0325045

Mesterkokken Jacques Pourcel fra Montpellier gæstede København for at lade sig udfordre af de nordiske råvarer på restaurant *Noma*. »Oui, chef! « lyder...

### Noter: Rejseliv

Saturday, February 12, 2005 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, REJSELIV) Page 2 betak, -jard... 171 words Id: e032dd70

Food & Fun Den islandske hovedstad holder for fjerde gang »Food & Fun Festival« i dagene 16.-20. februar. Sidste år deltog 20.000 i festivalen, ...

### Mads Refslund på Kultorvet

Friday, April 29, 2005 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, GUIDE) Page 3 55 words Id: e0390c25

Kokken Mads Refslund, som var med til at åbne Noma og derefter skaffede Kokkeriet flotte anmeldelser, åbner sin egen restaurant. ...

### Blomster til nordisk køkken

Friday, September 09, 2005 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, GUIDE) Page 14 Michael Rachlin AOK-redaktør... 688 words Id: e04517ab

*Noma*, Experimentarium og Fitness.dk er det bedste København har at byde på lige nu i kategorierne Byens Bedste gourmetrestaurant, Byens Bedste sted for børn...

### Pris til Søllerød Kro

Friday, November 04, 2005 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, AOK) Page 5 Ebj... 30 words Id: e04bac57

Den Danske Spiseguide har kåret Søllerød Kro som Årets Restaurant og Christian Aarø Mortensen fra Restaurant Prémisse som Årets Sommelier/restaurantchef, ...

### Restaurant *Noma* er nr. 33 i verden

Wednesday, April 12, 2006 B.T. Section 1 (1. SEKTION) Page 20 87 words Id: e060701b

Så er Danmark igen repræsenteret på listen over de 50 bedste restauranter i verden. Det handler om *Noma* i København, der indtager en fornem 33. plads....

### Danske *Noma* i verdensklasse

Saturday, April 22, 2006 B.T. Section 3 (1 Sektion) Page 12 43 words Id: e061814e

Ifølge det britiske tidsskrift Restaurant Magazine er den danske restaurant *Noma* på Christianshavn blandt de 50 bedste restauranter i verden. ...

## 2006

### Krydderiernes kemi

Sunday, June 11, 2006 B.T. Section 2 (1 Sektion) Page 10 Maria Holkenfeldt Behrendt... 52 words Id: e06806ab

Der er ikke noget bedre end mad med gode krydderier. Nu kan du i bogen »Krydderier og kokker...

### Tæt løb i Byens Bedste

Friday, September 08, 2006 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, AOK) Page 4 Mette Nielsen... 244 words Id: e0738654

Ugens vindere er kåret. Læs med og find blandt andet ud af, hvor BYENS BEDSTE GOURMETRESTAURANT gemmer sig, og hvor fadøllene smager allerbedst. De...

### Thaimad til topkarakter

Friday, September 29, 2006 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, AOK) Page 9 Svend Rasmussen... 1024 words Id: e0767e45

MADANMELDELSE Kīin Kīin betyder noget i retning af »kom og spis« på Thai. På dansk betyder det Nørrebros nye thairestaurant, der serverer gourmetmad til...

## 2007

### Tre nye stjerner til København

Thursday, March 15, 2007 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 (1. SEKTION) Page 4 (Indland) Søren Frank ... 487 words Id: e08f1a11

Michelin. Restaurant *Noma* er alene i toppen af den københavnske madscene med to stjerner i den nye Michelin-guide. København har nu fået en to-stjernet...

### Ålesuppe, mjød og mælkeskind

Friday, March 23, 2007 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, AOK) Page 11 (AOK) Søren Frank... 1255 words Id: e090668f

MADANMELDELSE. Suveræne *Noma* lever på alle planer og uden den mindste slinger i valsen op til sine to nye Michelin-stjerner. Hvad: Noma Hvor: Strandgade ...

### *Noma* verdens 15. bedste restaurant

Wednesday, April 25, 2007 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 (1. SEKTION) Page 10 (Inland) Else Bjørn... 253 words Id: e096307a

Det er ikke kun gæsterne på gourmetrestauranten *Noma*, der skåler i champagne. Sidste måned skålede køkkenchef René Redzepi med sine ansatte på, at...

### Dansk restaurant til tops

Friday, April 27, 2007 B.T. Section 2 (2 Sektion, BT REJSER) Page 2 86 words Id: e096ac88

Restaurant *Noma* i København er netop blevet kåret som verdens 15. bedste spisested. Det fremgår af det internationale magasin *Restaurant*, som hvert år...

### Moderne dansk i Hansens kælder

Friday, May 18, 2007 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, AOK) Page 9 (AOK) Søren Frank ... 1028 words Id: e09ad2a4

God *Noma-inspireret* mad til pengene på Frederiksberg Allé. Efterhånden som elever og kokke strømmer ud fra René Redzepis restaurant *Noma* på...

### Hånd til børn og unge i nød

Sunday, June 24, 2007 B.T. Section 1 (1.sektion) Page 30 (Weekend) Kirsten Erendsson... 106 words Id: e0a54b11

Claus Elming har haft rigtig travlt i forgangne uge. Først som konferencier ved EM for cheerleaders i Frederikshavn, og siden som toastmaster ved en...

### Mikes Michelin-eventyr

Saturday, July 07, 2007 B.T. Section 1 (1. sektion) Page 16 (Weekend) MARIE JOO KIM JENSEN... 516 words Id: e0a7cfcc

Min drøm: Nærlige Mike drømmer om at blive kok. Forleden sørgede Børnehjælpsdagen, B.T. ... *Det er en forventningsfuld dreng, som træder ind på...*

### Ølcruise med *Noma*

Thursday, August 30, 2007 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (2 Sektion, MAGASIN) Page 16 (Magasin Daglig) 56 words Id: e0b06ce9

I dag kan øl-entusiaster vugge på ølcruise med gourmetrestauranten *Noma*, når det gode skib Nordbygvn glider af sted i Københavns kanaler. ...

### Gastronomisk topmøde

Tuesday, September 04, 2007 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 (1. SEKTION) Page 6 (Indland) Søren Frank ... 358 words Id: e0b1ac53

12.000 kr. pr. kuvert. Stjernetokke og madjournalister fra kloden var i går samlet på restaurant *Noma* for at udforske det nordiske køkken. Der var...

### Det sker

Friday, November 16, 2007 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (4 Sektion, AOK) Page 5 (AOK) 388 words Id: e0c0d6fa

*Champagnesmaging på Noma* Lørdag mødes hardcore champagne-afficionados, som uden at blinke betaler 5.000 kroner for en eftermiddag og en aften...

### Krug'n'Krüff

Sunday, December 16, 2007 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS Berlingske Tidende) Page 58 (MS) Søren Frank... 1512 words Id: e0c6a3f4

Bortset fra, at isbjørnen på *Noma* var ude at danse, var alt same procedure as last year ved den årlige champagne-soirée. @MS Byline:AF SØREN FRANK FOTO:...

### Stjerneregner i Holland

Friday, December 21, 2007 B.T. Section 2 (Rejser) Page 12 (1. Sektion) 71 words Id: e0c7a4c0

Ved uddelingen af 2008s Michelin-stjerner blev Holland rigt belønnet. Stjerneregneren ramte i alt 74 hollandske restauranter, heraf fik 62 en enke...

## 2008

### Har du hørt...

Friday, March 07, 2008 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK) Page 3 (AOK) 314 words Id: e0d91d3a

Hvis du er træt af at ringe forgæves til *Noma* i et forsøg på at bestille bord på byens eneste to-stjernede Michelinrestaurant, men drømmer du om at smage ...

### Velbekomme: Dansk restaurant i verdens top ti

Tuesday, April 22, 2008 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 (1. sektion) Page 12 (Indland) Søren Frank ... 227 words Id: e0f931ed

Den københavnske restaurant *Noma*, der forleden blev tildelt to Michelin-stjerner, blev i aftes kåret som verdens 10. bedste restaurant. At en dansk...

### Dagens top 3

Wednesday, April 23, 2008 B.T. Section 1 (1. sektion) Page 4 (1. Sektion) 44 words Id: e0f97143

Den københavnske restaurant *Noma* er blevet kåret som nummer 10 på San Pellegrinos liste over verdens bedste spisesteder. Her er de bed... El Bulli...

### Rejsen mod den gastronomiske trone

Sunday, April 27, 2008 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (M/S) Page 12 (MS) Søren Frank ... 3306 words Id: e0fc8912

Der skete uforudsete ting i London i denne uge, da gastronomiens Oscar-uddeling kårede københavnske *Noma* til den tiende bedste restaurant i verden. Søren...

### *Noma* rykker på landet

Friday, May 16, 2008 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK) Page 12 (AOK) Søren Frank KRISTIAN SÆDERUP... 794 words Id: e105babe  
mad Premiere på nyt, spændende og ambitiøst terroir-køkken på Dragsholm Slot ved Lammefjorden. Måske er overskriften ikke helt retfærdig, for som Nomas...

### Kampagne: Stjernemad på kollegiet på den energivenlige måde

Friday, May 16, 2008 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 (1. sektion) Page 4 (Indland) Flemming Steen Pedersen... 571 words Id: e105b93d  
Kokke fra restaurant *Noma* serverede i går en tre-retters menu for beboere på Otto Mønsted Kollegiet, som både smagte godt og bidrog til at reducere...

### Kommentar: Debat: Konference: Hver borger har et ansvar

Monday, May 19, 2008 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Magasin) Page 11 (Debat) Connie Hedegaard, Klima- og energiminister (K)... 801 words Id: e10654b0  
Regeringen har i dag kaldt til konference med fokus på det personlige ansvar. Det sker ud fra en tro på, at vi i Danmark har brug for at sætte mere fokus på...

### Ikke nogen rar dag

Friday, November 14, 2008 B.T. Section 1 (1. sektion) Page 8 (1. Sektion) Bo Norström Weile... 1009 words Id: e14a16c0  
Køkkenchef Rene Redzepi ked af, at blive fremstillet usympatisk i DR-dokumentar om restaurant *Noma*. Selvom Nomas køkkenchef, Rene Redzepi, bruger grove...

### Lad dog René bande lidt

Saturday, November 15, 2008 B.T. Section 1 (1. sektion) Page 12 (1. Sektion) line scheibel mitchell... 524 words Id: e14a7cfb  
Søren Gericke er selv til røg i køkkenet og forsvarer sin udskældte kokke-kollega, René Redzepi fra *Noma*. Jeg går amok på dig. Hvad er det, du ikke...

### Debat: Pisk er nødvendigt

Sunday, November 16, 2008 B.T. Section 1 (1.sektion) Page 34 (Debat) 65 words Id: e14aae9e  
noma Claus Winther Nyborg ...

### Debat: Kokke er som trænere

Sunday, November 16, 2008 B.T. Section 1 (1.sektion) Page 34 (Debat) 118 words Id: e14aae9d  
noma Michael Woldiderich Smørum ...

### De gale kokke

Tuesday, November 18, 2008 B.T. Section 1 (1. sektion) Page 2 (1. Sektion) Henny Christensen... 467 words Id: e14b4360

Den københavnske restaurant Noma har længe været verdensberømt for sin kogekunst. Smykket med Michelin-stjerner og kåret som verdens tiende-bedste...

### Ubehersket raseri på menuen

Tuesday, November 18, 2008 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Kultur & Debat) Page 16 (Kultur) Jan Hedegaard... 570 words Id: e14b4228

Bliver saucen bedre af, at køkkenchefen raser over de ansatte og skriger som en sindssyg? Det påstod DR-dokumentaren »Noma på kogepunktet«. Køkkenchef og ...

### Det må gerne være stort

Sunday, December 07, 2008 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (M/S) Page 17 (MS) Søren Frank... 902 words Id: e1523006

Søren Frank anmelder årets høst af madbøger, som generelt er store, dyre og velegnede til sofabordet. Hvert år har sin trend inden for koge- og...

### Fra wienerschnitzler til michelinstjerner

Friday, December 12, 2008 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK) Page 14 (AOK) else bjørn foto: Liselotte sabroe m.fl.... 1687 words Id: e1540024

Gourmanden og forfatteren Bent Christensen har netop udgivet en bog om gastronomiens historie i Danmark. AOK mødte ham på Era Ora og bad ham forklare,...

## 2009

### To jyder på NOMA

Sunday, January 04, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Magasin Søndag) Page 17 (Magasin Søndag) Morten Beiter... 1065 words Id: e159ad02

Morten Beiter og hans rejsefælle, fhv. tandlæge Bent B. ... En typisk beskæftigelse for jyder, der besøger København, er at samle på kendte ansigter,...

### Tre stjerner i sigte

Sunday, March 15, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS) Page 19 967 words Id: e171d87f

Michelin-redaktør og Københavns-kender, Derek Bulmer, mener, at det er et spørgsmål om kort tid, før en restaurant i Skandinavien får tre stjerner. Med...

### 60 I DAG: Den store nordiske kok

Saturday, March 21, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Debat & Navne) Page 6 (NAVNE) Søren Frank... 436 words Id: e173e0e7

Ingen kok har haft større betydning for den hjemlige gastronomi end Erwin Lauterbach. Det er muligt, at der i dag tales om Noma, Redzepi og Det Nye...

### HAR DU HØRT...

Thursday, April 09, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 3 (AOK.dk ) Page 3 351 words Id: e17a1570

Gourmetrestauranten MR er lukket. Da topkokken Mads Refslund, som også har været på Noma og The Paul i Tivoli, onsdag 1. april meddelte Told & Skat,...

## NOMA

Tuesday, April 21, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 1 25 words Id: e17ce733

NOMA nu i top tre over verdens bedste spisesteder Berlingske Tidendes mad-og vinekspert Søren Frank skriver fra konkurrencen i London på [www.fri.dk...](http://www.fri.dk...)

## Dansk restaurant kåret til verdens tredjebedste

Tuesday, April 21, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 13 (INDLAND) Søren Frank... 341 words Id: e17ce6a5

Christianshavnerrestauranten *Noma* er sensationelt blevet kåret som klodens tredjebedste af kokke og anmeldere fra hele verden. LONDON: At et dansk...

## Dagen derpå på *Noma*

Wednesday, April 22, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 12 (INDLAND) Else Bjørn... 484 words Id: e17d4556

Bord otte kyskede tjeneren, og telefonen ringede konstant på *Noma* i går, efter at gourmetrestauranten mandag blev kåret som nummer tre på restauranternes...

## Fem skarpe til Claus Henriksen

Sunday, May 10, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS) Page 23 717 words Id: e183066f

Claus Henriksen er uddannet fra kokkeskolen i 2001 og har siden arbejdet på både *Noma* og Formel B. Gennem det seneste år har han arbejdet som køkkenchef på...

## Interview: Vi skal bruge Nomas succes til at give danskerne længere liv

Friday, May 15, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK.dk ) Page 12 Sarah Skarum... 1647 words Id: e1850581

Claus Meyer har de seneste tyve år kæmpet for bedre dansk madkultur. Gennem egne produkter, egne restauranter, tvprogrammer og kogeboøger. ... Han er en...

## NOMA SKAL IND I DANSKERNES KØKKEN

Friday, May 15, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 1 12 words Id: e18500d8

Claus Meyer vil opdrage danskerne til 5-stjernet madlavning. ...

## Køkken-krigen

Friday, May 29, 2009 B.T. Section 3 (Sport) Page 16 (Sport) Søren Sorgenfri... 340 words Id: e189aa9f

Danmark er uden tvivl Skandinaviens førende nation på den kulinariske front. København vælter sig i Michelin-stjerner, mens svenskerne slår sig på brystet...

## Gourmet: Kog det rå!

Sunday, May 31, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS) Page 24 SØREN FRANK FOTO: P-A JØRGENSEN... 2573 words Id: e18a0875

I anledning af det københavnske klima-år mødtes 11 af verdens førende, moderne kokke sidste weekend på *Noma* og lavede mad uden brug af el og gas....



### Dunhammer Aften

Sunday, May 31, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS) Page 5 KIM FLYVBJERG, MS-REDAKTØR... 228 words Id: e18a082a

INTRO. I 1967 sang Eik Skaløe blandt andet følgende forrygende strofer i sangen »Dunhammer Aften« på Steppeulvenes første og eneste plade »Hip« : Frøerne ...

### MIT KØBENHAVN...

Friday, June 19, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK.dk ) Page 5 Sarah Skarum... 778 words Id: e19076b3

Hans michelinrestaurant MR gik nedem og hjem, men nu åbner MADS REFSLUND en ny udgave af MR, der serverer fisk og skaldyr. Selv elsker han indre by, *Noma*...

### Fra mælkeskind til møbler

Sunday, August 23, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 6 (Boligen Søndag) Page 4 Gitte Nielsen... 960 words Id: e1a40afc

Jonas Lyndby Jensen blev færdig på Danmarks Designskole i sommer med et sæt dogme-møbler. Allerede inden da, havde han dog debuteret som designer for en stor ...

### Riesling på dansk

Sunday, October 11, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS) Page 22 Anders Selmer... 1633 words Id: e1b5fa9a

På Lilleø er kredsen omkring *Noma* ved at revolutionere dansk vin. Målet er at lave rene hvidvine på klassiske druer som pinot gris, sauvignon blanc og...

### Jagten på nordisk terroir

Sunday, November 29, 2009 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS) Page 34 TEKST OG... 1233 words Id: e1c9621e

GOURMET: Lapland er madelskerens drøm om det vilde nordiske terroir. MS tog nord for polarcirklen. René Redzepi destillerede for alvor kvalitetene ved...

## 2010

### Bankledelse spiser og drikker for formue.

Monday, February 22, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 4 (INDLAND) 117 words Id: e1e4f2a8

FRÅDS. D'Angleterre, Noma, Frederiksberg Slot og Sølyst. Seddelpressen må på overarbejde, når cheferne i Nationalbanken har mæsket sig i deres årlige...

### Den nordiske køkkenrevolution

Saturday, February 27, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (Magasin Lørdag) Page 6 Christian Nørr, Peter Westermann, Sarah-Iben Almbjerg og Bjørn Willum... 2179 words Id: e1e709b3

På få år er det nordiske køkken kommet i den absolutte gastronomiske verdenselite. Stjernekokke, anmeldere og kritikere fra alle de største restauranter og...

### Y-punktet

Friday, March 05, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK.dk ) Page 9 Søren Frank... 879 words Id: e1e918d6

MADANMELDELSE: Trods avantgardiske tendenser har MRs køkken udtalt yummy-effekt. Den nye version er med fisk og med en anelse mere klassiske toner. Få...

#### Interview: Festen holdes på tallerkenen

Friday, March 12, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK.dk ) Page 6 Sarah Skarum... 1491 words Id: e1eb8cc8

Han har arbejdet på trestjernede Michelinrestauranter, sagt nej tak til fast job på El Bulli og været souschef på *Noma*. Nu vil Christian Puglisi genopfinde...

#### Forsidehenviisning: Fra *Noma* til Nørrebro

Friday, March 12, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 1 9 words Id: e1eb88e5  
STJERNEKOKKEN CHRISTIAN PUGLISI VIL LAVE GOURMETMAD TIL DE UNGE

#### Nimb Brasserie leverer varen

Friday, April 23, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (Aok.dk ) Page 9 Tekst: Svend Rasmussen Foto: Jeppe Bøje Nielsen... 889 words Id: e1fb0d20

Missionen med at parre det klassiske franske brasseriekøkken med nynordisk inspiration og et par catalanske narrestreger lykkes sublimt. Rabarber og...

#### Interview: MANDEN FRA MAKEDONIEN

Sunday, April 25, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS) Page 14 SØREN FRANK... 4650 words Id: e1fbd73e

INTERVIEW: I morgen bliver det afgjort, om *Noma* er verdens bedste restaurant. Mød manden, der startede med at sidde og spise på jorden i Makedonien og 25 år...

#### Dagens succes: Kejser-kokken

Tuesday, April 27, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 18 ANDREAS MÜLLER DIGENS... 540 words Id: e1fc7228

TOPPEN: Restaurant *Noma* er verdens bedste restaurant. René Redzepi har endnu en gang vist sig som dansk gastronomis største stjerne. Hans restaurant...

#### Verdens bedste *Noma*

Tuesday, April 27, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 3 (INDLAND) Else Bjørn, Michael Bjerre og Kristoffer Zøllner... 379 words Id: e1fc6852

Magasinet Restaurants »World's 50 Best« kårede i aftes den danske gourmetrestaurant til verdens bedste. KØBENHAVN/LONDON: Hele eftermiddagen glødede...

#### Forsidehenviisning: *Noma* verdens bedste

Tuesday, April 27, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 1 42 words Id: e1fc6850

Så lykkedes det: Sent i aftes blev *Noma* i København kåret som verdens bedste af magasinet Restaurants World's 50 Best. ...

#### Dagens tip!

Wednesday, April 28, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 48 31 words Id: e1fd05ee  
NOMA er kåret til verdens bedste restaurant. Spisestedet...

### Berlingske Kommentar: Hva' så Michelin?

Wednesday, April 28, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 11 SØREN FRANK BERLINGSKE  
TIDENDES VIN-OG MADREDAKTØR... 427 words Id: e1fd052f  
Nu, hvor Noma har fået fløjet den fortjente »verdenspokal« hjem til Christianshavn i ro og mag, melder der sig et nyt spørgsmål: Hvordan kan det hænge...

### Vi er glade og stolte

Wednesday, April 28, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 11 Katrine Grønvald Raun... 465 words Id: e1fd052c  
Dagen efter kåringen til verdens bedste restaurant skabte mediernes fokus mere postyr end serveringen på københavnske *Noma*. Prisen kommer ikke til at ændre...

### Ledende artikel: Verdens bedste

Wednesday, April 28, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 2 Henny Christensen Ledende redaktionschef... 381 words Id: e1fd020c  
B.T. MENER: Så fat det dog -*Noma* er noget helt unikt. Hvis nogen for blot få år siden havde spået, at en dansk restaurant skulle ryge helt til tops på...

### Sådan får du bord på *Noma*

Wednesday, April 28, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 17 JESPER VESTERGAARD LARSEN... 181 words Id: e1fd0147  
Glem alt om at ringe ind og bestille et bord på *Noma*. Hvis du vil spise på verdens bedste restaurant, skal du være mere end almindeligt hurtig. Og...

### Derfor er *Noma* verdens bedste

Wednesday, April 28, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 16 JESPER VESTERGAARD LARSEN og STINE HANSEN... 722 words Id: e1fd0144  
GOURMET: Vejen til succes går gennem lige dele ambitioner, slid, karspirer, muldebær og vild timian. Tørret kammusling og karse. Årgangskartoffel og...

### Tjek ud

Thursday, April 29, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 48 23 words Id: e1fd79da  
HAR DU IKKE RÅD til at gå på *Noma*, så gå ind ved siden af og se moderne nordisk kunst på Nordatlantens Brygge.

### Debat: Godt, men for lidt

Thursday, April 29, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 36 Torben B. Andersen, Rødovre... 71 words Id: e1fd787a  
*NOMA* Det er fantastisk, at *Noma* - en dansk restaurant - er blevet kåret som verdens bedste. ...

### Debat: *Noma* viser vækstpotentiale

Friday, April 30, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (ST. BEDEDAG MAGASIN) Page 20 ø 20 277 words Id: e1feae30

Restaurant Noma blev mandag kåret til verdens bedste restaurant af det engelske blad, London Restaurant Magazine. Det er en præstation, der vidner om en...

### Verdens bedste pub

Friday, April 30, 2010 B.T. Section 2 (Rejseliv.dk ) Page 9 LEIF POULSEN... 210 words Id: e1fdeb2a

LIGGER I STOCKHOLM - AF ALLE STEDER. Den danske restaurant Noma er netop kåret til verdens bedste restaurant, men svenskerne kan også: Pubben The Tudor...

### Debat: Blog med Berlingske: *Noma* i koma

Friday, April 30, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (ST. BEDEDAG MAGASIN) Page 20 (DEBAT) MADS KASTRUP, JOURNALIST... 105 words Id: e1fde880

RESTAURANT NOMA I København er kåret som »verdens bedste restaurant«. Og tillykke med det. Hvordan det så end måles. ...

### Debat: *Noma* viser vækstpotentiale

Friday, April 30, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (ST. BEDEDAG MAGASIN) Page 20 (DEBAT) 278 words Id: e1fde87f

Restaurant Noma blev mandag kåret til verdens bedste restaurant af det engelske blad, London Restaurant Magazine. Det er en præstation, der vidner om en ...

### 1 Verdens bedste

Friday, April 30, 2010 B.T. Section 3 (Ugens TV) Page 1 KIRSTEN ERLENDSSON... 172 words Id: e1fde447

Gensyn med røg i »*Noma*« s køkken. Søndag aften kan du gense dokumentarprogrammet om livet bag de duggede ruder på restaurant »*Noma*«, der nu er blevet...

### Debat: *NOMA*: Ingen løn

Sunday, May 02, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 36 54 words Id: e1fe6c7b

Flemming Rasmussen, Greve. Det er en skandale, at verdens bedste spisested, Norma, ikke betaler løn til flere af sine kokke. Det s...

### 2008

Sunday, May 02, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 25 25 words Id: e1fe6c51

2008 kom DR-dokumentaren om livet på Noma. »No...

### KOKKE-ORIGINALER

Sunday, May 02, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 24 LARS DINESEN... 615 words Id: e1fe6c50

KOK-AMOK: KOK-AMOK: De er kendte fra tv. De er gode til at svinge kniven, og så råber de alle MEGET højt. Chefkokken, René Redzepi, fra Noma, verdens...

### Debat: Skudt ud af røven på velfærdssamfundets lykkehjul

Sunday, May 02, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Magasin Søndag) Page 29 (DEBAT) KAREN SCHULTZ, organisationspsykolog og købmand... 663 words Id: e1fe675e  
Dårligt havde *Noma-folkene* hældt champagnen op i glassene, før der lød indvendinger fra 3F med flere, fordi arbejdsmiljøet i restaurantens køkken er helt...

#### Henvisning: Kommentar: SKUDT UD AF RØVEN PÅ VELFÆRDS-LYKKEHJULET

Sunday, May 02, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 2 34 words Id: e1fe634d  
Dårligt havde *Noma-folkene* hældt champagnen op i glassene, før der lød indvendinger fra 3F med flere, fordi arbejdsmiljøet i restaurantens køkken er helt ...

#### Citat

Tuesday, May 04, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 27 21 words Id: e1feeeab  
»Elsker *Noma* på kogepunktet. Og til læser...

#### Farligt at arbejde gratis

Wednesday, May 05, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 3 (Business) Page 14 102 words Id: e1ff6091  
BESKÆFTIGELSE: Det er ikke kun på stjernerestauranten *Noma*, at de gør det: Arbejder gratis. Også arbejdsløse ledere får tilbud om ulønnede stillinger,...

#### Kunsten at pochere et ÆG

Sunday, May 16, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS) Page 26 ANITA SØRENSEN... 918 words Id: e2037bfa  
GOURMET: Det kræver sikre hænder at holde et æg uden skal intakt - men det er faktisk heller ikke nødvendigt, hvis du vil lave pocheret æg. At pochere et ...

#### Madglæder i Montpellier

Saturday, May 22, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 5 (Lørdag Rejseliv.dk ) Page 24 Tekst og foto: Vibeke Wern... 1171 words Id: e205e593  
I Montpellier kan man gå i *Noma-kokken* René Redzepis fodspor på madkurser på restaurant Le Jardin des Sens, der er ét af stederne, den danske stjernekok er...

#### Ringe udbytte

Tuesday, June 01, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 18 MORTEN JOHNSEN... 206 words Id: e209437c  
PÅ ALLES LÆBER: Succes-restauranten *Noma* er kåret til verdens bedste restaurant, men regnskabet imponerer bestemt ikke. Den danske superrestaurant *Noma*,...

#### Nomas bundlinje står i stampe

Tuesday, June 01, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 3 (Business) Page 6 (INDLAND) 95 words Id: e20938d8  
REGNSKAB: Den danske superrestaurant *Noma*, der for nylig blev kåret til verdens bedste restaurant, har svært ved at få den megen gastronomiske hæder til...

#### DAGENS RET: STEGT BÆVER

Thursday, June 03, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 4 STINE HANSEN... 331 words Id: e20a37bd

EKSOTISK: Verdens bedste restaurant udvikler nye retter. Personalet selv spiser rugbrødsadder. Bæver, bjørn og mågeæg. På Noma er der snart ingen...

### Danskerne vil have det billigste

Thursday, June 03, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 3 (Business) Page 4 Morten Johnsen... 144 words Id: e20a2ae0

Mens kæder som Jensen's Bøfhus tjener millioner, ha

### Sidste chance for at stemme på byens bedste!

Friday, June 04, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK.dk ) Page 15 Kristoffer Zøllner... 96 words Id: e20a9e11

Skal Noma endnu en gang løbe med prisen som byens bedste gourmetrestaurant? Hvilken kaffe kan kalde sig den bedste? Og hvem vil efter 17. juni kunne...

### GOURMET: Nomas nabo

Sunday, June 06, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (MS) Page 20 KIM FLYVBJERG... 1424 words Id: e20b40c5

: Magien på verdens bedste restaurant, *Noma*, starter ofte på husbåden overfor, hvor Nordic Food Lab holder til. Her eksperimenterer Torsten Vildgaard med...

### Kendiskok tjener rigtig godt på krisen

Thursday, June 10, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 3 (Business) Page 14 95 words Id: e20cb64b

KVALITETSMAD: Claus Meyer har tredoblet sit overskud midt under finanskrisen. I krisetider vil folk godt betale for høj kvalitet, mener han. ...

### *Noma-kok* bag den perfekte burger

Thursday, June 17, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK.dk ) Page 4 Else Bjørn... 454 words Id: e20f674e

NYHEDERNYHEDERNYHEDER... Souschefen på *Noma* har skabt menukortet på den nye café i Skovshoved Havn. Torsten Bachmann Vildgaard, som er souschef på...

### København er verdens næstbedste by

Saturday, June 19, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 4 (INDLAND) 109 words Id: e210462e

MAD & CYKLER: København er en dejlig by at bo i. Så dejlig, at den danske hovedstad slår de fleste andre byer i verden. Lige med undtagelse af den...

### Debat: Dansk madkultur - eller mangel på samme

Sunday, June 27, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Magasin Søndag) Page 28 (DEBAT) 373 words Id: e2134a90

Det er lettere ironisk, at kokke som Rasmus Kofoed og restauranter som *Noma* hyldes som nationale helte og klenodier, når vi spiser som vi gør i Danmark. ...

### Amerikansk avis roser danske *Noma*

Thursday, July 08, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 10 56 words Id: e21727c8

Det er ikke hver dag, at en reporter fra New York Times tager med en dansk kok på urtejagt ved Lammefjorden. M...

### New York Times skamroses *Noma*

Thursday, July 08, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 14 (INDLAND) Claus Kragh... 358 words Id: e2171a71

New York Times' gastronomiske reporter har været på besøg i Danmark og har opdaget Lammefjordens lysagligheder sammen med Nomas chef, René Redzepi. Når...

### STJERNEKOK VIL VÆK FRA *NOMA*

Saturday, July 10, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 8 MARTIN KJÆR JENSEN... 324 words Id: e217dbbc

Manden bag verdens bedste restaurant vil begynde på en frisk. Blot tre måneder efter at spisestedet Noma i København blev kåret til verdens bedste...

### *Noma* sætter prisen op

Wednesday, July 21, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 17 STINE HANSEN... 396 words Id: e21b070a

SUCCEES: Verdens bedste restaurant hæver prisen med mere end 20 pct. Kvaliteten følger dog med, lover stjerne-kok. Madelskere skal nu have endnu flere...

### Note: Indland

Wednesday, July 28, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 (1. sektion) Page 4 (BM Indland) 144 words Id: e21d18a3

Kolding-direktør vil betale Noma-besøg Kolding: Koldings kommunaldirektør, Rikke Vestergaard, tilbyder nu selv at betale sin del af den 17.510 kroner...

### Må selv betale middage

Tuesday, August 10, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 10 44 words Id: e2214ccd

Otte embedsmænd i Kolding Kommune skal til lommerne. I alt skal de tilbagebetale 20....

### Regning på vej til embedsmænd i Kolding

Tuesday, August 10, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 4 (INDLAND) 101 words Id: e2214b0e

KUVERTPRIS: Inden længe ligger der en regning i postkassen hos otte embedsmænd i Kolding Kommune. De har spist og drukket dyrt for kommunens penge og...

### MADANMELDELSE: Sublim bornholmermad i strandhytten

Friday, August 13, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK.dk ) Page 9 Søren Frank... 1020 words Id: e2228da8

Den smukt beliggende restaurant Kadeau fornyer klippeøens køkken i bedste *Noma-stil* og følger glimrende op på vinsiden. Af Søren. For snart 20 år siden...

### Kokken og komfuret er fra *Noma*

Friday, August 20, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK.dk ) Page 3 Else Bjørn... 271 words Id: e2255da8

Christian F. Puglisi har taget turen fra michelinrestauranterne EIBulli og *Noma* til Jægersborggade på Nørrebro, hvor han i aften åbner en ambitiøs...

### BERLINGSKE: HVOR ER FYRTÅRNENE?

Saturday, August 21, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 13 SØREN FRANK MADREDAKTØR... 304 words Id: e225c5b7

KOMMENTAR. 2010 er et særligt år for dansk gastronomi: Som bekendt er det første gang, at en dansk restaurant - *Noma* - er havnet på førstepladsen af...

### Debat: Snyd mere i skat

Sunday, August 22, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Magasin Søndag) Page 28 (DEBAT) 167 words Id: e2260fa3

Så er der, for jeg ved ikke hvilken gang, endnu et eksempel på, at offentlige ansatte har ædt og drukket for uhyrlige beløb på skatteydernes regning....

### Down Under

Tuesday, September 07, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 27 62 words Id: e22c97ac

Danskerne fik i 2008 et indblik i chefkok Rene Redzepis liv og hans kamp for perfektion på *Noma*, som i år blev kåret til verdens bedste restaurant....

### *Noma*-dokumentar til Australien

Wednesday, September 08, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Kultur & Debat) Page 3 (KULTUR) 81 words Id: e22cfb7c

EKSPORT. Australsk TV går jævnligt på indkøb i Danmark, og det er ikke kun programmer med kronprinsesse Mary, der interesserer. ...

### Anm: MADANMELDELSE: Gourmet på gadeplan

Friday, September 10, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (AOK.dk ) Page 9 Svend Rasmussen... 1024 words Id: e22df8f9

Den tidligere *Noma-kok* Christian F. Puglisi skuffer ikke med sit bud på en jordnær top-restaurant i byens mest farverige gade. ... En kok og en...

### *Noma* stjæler billedet igen

Monday, September 20, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 10 78 words Id: e231f230

Årets Gericke uddeles af Foreningen af Danske Madanmeldere, der i går bød indenfor til konkurrencen, hvor en række af landets bedste kokke dystede om...

### Mere guld til Nomas jernurt

Monday, September 20, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 9 (INDLAND) Nikolaj Søndergaard... 419 words Id: e231da8f

Ved uddelingen af anmelderprisen Årets Gericke i går løb Rene Redzepi og *Noma* med opmærksomheden og vandt to priser. »Hvornår har du sidst brugt sorte...

### Forsidehenvisning: MADEN OG LIVET PÅ NOMA



Wednesday, September 22, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Kultur & Debat) Page 1 3 words Id: e232d352

DAGENS NAVN // BAGSIDEN.

## BOG OM NOMA

Sunday, September 26, 2010 B.T. Section 2 Page 2 52 words Id: e2347fe8

Er du nysgerrig efter at vide, hvordan Noma er blevet Danmarks, Nordens, eller verdens bedste restaurant?  
...

## Anm: SIDDER PÅ ET VÆRTSHUS

Friday, October 01, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 2 (Kultur & Debat) Page 9 (KULTUR) 167 words Id: e2367547

KULTURHISTORIE. Ti mænd og fem kvinder taler i denne bog om ( og på) deres stamværtshuse, og man er hele vejen i hyggeligt selskab med bl. a. Søren Pind...

## Verdens bedste kok

Sunday, October 24, 2010 B.T. Section 1 Page 24 Rune Skyum-Nielsen Tekst... 1784 words Id: e241a9d2

*Noma-kokken* René Redzepi har Balkan i blodet og råvarerne i hjertet. Det var i vinteren 2009, jeg første gang tog kontakt til Noma. Jeg ville interviewe...

## Endnu en pris til verdens bedste *Noma*

Tuesday, November 02, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 1 Page 4 (INDLAND) 79 words Id: e24539fb

RESTAURANTER: Verdens bedste restaurant -jo, det er stadig Noma i København -har fået endnu en pris. Denne gang er det redaktøren Bent Christensen, som...

## En stjernekok krydser kommunegrænsen

Thursday, December 02, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (Aok.dk ) Page 14 Else Bjørn... 1877 words Id: e25297ed

Han er grøntsagernes stjernekok og en af fadderne til det nordiske køkken. Erwin Lauterbach har i 20 år drevet restauranter nord for København. ....

## Megafon: KLIP OG NYHEDER FRA INTERNATIONALE MAGASINER

Saturday, December 11, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (Magasin Lørdag) Page 4 120 words Id: e256a908

Den nøgne vegetar. Süddeutsche Zeitung Magazin har viet sit seneste nummer til grøntsager. Her kan man læse opskrifter og tips, om lækker tilbehør ( kød ...

## Anm: MADANMELDELSE I: Klassisk frankofili

Friday, December 17, 2010 Berlingske Tidende Section 4 (Aok.dk ) Page 9 Svend Rasmussen... 978 words Id: e25937d8

lokalerne, hvor michelinrestauranten MR tidligere holdt til, er restauranten Kulturvet Nr. 5 nu åbnet med et aften-menukort, der bærer kraftigt præg af den...

## 2011

**ANNETTE MENER... Tag en tudekiks**

Sunday, January 09, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 42 636 words Id: e266192a

Det er dit ansvar. Ikke mit! Sådan sagde Thomas Blachman i den første udgave af dette års X Factor. Han sagde det til en mor, hvis datter mindst talt...

**Hellere et dumt svin end en flink vendekåbe**

Wednesday, January 26, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 Page 46 RASMUS ANKERSEN redaktion@bny.dk... 807 words Id: e27134b2

Ja, han er behård. Ja, han er vanvittigt udansk. Men han er sig selv. ... Raseriet rejser sig som en flodbølge i ansigtet på restaurantchefen René...

**Debat: Debat: NATIONAL ÆRE Elisabeth Degn, Stenløse**

Monday, January 31, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 29 (DEBAT) 55 words Id: e274c0db

Efter alle dansk politiks fadæser er det velgørende og en højnelse af vores nation, at vi har verdens bedste restaurant i Noma og verdens bedste kok i...

**2 Følg med i dag**

Sunday, February 06, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 6 24 words Id: e27935e4

Navnet på Årets Restaurant i Norden bliver offentliggjort. ...

**Svensk restaurant overhaler dansk køkken**

Monday, February 07, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 13 105 words Id: e279645e

PRIS. Årets restaurant i Norden er svensk. Den tidligere Bocuse d'Or-vinder Mathias Dahlgren modtog i aftes The Nordic Prize i forbindelse med en...

**Løjerligt**

Sunday, March 13, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 20 Kim Flyvbjerg... 877 words Id: e289d495

Gourmet. Løjrom er Nordens kaviar, porrer brændes af, og begge dele bades i svensk birkevin. ... Når alt er brændt ned, findes bare aske. Alt ender som...

**Stjerneguide under dansk pres**

Wednesday, March 16, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 13 (NATIONALT) Søren Frank MAD-OG VINREDAKTØR... 470 words Id: e28c36c5

analyse. Når Michelin-stjerneerne for København bliver offentliggjort i dag omkring kl. ni, er det helt store spørgsmål, om Noma som den første restaurant ...

**VERDENS BEDSTE VERDENS BEDSTE SNYDT FOR**

Thursday, March 17, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 20 CHRISTIAN RUNDAGER... 1086 words Id: e28d3227

Michelin Guiden anser Danmark for et gastronomisk u-land. Danmark har verdens bedste kok i Rasmus Kofoed og verdens bedste restaurant i Noma, ledet af...

**4 Forsidehenviisning: Note**

Thursday, March 24, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 1 15 words Id: e291f93a

I byen med kvinden, der har indrettet Noma, Geranium og Bo Bechs nye Geist 16.

## En tur i byen med arkitekt og designer Signe Bindslev Henriksen

Thursday, March 24, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 16 Lisbeth Kildegaard Quasssbi@berlingske.dk liqu@berlingske.dk ... 905 words Id: e291f7c1

Shopping. AOK er taget en tur i byen med arkitekt og designer, Signe Bindslev Henriksen, der blandt andet har tegnet George Jensens flagshipstore, *Noma* og...

## Dansk design klar til at indtage Milano

Sunday, April 10, 2011 Berlingske Section 6 (Boligen) Page 12 Annette Suhr... 820 words Id: e29ef98b

Messe. Med mad fra *Noma*, dansk-spansk design af Jaime Hayón og spændende udstilling i Milanos nye hippe designkvarter, Ventura Lambrate, er danskerne klar...

## *Noma* favorit

Monday, April 18, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 5 35 words Id: e2a375cb

London: Ifølge bookmakerne er restauranten *Noma* favorit til at blive verdens-etter igen i år, når S. ...

## 1 *NOMA* I NY TRIUMF

Tuesday, April 19, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 4 Tekst: Line Frandsen... 444 words Id: e2a3ad88

ENDNU ENGANG ER *NOMA* KÅRET SOM VERDENS BEDSTE. For andet år i træk kan Rene Redzepi og resten af holdet bag Michelin-restauranten *Noma* kalde sig verdens...

## Fakta om restaurant *Noma*

Tuesday, April 19, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 16 37 words Id: e2a3acd8

Starten *Noma* åbnede dørene for sin nordiske køkkenkunst i 2003. *Stjern...*

## Forsidehenviisning: *NOMA* I NY TRIUMF

Tuesday, April 19, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 1 4 words Id: e2a3abce

Verdens bedste restaurant igen.

## 1 *Noma* gør det igen

Tuesday, April 19, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 8 (NATIONALT) Else Bjørn... 505 words Id: e2a3a66a

Nordisk succes. *Noma* og René Redzepi har fået endnu et år på gourmetverdenens trone, og det nye nordiske køkken har bevist, at det ikke blot er en...

## Forsidehenviisning: *Noma* er stadig verdens bedste restaurant

Tuesday, April 19, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 1 20 words Id: e2a3a667

For andet år i træk er *Noma* med stjernekokken René Redzepi i front kåret til verdens bedste restaurant NATIONALT / 8.

## B. dk/ billeder

Wednesday, April 20, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 5 16 words Id: e2a413d9

Verdens bedste *Noma* Tag med chefkok René Redzepi på jagt efter råvarer til verdens bedste restaurant.

**Debat: Verdens goder**

Thursday, April 21, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 26 (DEBAT) 96 words Id: e2a47fdb

Samtidig med, at vi daglig konfronteres med grusomme nyheder overalt i verden, i form af krige, bilbomber, og ikke mindst sult og nød, der rammer...

**Debat: Næsen i maden**

Thursday, April 21, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 26 (DEBAT) 201 words Id: e2a47fd8

Det er al ære værd, at restaurant Noma for andet år i træk er kåret som verdens bedste restaurant. Og at den københavnske restaurant, ifølge...

**1 Ledende artikel: Hylt vinderne**

Saturday, April 23, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 2 Henny Christensen Ledende redaktionschef... 422 words Id: e2a4e998

B. T. MENER: Giv plads til mennesker, der skiller sig ud. Så gjorde han det igen. René Redzepi og hans køkkenhold fra restaurant Noma i København topper...

**NU SCORER NOMA KASSEN**

Friday, April 29, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 35 159 words Id: e2a6f48d

2010: Verdens bedste restaurant har et millionoverskud. For første gang i Nomas historie lykkedes det restauranten at passere et millionoverskud. To år ...

**Noma tjener gode penge**

Friday, April 29, 2011 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 3 157 words Id: e2a6ee16

GOURMET. For første gang i Nomas historie lykkedes det gourmetrestauranten at få millionoverskud. To år i træk er den danske restaurant Noma kåret til...

**Debat: LÆSES PÅ EGET: Groft sagt**

Thursday, May 12, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 28 (DEBAT) 621 words Id: e2aca343

ANSVAR. *Noma - en nazistisk højborg* Specialestuderende Ulla Holm ved Sociologisk Institut på Københavns Universitet bruger en hel søndagskronik i...

**Debat: Brot und Boden**

Monday, May 16, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 26 (DEBAT) PETER KURRILD-KLITGAARD PROFESSOR, PH. D.... 508 words Id: e2ae871f

klummen KURRILDS. Lad os slå det fast med syvtommersøm: Den prisbelønnede, Michelinstjernebestrøede Restaurant Noma er den stalinistiske betonmarxismes...

**Mød øllets svar på Noma på ølfestivaln**

Thursday, May 26, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 12 Else Bjørn... 1551 words Id: e2b2cc39

Skål. I dag begynder årets store ølfestival i Carlsbergs gamle tappehal, hvor du over tre dage kan smage 1.000 øl og møde over 10.000 gæster, der tæller folk ...

**18. juni**

Friday, May 27, 2011 B.T. Section 4 (Rejseliv.dk ) Page 14 18 words Id: e2b360c6

løber kokkekonkurrencen »Sol over Gudhjem« af stablen for tredje gang. ...

### Et fnug med tyngde

Sunday, May 29, 2011 Berlingske Section 2 (Magasin) Page 12 Ann Lind Andersen... 1489 words Id: e2b3f5ca

Jodie Foster har udviklet sig til at være en kræsen og krævende instruktør, der vælger anderledes filmprojekter - f. eks. ... »Ah Danmark, I har verdens ...

### Spis *Noma-style* i Lapland

Saturday, June 04, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (Rejseliv) Page 28 Tekst og foto: Christina Alfthan... 766 words Id: e2b66aba

gastronomi Rødder. *Noma-folkene* har flere gange været i Levi i Lapland for at få inspiration hos Päivikke Palossari, der var først til at kombinere...

### Nordsjællands gårdbutikker

Thursday, June 09, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (NORD) Page 18 Birgitte Ellemann Höegh... 1278 words Id: e2ba1755

Stalddørssalg. Der er så herligt på landet. ... *Broccoli sprout og mad over bål* I de sidste 12 år har man kunnet køre op til Krogerup Højskole i...

### Thai-restaurant overgår *Noma*

Thursday, June 09, 2011 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 14 94 words Id: e2ba170f

RESTAURANT. Den Michelin-belønnede thai-restaurant Kiin Kiin overgår endnu en gang *Noma*. ...

### Claus Meyer scorer kassen

Saturday, June 11, 2011 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 20 31 words Id: e2bc3461

MAD. Den kendte kok, der har et væld af selskaber i madver...

### Hvad ærter?

Sunday, June 12, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 24 Kim Flyvbjerg... 821 words Id: e2bc6e30

Gourmet. Kunne man nominere grøntsager, ville ærter få en æres-Oscar for bedste birolle gennem tiderne. ... Det er aldrig kedeligt at besøge *Nomas*...

### Hvis bare man kunne lave *Noma* om til tøj

Thursday, June 16, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 16 Pernille Pang... 1021 words Id: e2bdc104

Shopping. 12 butikker herhjemme og kreationer på bøjlestænger i 22 lande verden over. ... Hvor går du hen, når du skal shoppe i København? »Jeg shopper...

### Billig gourmetmad i hip hashgade tager prisen

Saturday, June 25, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 11 (NATIONALT) Else Bjørn og Lisbeth K. Quass... 441 words Id: e2c1b74f

God kontakt. Tidligere *Noma-koks* folkelige udgave af en gourmetmenu, Relæ i Jægersborggade, har fået masser af roser og er nu også kåret af AOK og...

### Skide godt, Egon!

Sunday, June 26, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 12 Søren Frank... 1959 words Id: e2c1ec78  
Vin/gourmet. Spiel ohne Grenzen: Den tyske vinproducent Egon Müller endte med at løbe med laurbærrerne til 36-timers mad/ vinmaraton med »verdens fire bedste...

### Anm: Lille-Noma på Nordkysten

Saturday, July 09, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (SOMMERLIV) Page 11 Søren Frank... 1032 words Id: e2c6eca0  
Madanmeldelse. Prisfornuftige Bistro Nord løfter med sit skarpe nynordiske køkken flot arven efter Jan Hurtigkarl i Ålsgårde. I tiderne før gastroscenen...

### Anm: Tørskoet på trattoria

Saturday, July 23, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (SOMMERLIV) Page 11 Søren Frank... 978 words Id: e2caef29  
Madanmeldelse. Noma light møder Lady og Vagabonden på udmærkede Il Cortile i Husets gårdhave. Jeg plejer at sige, at hvis det lykkes at spise på...

### Grillkål

Sunday, August 14, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 26 Kim Flyvbjerg... 483 words Id: e2d22210  
Gourmet. Noma byder på sommervenlig udgave af den klassiske kåldolmer. K åldolmere, som vor mor eller rettere vor mormor lavede dem, er der ikke meget...

### Få en god smag i munden

Thursday, August 25, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 2 Else Bjørn... 651 words Id: e2d6517a  
Foodcamp. For 600 kroner kan du komme til fest med Claus Meyer og René Redzepi fra Noma, Rasmus Botoft fra Rytteriet, sangskriveren Nikolaj Nørlund og DJ...

### Store forventninger til Meyers Radio

Thursday, September 01, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 2 Else Bjørn... 478 words Id: e2d91eaf  
Mad. Allerede inden den nye restaurant Radio åbnede overfor Radiohuset i går, havde 700 gæster bestilt bord. I følge Claus Meyer har...

### Forsidehenviisning: Cirkus NOMA

Sunday, September 04, 2011 Berlingske Section 1 Page 1 5 words Id: e2da54e7  
Redzepi med nye tricks. ...

### Orker vi virkelig...

Sunday, September 04, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 2 Kristoffer Zøllner REDAKTØR... 199 words Id: e2da54a9  
at høre mere om vidunderkokken, »sælpuleren« og verdens bedste René Redzepi? Skal vi rydde forsiden, hver gang, han finder på et eller andet nyt med røg...

### Forsidehenviisning: MAD MEN

Sunday, September 04, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 1 6 words Id: e2da54a5

Rundt i managen med cirkus Noma.

### Gastrosektens overlevelseslejr

Sunday, September 04, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 18 Søren Frank... 1411 words Id: e2da4fe2  
Reportage. Under forrige weekends MAD Foodcamp - et af de mange tilbud under Copenhagen Cooking - svingede *Noma's* chefdomptør René Redzepi piskeren over sine...

### Nem *Noma*

Sunday, September 18, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 20 ø 20 Kim Flyvbjerg //kifl@berlingske.dk  
Foto: Line Thit Klein... 646 words Id: e2e18275  
*Gourmet. De enkleste idéer er ofte de bedste. Tag bare blomkål og kærnemælk - et ægteskab indgået i himlen!* Kaptajn Vildgaard er gået fra borde. Han...

### Anm: Med på noderne

Thursday, September 22, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 9 Svend Rasmussen... 1012 words Id: e2e1a113  
Madanmeldelse. Claus Meyers nye restaurant Radio føjer sig med sine enkle og robuste retter tilført en god del personlighed og sin satsen på gode, lokale...

### Forsidehenvisning: Er Claus Meyers Restaurant Radio på Frederiksberg det nye *Noma-light*?

Thursday, September 22, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 1 1 words Id: e2e19db2  
9.

### Hvorfor læse jura, når man kan drikke den?

Sunday, October 02, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 28 Søren Frank... 1649 words Id: e2e56a6a  
Tidens hippeste vin kommer fra det franske Jura-distrikt, hvor små naturproducenter laver hvidvin, som passer perfekt til efterårets mad. Indtil for få...

### Underholdning

Sunday, October 23, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 42 18 words Id: e2eded5d  
Masterchef -lær at lave maden Masterchef-deltagerne skal i kokkeskole med den tidligere *Noma*-kok. ...

### Kogepunktet

Wednesday, November 16, 2011 B.T. Section 1 Page 31 49 words Id: e2f79626  
DRs dokumentar om den hysterisk dygtige kok Rene Redzepis verdensberømte Michelin-restaurant ' *Noma* På Kogepunktet' er solgt til elleve lande, blandt...

### København set med *Nomas* øjne

Saturday, November 26, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Fri) Page 15 Christian Nørr... 392 words Id: e2fbc3db  
fri. dk. Hvordan er København? Hvor er de fede steder? Og hvor skal man tage hen? I ny guidebog fra rejsesitet Momondo og *Noma* om København fortæller de...

### Rudolf med det rosa kød

Sunday, December 04, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 62 Kim Flyvbjerg... 778 words Id: e2fed748  
Gourmet. Runde rensdyrfileter a la *Noma* - og lidt om det velkendte restaurant-trick »Mig med mere mig på«. ... Hvis ikke nu, hvornår så? Det er...

### Hvad drikker du til den fede and?

Sunday, December 11, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 72 Jonas Pröschold... 873 words Id: e301d9f8  
Vin. Fem vinkendere fortæller, hvad de drikker til den sure kål, de søde kartofler og den fede and.. *Pontus Elofsson sommelier på Noma* Jeg vil drikke:...

### Life Beyond Gravd Lax

Sunday, December 11, 2011 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 12 Søren Frank... 2021 words Id: e301d7ca  
Gastronomisk roadmovie. Søren Frank kæmper sig gennem den nye svenske gastronomi fra nord til syd og finder i Fjällgårds restauranten Fäviken et godt bud på...

### Udvandrede fra ' Matador '

Sunday, December 18, 2011 B.T. Section 2 (Søndag) Page 2 LOTTE SCHARFF... 630 words Id: e30488c5  
HVER UGE FORTÆLLER EN KENDT OM KULTURELLE HØJDE-OG LAVPUNKTER. I DENNE UGE STUDIEVÆRTEN MORTEN RESEN. Hvad har været din bedste kulturoplevelse? -Uden...

### Anm: Solid feel good mad

Thursday, December 22, 2011 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 7 Svend Rasmussen... 993 words Id: e306014f  
Madanmeldelse. Der er bistro-mad så det batter i brødrene Prices nye restaurant i Rosenborggade. ... Hattornefiri zone! Det står ikke nogen steder, men...

### God tid og en tur i Tivoli

Saturday, December 24, 2011 Berlingske Section 2 (fri) Page 4 Christian Nørr... 660 words Id: e306bdb2  
Et møde med Joni Mitchell, en tur i karbad og god mad på *Noma*. Sådan ser en perfekt lørdag ud for skuespilleren Charlotte Fich, der for øjeblikket kan...

## 2012

### Nytår med kejservals og cava

Monday, January 02, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 20 (Kultur) Søren Schauer... 343 words Id: e308cda2  
Nytårskoncert. DR SymfoniOrkestrets vordende chefdirigent gjorde hyggemusik til lyttemusik. Når kokken fra *Noma* skal diske op for DR Koncerthusets...

### HAR DU HØRT

Thursday, January 05, 2012 Berlingske Section 3 (Aok) Page 3 414 words Id: e309ecac  
Selv om *Noma* køkkenchef René Redzepi er blevet verdensberømt, kan man stadig møde ham på cykel i byen - senest til åbningsreceptionen på spise-og...



### MESTERKOKKENE RONNY: Gourmet på studenterbudget

Sunday, January 29, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 22 Sarah Skarum... 780 words Id: e313641f  
EMBORG, JAKOB MIELCKE, TORSTEN VILDGAARD OG RASMUS GRØNBECH BEGIVER SIG PÅ  
SKIFT UD I DEN AVANCEREDE - MEN DOG JORDNÆRE - MADLAVNING. Gourmet. Løg,...

### Peter Kreiner

Thursday, February 16, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (Business) Page 50 400 words Id: e31a38d2  
39 år, direktør for verdens bedste restaurant *Noma*. Manden der tager sig af de 4-P: penge, papir, personale  
og PR, mens stjernekokken og køkkenchefen René...

### Industrien søger gourmetkokkene

Thursday, February 16, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (Business) Page 38 494 words Id: e31a3337  
En stribe af landets fremmeste kokke og slagtermestre arbejder sammen med Danish Crown om at udvikle  
og markedsføre nye produkter, som også kan nå uden for...

### Den autentiske virksomhed

Thursday, February 23, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (Business) Page 11 71 words Id: e31cda71  
BØGER: I dag kl. 14.00 holdes konferencen "Den autentiske virksomhed" i den gamle Børssal over for  
Christiansborg. Konferencen tager ...

### Meyers stjernekokke

Tuesday, February 28, 2012 B.T. Section 1 Page 12 CHR. KRABBE BARFOED OG LYKKE WIBORG  
CHRISTENSEN... 70 words Id: e31e96ed  
2. MAD S REFSLUND er med i Vridsløselille-projektet 3. Sammen med RENÉ REDZEPI, chefkok på *Noma*,  
har Meyer etableret Det Ny Nordiske Køkken ( DNNK) i 2008 ...

### De andre stjerner

Monday, March 12, 2012 B.T. Section 1 Page 14 77 words Id: e32382f0  
*Noma* Den eneste danske restaurant med to stjerner. Også kåret til verdens bedste. *AOC Aarø & Co.* Har én  
stjerne. ...

### Så lykkedes det endelig for Geranium

Thursday, March 15, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 14 (NATIONALT) Emil Kragh-Schwarz... 668 words Id:  
e324d713  
Stjerner. På Geranium kom forløsningen. ... Som resten af medie-Danmark var Berlingske i går på jagt efter  
nye Michelin-stjerner. Da klokken nærmer sig...

### *Noma* snydt for tredje Michelin-stjerne

Thursday, March 15, 2012 B.T. Section 1 Page 23 ELSE BJØRN OG EMIL KRAGH-SCHWARZ... 169 words  
Id: e324d2d2  
Der var en behersket stemning på *Noma*, der gennem det sidste par år er blevet kåret til verdens bedste  
restaurant, efter årets uddeling af...

### På forsiden

Saturday, March 17, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 13 (NATIONALT) 67 words Id: e325b7ad  
nationalbriefing. På forsiden. René Redzepi, der står i spidsen for trenden »det nordiske køkken« og er køkkenchef på og medejer af den tostjernede...

### Større end præsidentkandidat

Saturday, March 17, 2012 B.T. Section 1 Page 40 METTE KOUE... 174 words Id: e325b52c

### Yksi, kaksi kaviar

Sunday, March 18, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 22 Kim Flyvbjerg... 687 words Id: e325f4d2  
Gourmet. Finsk kaviar, islandsk tang, danske æbler og en håndfuld interskandinavisk skovbund er ingredienserne i dagens ret fra *Noma*. Det nordiske dogme...

### Solid Nomasucces

Friday, April 06, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 17 138 words Id: e32d5535  
Stjernekokken René Redzepi, 34, der står bag Danmarks eneste to-stjernede Michelin-restaurant, *Noma*, kan også finde ud af at tjene penge på sin succes....

### Gourmet på bornholmsk

Saturday, April 07, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (Rejseliv) Page 24 Gitte Holtze... 1960 words Id: e32d8707  
Gastro. Længe inden *Noma* blev verdensberømt, fokuserede man på Bornholm på lokale råvarer som hovedingrediens i kulinariske produkter og måltider på øens...

### Michelin-hæder

Thursday, April 19, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 44 16 words Id: e33218c4  
For andet år i træk blev *Noma* med køkkenchef René Redzepi kåret til verdens bedste restaurant.

### Stjernekok

Thursday, April 19, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 7 (NATIONALT) 62 words Id: e3320e44  
national briefing. Stjernekok. Endnu en gang har danskere gjort sig bemærket uden for egne landegrænser.  
...

### 2 *Noma* rykker til London under OL

Tuesday, April 24, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 14 Nynne Hein Møller, Berlingske Nyhedsbureau... 255 words Id: e33417ea  
MAD. Chefkok for Michelin-restauranten *Noma*, René Redzepi, har løftet sløret for projektet 'A Taste of *Noma* at Claridge's', der er et samarbejde med...

### Mandag kan *Noma* miste sin 1. plads

Thursday, April 26, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 32 Søren Frank... 581 words Id: e335218d  
MADÆRE René Redzepi føler, at han har gjort, hvad han kunne, for at forsvare *Nomas* førsteplads på verdensranglisten. Ny liste offentliggøres på mandag....

### *Noma*: Her er vores værste konkurrenter

Thursday, April 26, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 5 24 words Id: e33518ae

b. dk/ *noma*. Ifølge Nomas chefkok, René Redzepi, er tre restauranter i stand til at true Nomas førsteplads, når den nye verdensrangliste offentliggøres...

### Forsidehenvi­ning: KÆRLIGHED FØR DØDEN

Friday, April 27, 2012 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur & Aok) Page 1 23 words Id: e3359ec6

Ny film fra mesterinstruktøren Henning Carlsen . UGENS MADANMELDELSE: MYRER PÅ NOMA. 07 SVEDIG LITTERATUR: KROPPE...

### Forsidehenvi­ning: Kan De lide myrer?

Friday, April 27, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 1 41 words Id: e3359eaa

På mandag kan Noma blive kåret til verdens bedste restaurant for tredje år i træk. ...

### Anm: *Noma*: Nu med levende myrer og umami

Friday, April 27, 2012 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur & Aok) Page 7 Søren Frank... 1043 words Id: e3359d3a

Madanmeldelse. På mandags afgøres det, om det *Noma* stadig er verdens bedste restaurant. ... Det er ikke hver dag, man spiser frokost på en restaurant,...

### *Noma* putter myrer i maden

Saturday, April 28, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 20 Maria Christine Madsen... 608 words Id: e3361a1c

MYRER I MADEN Fede, gæve jyske myrer kravler nu hen over din creme fraiche på verdens bedste restaurant. For nylig kravlede restaurant Nomas nyeste...

### BTS LÆSERE KOMMENTERER

Saturday, April 28, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 20 151 words Id: e3361a16

"Jeg bor langt ude på landet i Thailand, dér er myrer en delikatesse. Det skal dog være en bestemt slags myrer, og sådan er det vel også i Noma. Torben ...

### Er *Noma* stadig verdens bedste?

Monday, April 30, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 34 22 words Id: e3369b2f

I aften offentliggør Restaurant magazine sin liste over 'Worlds 50 Best Restaurants'. ...

### *Noma* verdens bedste restaurant for tredje år i træk

Tuesday, May 01, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 14 (NATIONALT) Søren Frank MADREDAKTØR... 534 words Id: e33714e8

kommentar. Noma fik i går, som forventet, førstepladsen for tredje år i træk på restauranternes verdensrangliste. Dermed må enhver påstand om, at der...

### *Noma* er verdens mest indflydelsesrige restaurant

Tuesday, May 01, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 14 (NATIONALT) Søren Frank MADREDAKTØR... 531 words Id: e3371482

kommentar. Verdensrangliste, Michelin-stjerner eller ej, så er danske Noma verdens mest indflydelsesrige restaurant i øjeblikket. I ti år var de...

### IGEN VERDENS BEDSTE

Tuesday, May 01, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 8 Lars Henrik AagaardMads Mostrup Jensen... 313 words Id: e33713f6

*Noma* for tredje gang kåret til den bedste restaurant i verden. *Noma, Noma, Noma*. Sådan lyder det, når det anerkendte britiske madtidsskrift *Restaurant*...

" Jeg drømte om at lave noget, så jeg kunne få et godt liv. Det synes jeg, at jeg har opnået  
Wednesday, May 02, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 20 Jakob Flarup... 668 words Id: e3379229

ALI SONKO, 58 ÅR, OP VASKER HOS VERDENS BEDSTE RESTAURANT, *NOMA*. I et lille lokale, hvor gulvet er skridsikkert, men luft-fugtigheden højere end normalt, ...

### BUSINESS MOTIVATION: Den mørke side af kreativitet

Thursday, May 03, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (Business) Page 64 Rasmus Ankersen Coach og rådgiver for topsportsfolk og erhvervs ledere. Han holder foredrag om talentudvikling og high performance i organisationer over hele verden.... 1079 words Id: e338240e

En kritisk, konfronterende og brutalt ærlig atmosfære er ofte bedre til at stimulere kreativitet end et miljø, hvor folk føler sig komfortable, anerkendte og ...

### 21 BILLIGSTE HOVEDRET: DEN DYRE

Friday, May 04, 2012 Berlingske Section 2 (Kultur & Aok) Page 6 229 words Id: e33892b1

OVER 220 KR. *Noma* Strandgade 93, Kbh. K. Tlf. 32 96 32 97 For tredje år i træk ligger *Noma* på 1. pladsen på restauranternes verdensrangliste, og det...

### OG ROSERNE GÅR TIL

Sunday, May 06, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 37 52 words Id: e3393ced

*Noma, Noma* - og *Noma*. Danske *Noma* blev i denne uge for tredje gang i træk kåret som verdens bedste restaurant. Et historisk gas...

### *Noma* nu myrefri

Sunday, May 06, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 12 Jakob Flarup... 417 words Id: e339392e

MYRESLUTTER Servering for Berlingskes madanmelder var ekstraordinær. Levende, vestjyske myrer med en smag af citrongræs. Det var, hvad Berlingskes...

### Det er bare løg

Sunday, May 06, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 22 Sarah Skarum... 811 words Id: e33936e4

Gourmet. Løget er kravlet ud af de dyre råvarers skygge. Løgene dukker op på verdens bedste restaurant, *Noma*, hvor souschef Torsten Vildgaard lod løg...

### Michelin keramik

Sunday, May 06, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 6 Kim Flyvbjerg... 1081 words Id: e33936d9

Design. Würtz Form i den lille jyske by, Glud, opfinder den dybe tallerken igen og igen. ... Kan det virkelig være ham fyren der med de plettede...

### Forsidehenvisning: ANE CORTZEN

Sunday, May 06, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 1 26 words Id: e33936d3

TV-darlingen. SKRÆDDERSYET KERAMIK NOMA ELSKER WÜRTZ / TENDENS BLIV APP-SOLUT SUNDERE MED FACEBOOK / KØLIGE FØDDER GRÆS PÅ DINE SOMMERSKO / OLDTIDS DRÅBER ...

### Med Einstein og Picasso i bad

Thursday, May 10, 2012 Berlingske Section 3 (Business) Page 11 87 words Id: e33afeb0

Christian Stadil og Lene Tanggaard, forsøger at indsnævre en række kendte danskeres arbejde med kreativitet i bogen "I bad med Picasso - sådan bliver du ...

### Profilen Torben Træsko Pedersen

Friday, May 11, 2012 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur & Aok) Page 5 Birgitte Rahbek... 800 words Id: e33b65f3

Han er vild med fodbold, sætter pris på en storbyferie med konen og nyder unikke madoplevelser på restauranter som *Noma*. Mød Torben »Træsko« Pedersen, ejer...

### OL I LONDON: *Noma* tager London med storm

Saturday, May 12, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 28 Christian Nørgaard Larsen Berlingske Nyhedsbureau... 206 words Id: e33be2e1

\$3. For knap to uger siden blev *Noma* kåret til verdens bedste restaurant af det anerkendte madtidskrift *Restaurant Magazine*, og fredag kunne chefkok René ...

### Kronprinsesse Mary taler om social ansvarlighed

Saturday, May 19, 2012 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 6 127 words Id: e33e81df

KONFERENCE. CBS afholder om tre uger den såkaldte Corporate Social Responsibility-konference, og i år vil mødet have fokus på samarbejdet mellem...

### En smagfuld ø

Saturday, May 26, 2012 BT Section 3 (Rejser) Page 4 Gitte Holtze... 790 words Id: e3412b7d

GASTRONOMI Mad: Længe inden *Noma* blev verdensberømt, fokuserede man på Bornholm på lokale råvarer som hovedingrediens i kulinariske produkter og måltider på...

### Vokseværk

Tuesday, June 05, 2012 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 8 72 words Id: e34442e4

businessbriefing. Vokseværk. Claus Meyers madimperium dækker nu over alt fra æbleplantager til chokoladeproduktion og et hotel i udkantsdanmark til...

### DEN DYRE BILLIGSTE HOVEDRET OVER 220 KR.

Friday, June 08, 2012 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur & Aok) Page 6 229 words Id: e3457aaf

*Noma* Strandgade 93, Kbh. K. Tlf. 32 96 32 97 For tredje år i træk ligger *Noma* på 1. pladsen på restauranternes verdensrangliste, og det er fuldt...

### Football

Sunday, June 17, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 4 191 words Id: e348aca8

De ville formentlig blive godt fornærmede, hvis de hørte det, for det er ikke så gastromisk en metafor, men Football er lidt af et Kinderæg - hele tre...

### *Noma* fik bornholmerbank

Saturday, June 30, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 18 (KULTUR) Søren Frank, madredaktør på Berlingske... 1690 words Id: e34d8151

Gourmet. Det var David, som slog Goliat, da Kadeau København overtog pladsen som Byens Bedste gourmetrestaurant, efter at *Noma* har besat den i en årrække. ...

### HÅRD TONE: *Noma* på kogepunktet

Wednesday, August 15, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 11 150 words Id: e35c1bb7

§3. Det er ikke første gang, at en af de danske stjernekokke er i vælten for deres ledelsestil. For godt 4 år siden blev køkkenchef på *Noma* Rene Redzepi ...

### Mad til 68erne

Friday, August 17, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 2 Torben Bagge... 261 words Id: e35ce6a0

KRÆSNE GANER Skvalderkål i salaten. Kage med havtorn. ... Ganen hos de syge på Herlev Hospital vil blive udfordret, når to kendte *Noma*-kokke snart skal...

### *Noma*-mad til syge

Friday, August 17, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 2 Torben Bagge... 290 words Id: e35ce69d

HOSPITALS-GOURMET Det bliver rent svir at være indlagt på Herlev Hospital. Der vil ikke blive serveret levende myrer på sygesengen. Men ellers sætter...

### Kræsne turister

Sunday, August 19, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 32 Steffen Stubager Berlingske Nyhedsbureau... 240 words Id: e35d72f1

Danmark underkendes som gourmet-destination GASTRONOMI. Verdens bedste restaurant er *Noma* på Christianshavn, og aldrig har Danmarks lille køkken været så ...

### Anm: ANMELDELSER

Thursday, August 23, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 36 183 words Id: e35ed40d

Danske *Noma* er for tredje år i træk kåret som verdens bedste restaurant, og Danmark er virkelig kommet på det gastronomiske verdenskort, hvor især...

### Før *Noma* blev født

Saturday, September 01, 2012 Berlingske Section 3 (Fri) Page 7 Jens Andersen... 84 words Id: e36230c1

bognyt. LOUISE Nimb, der døde i 1903, var borgerskabets svar på Frøken Jensen. »Fru Nimb's Kogebog« udkom første gang i 1888, og med den blev danske...

### INDLAGT PÅ 1: Luksusmad på

Thursday, October 04, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 32 Lisa Ryberg Pedersen... 430 words Id: e36f640c

KLASSE Herlev Hospital sparer penge på kosten, selv om man nu serverer gourmet-mad til patienterne. Lækkert og billigt. Gode råvarer tilsat et par...

### Debat: Hør græsset gro

Tuesday, October 09, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 29 (DEBAT) SUSANNE PLOUG SØRENSEN Ph. d., cand. pæd. psych. Indehaver af konsulentfirmaet GOD ( Grounded Organizational Development)... 980 words Id: e3746c8f

Ny Nordisk Skole. Mange interessenter ønsker at styre lærernes arbejde, og på den måde bliver der tale om topstyring af folkeskolen - men topstyring er gift...

### Bedre end *Noma*

Tuesday, October 30, 2012 BT Section 1 Page 24 Rasmus Boserup Berlingske Nyhedsbureau... 276 words Id: e37d454d

MADKUNST Wassim Hallal og restaurant Frederikshøj løb med prisen ' Årets Restaurant 2012'. Den var oppe imod fire af landets ypperste restauranter i form ...

### Noget i gære på *Noma*

Thursday, November 01, 2012 Berlingske Section 1 Page 14 (Nationalt) 104 words Id: e37e3012

national briefing. Noget i gære på Noma. Efter grankviste, skovløg og levende myrer, er Noma-boss Rene Redzepi nu klar til nye eksperimenter til gæsterne ...

### Gourmet-klasse i Københavns lufthavn

Saturday, November 24, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (Rejseliv) Page 26 Natasja Gosch... 435 words Id: e387ca3d

Inden rejsen. Flypassagererne får stadig flere muligheder for gode gastronomioplevelser i lufthavnen. ... Vi har verdens bedste restaurant i noma. Vi...

### MADOPLEVELSER: Endnu mere god mad på menuen i Kbhs. lufthavn

Sunday, November 25, 2012 BT Section 3 (Rejser) Page 10 Natasja Gosch... 434 words Id: e3880bf9

\$3. Vi har verdens bedste restaurant i noma. Vi har verdens bedste kok i Rasmus Kofoed fra Geranium, og vi har i alt 12 michelinstjerner Danmark har for...

### Gastronomi, mystik og kemiførsøg

Sunday, December 16, 2012 Berlingske Section 2 (Magasin) Page 22 Thor kil Jacobsen... 824 words Id: e391073e

Det er hundrede år siden, Louis Camille Maillard offentliggjorde den første videnskabelige artikel om madlavning, der fortsat inspirerer til...

### Siden skal det spises

Sunday, December 23, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 8 Kim Flyvbjerg... 537 words Id: e394d34a

Gourmet. Kan man virkelig spise sit juletræ? ... Trofaste læsere af MS kender Torsten Vildgaard. Siden han sidst var i spalterne, har han opsagt sin...

### Anm: Knap så klassisk fisk på Krog'en

Friday, December 28, 2012 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur & Aok) Page 7 Søren Frank... 1002 words Id: e395ab8a

Madanmeldelse. Seneste version af Krogs på Gammel Strand har bedre styr på klassikerne end det nye nordiske køkken. Findes der en mere traditionsrig...

### Det sidste måltid

Sunday, December 30, 2012 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 14 Laura Engstrøm... 2749 words Id: e39638e6

Interview. Stjernerkokken René Redzepi fra restaurant *Noma* har et særligt forhold til Mexico. ... En grillet ananas-trekant penslet med sort chilipasta,...

## 2013

### Copenhagen Cooking sætter spot på havets kartoffel

Friday, February 01, 2013 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 8 1718 words Id: e3a24e00

København er verdens kulinariske hovedstad i disse år. Vi har verdens bedste restaurant i *Noma*, verdens bedste kok i Rasmus Kofoed, og i hele februar har vi...

### En kogebogshelt i køkkenet

Sunday, February 10, 2013 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 18 SARAH SKARUM... 1100 words Id: e3a6566e

Andreas Harder er vokset op med bevidstheden om terroir - det at vide, hvad der gror bedst hvor, og derfor giver det god mening, at han nu laver eddiker til...

### SUCCES: Mad-anmelder: Påvirker ikke Michelin-chancer

Saturday, March 09, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 18 Trine Steengaard Nielsen... 234 words Id: e3b222ee

\$3. Selvom 63 personer i februar blev ramt af Roskildesyge efter et besøg på *Noma*, skal restauranten ikke frygte for uddelingen af michelin-stjerner....

### DØDSSYG MAD PÅ NOMA

Saturday, March 09, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 18 Stine Kjærside... 406 words Id: e3b222ed

HYGIEJNE 63 gæster fik roskildesyge efter besøg på den verdens kendte restaurant. Den københavnske restaurant *Noma*, der er blevet kåret som verdens...

### SYGAF: Virusramt kok smittede 63 hos *Noma*

Saturday, March 09, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 14 (NATIONALT) 162 words Id: e3b21123

GOURMETMAD. Mindst 63 personer blev ramt af roskildesyge, efter de i februar satte sig til bords på verdens bedste restaurant, Restaurant *Noma* på...

### Skandinaviens første trestjernede?

Sunday, March 10, 2013 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 10 SØREN FRANK... 1873 words Id: e3b2668d

På torsdag offentliggøres Michelin Guiden. Den forhenværende professionelle fodboldspiller fra Stockholm, Björn Frantzén, er favorit til at blive regionens...

### 1 TIL STREGEN

Tuesday, March 12, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 2 A F J ENS HAGE... 7 words Id: e3b30c51

STJERNESTATUS. Restaur...

### *Noma* fordobler overskuddet



Thursday, March 14, 2013 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 5 132 words Id: e3b41c4e  
RESTAURANTER. Det har vist sig at være en god forretning at drive verdens bedste restaurant. I hvert fald kan stifter, chefkok og direktør Rene Redzepi...

### Debat: PANELET

Friday, March 15, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 5 (DEBAT) 199 words Id: e3b4a65a  
Noma beholder sine to Michelinstjerner i år. Har det haften betydning, at over 60 gæster fik roskildesyge efter et besøg på restauranten? Michelin-guiden ...

### Michelin: Den tredje stjerne er på vej

Friday, March 15, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 12 (NATIONALT) Søren Frank... 809 words Id: e3b49305  
Stjernedrys. Verdensranglistens nummer ét, *Noma*, måtte i går se langt efter sin tredje stjerne i Michelins restaurantguide - men guidens redaktør, Rebecca...

### Så syge blev Nomas gæster

Saturday, March 16, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 21 Lykke Wiborg Christensen... 411 words Id: e3b5178e  
SYG AF MAD Antallet af syge gæster er nu 82 personer. Antallet af personer, der blev syge efter et besøg på den verdensberømte restaurant Noma er nu oppe ...

### Forsidehenvisning: Nationalt

Tuesday, March 19, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 1 6 words Id: e3b5edce  
Nationalt. En mys...

### Et utroligt tilbud

Tuesday, March 19, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 12 (NATIONALT) Jens Rebensdorff... 1898 words Id: e3b5ecc7  
Dansk. Da en ukendt mand i sidste uge ringede fra USA og inviterede Kirsten og Mogens til middag på *Noma*, stødte han ind i et velkendt fænomen. ... Der...

### *Noma* anmeldt for græstyveri

Monday, April 01, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 8 (NATIONALT) Kasper Krogh... 721 words Id: e3ba6620  
Grønthøsteri. Strid mellem restaurant *Noma* og amatørfødboldspillere om græsset på Kløvermarken er endt med en politianmeldelse af den verdensberømte...

### Anm: Robert den Store af Malmø

Friday, April 05, 2013 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur og Aok) Page 7 Søren Frank... 723 words Id: e3bbebfa  
Madanmeldelse. *Ex-Noma* kok serverer skarp nynordisk gourmetmad til bistro-priser på den anden side af sundet. R' et i B. A. R står for Robert Jakobsen....

### Anm: Nomas ny lille-Bror

Friday, April 19, 2013 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur og Aok) Page 7 Søren Frank... 937 words Id: e3c14f8d  
Madanmeldelse. Naturvinen flyder, og der er friteret lav, tang og brændte porrer på marskandiserterlærkerne til SU-priser på restaurant Bror. Hvis de...

### Alle gode gange fire? Jeg er ikke bange

Sunday, April 28, 2013 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 12 SØREN FRANK... 3615 words Id: e3c49215

I morgen afgøres det, om *Noma* bliver verdens bedste restaurant for fjerde gang i træk. René Redzepi gør boet op efter tre år i toppen. ... Bortset fra...

### Mindre madkunst og mere business

Monday, April 29, 2013 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 14 MORTEN ASMUSSEN UDVIKLINGSREDAKTØR... 435 words Id: e3c4cb01

Man kunne få en fornemmelse af, at de dygtigste kokke så en ære i, at de netop ikke tjente penge på deres kunst. Det er ingen nyhed, at Danmark har nogle ...

### NÆSTEN BEDST: *Noma* kun næstbedst

Tuesday, April 30, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 14 Kenan Seeberg... 498 words Id: e3c53ba9

\$3. Efter tre år på toppen som verdens bedste restaurant, faldt den danske restaurant *Noma* én plads ved kåringen af verdens bedste restauranter i London...

### 1 *Noma* vippet af tronen

Tuesday, April 30, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 15 (NATIONALT) Søren Frank... 468 words Id: e3c530d9

Skål! Bi-larver, skovmærke og agurk bliver sandsynligvis en del af det drikkeklare bud på læskedrikken til den prestigefyldte liste. Dette måtte jo ske på et tidspunkt,...

### *Noma-øl* med tang og bi-larver

Wednesday, May 08, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 9 100 words Id: e3c859dc

Skål! Bi-larver, skovmærke og agurk bliver sandsynligvis en del af det drikkeklare bud på læskedrikken til en middag på *Noma*, serveret under ledelse af...

### Kronik: KRONIKKEN 9: Folkeskolen skal ikke på *Kina-grillen*

Friday, May 24, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 29 (DEBAT) SEBASTIAN FRISCHE OG OLE FEJERSKOV Hhv. lektor, AU, og professor, ph. d., AU... 1283 words Id: e3ce12fc

z mod *Kina*. Vi håber politikerne evner at fastholde denne ambition for den danske folkeskole, men afviser Niels Egelunds opfordring til en tur på '...

### FRA DAGENS: KRONIKKEN: FOLKESKOLEN SKAL IKKE PÅ KINA-GRILLEN

Friday, May 24, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 2 51 words Id: e3ce107b

DEBAT. Sebastian Frische og Ole Fejerskov: Vi håber politikerne evner at fastholde denne ambition for den danske folkeskole, men afviser Niels Egelunds...

### *Noma* får nyt hjerte

Friday, May 31, 2013 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur og Aok) Page 19 11 words Id: e3d0c73c

Restaurant og cafe. Efter snart ti år skifter den verdenskendte restaurant det allerhelligste ud.

### Dekanter oversvovlet vin

Saturday, June 22, 2013 Berlingske Section 4 (Fri) Page 16 Hver uge bedømmer Berlingskes Søren Frank eller Rolf Madsen et udvalg af vine Vin Rolf Madsen... 1134 words Id: e3d94472

Ugens testvinder folder sig først ud nogen tid efter at den er blevet dekanteret. Gennem det seneste stykke tid har skyttegravskrigen raset i vinbranchen ...

### Turisterne sukker dybt over Danmark

Thursday, June 27, 2013 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 1 Ole Hall... 424 words Id: e3dbb8e5

Nedtur. Udenlandske turister føler sig økonomisk flået og dårligt behandlet i Danmark, og det skaber dyb krise i dansk turisme med økonomiske konsekvenser....

### Anm: Hype på havnen

Friday, August 23, 2013 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 7 Søren Frank... 933 words Id: e3ee7932

Madanmeldelse. Der er format over både rammerne og den moderne minimal-gastronomi på *eks-Noma* chefen Matt Orlando's nye restaurant, Amass. Amass er...

### Anm: *Noma* møder trøffel og foie gras

Friday, October 25, 2013 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 6 Søren Frank... 545 words Id: e40dc998

Madanmeldelse. Med Studio har vi fået en ny spiller i restauranternes danske superliga. Husets bedste udsigt finder man på første sal til venstre, hvor...

### 1 Koks for Færøerne

Saturday, October 26, 2013 Berlingske Section 6 (Rejseliv) Page 31 73 words Id: e40e4086

Hvad *Noma* har gjort for turismen i København kan restaurant Koks også gøre for Tórshavn. I hvert fald har de færøske turistmyndigheder tæ...

### ARBEJDSMILJØ: *Noma* fortryder trusler mod kokke

Thursday, October 31, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 15 239 words Id: e410599b

\$3. Michelin-restauranten *Noma* beklager nu, at man truer nye kokke, der kommer fra hele verden for at arbejde gratis i køkkenet, med at blive sortlistet, ...

### Ledende artikel: Debat: DAGENS LEDER MENER: *Noma* er ikke som de andre

Friday, November 01, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 4 (DEBAT) 293 words Id: e410dc5e

\$3. S å er den verdensberømte københavner-restaurant *Noma* atter genstand for kritik. Det er kommet frem, at restauranten i flere år har ladet sine...

### Skrammer på menuen

Friday, November 01, 2013 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 2 Nyhedschef PETER SUPPLI BENSON... 358 words Id: e410cd42

Det giver næsten sig selv, at når en restaurant som *Noma* får succes på så udansk en måde, som det er kommet Christianshavner-restauranten til del, så...

### MS SPØRGER: René Redzepi

Sunday, November 24, 2013 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 8 SØREN FRANK... 905 words Id: e41ae95f

SVARER. Restaurant *Noma* har i dag ti års jubilæum. ... § Hvad betyder det for dig, at *Noma* nu har eksisteret i ti år? »Havde du spurgt mig, da vi åbnede ...

**Forsidehenvisning: TYLER BRÛLÉ**

Sunday, December 15, 2013 Berlingske Section 4 (Ms) Page 1 15 words Id: e4296ef4

TYLER BRÛLÉ: NOMA ER IKKE NOK I HATTEMAGERENS VÆRKSTED VINBØGER - FRA RHÔNE TIL SYDAFRIKA.

**Madkongen uden tøj på**

Sunday, December 22, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 30 Søren Frank... 3637 words Id: e42d5d22

INTERVIEW 50-års fødselaren Claus Meyer taler ud om nøgenhed, om at ændre verden, om klamme penge og om tiden efter *Noma*. Og om de næste ti år, hvor han har...

**NOMA VAR TÆT PÅ LUKNING**

Sunday, December 22, 2013 BT Section 1 Page 4 Helle Lho Hansen... 490 words Id: e42d5bc3

EMNEORD Uenighed mellem Claus Meyer og René Redzepi var tæt på at koste verdens bedste restaurant livet, afslører den tidligere hovedejer. Der findes...

**TURNERINGS-CLAUS TAGER EN RUNDE MERE**

Sunday, December 22, 2013 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 14 SØREN FRANK... 3622 words Id: e42d599e

50-års fødselaren Claus Meyer taler ud om at ændre verden, klamme penge og tiden efter *Noma*. Og om de næste ti år som formentlig kommer til at indbefatte en...

**SØREN FRANK: INDENFOR**

Sunday, December 22, 2013 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 8 331 words Id: e42d5994

JOURNALIST. I løbet af 30 år på arbejdsmarkedet har den kommende uges 50-års fødselars Claus Meyer sat gang i mere, end de fleste af os kommer i nærheden...

**Eksisterer den lykkelige skilsmisse?**

Sunday, December 22, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 5 SØREN FRANK MAD-OG VINREDAKTØR... 366 words Id: e42d5963

ANALYSE. Det er umiddelbart svært at forestille sig, at Nomas skilsmisse skulle være forløbet så pænt, som både René Redzepi og Claus Meyer fremstiller...

**Person opgør var tæt på at lukke *Noma***

Sunday, December 22, 2013 Berlingske Section 1 Page 4 Søren Frank... 1209 words Id: e42d5961

På kanten. Verdens bedste restaurant var ifølge grundlæggeren, den tidligere hovedejer Claus Meyer, tæt på at lukke som følge af et langt og kompliceret...

**2014****Det bliver lettere at få bord på *Noma***

Friday, January 24, 2014 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 19 25 words Id: e439ba45

Restaurant & Cafe. Godt nyt på vej til os der ikke kan få bord på *Noma*. ...

## Danske nyheder i Paris

Sunday, January 26, 2014 Berlingske Section 6 (Boligen) Page 3 Stine F. Mathiasen... 335 words Id: e43a7f35

Nyheder. I denne weekend løber en af Europas største designmesser af stablen i Paris, nemlig Maison&Objet, og det er med hele 61 danske udstillere i...

## I FOKUS I DAG

Wednesday, March 12, 2014 BT Section 1 Page 30 70 words Id: e44def7f

Restaurant Noma Bliver 2014 året, hvor Noma får tre Michelinstjerner? Det bliver afgjort i dag kl. 11, hvor køkkenchef René Redzepi og resten af...

## Ingen tredje stjerne til mesterkøkkene

Wednesday, March 12, 2014 BT Section 2 (Sporten) Page 16 132 words Id: e44de980

I dag bliver den nye udgave af Michelin-guiden offentliggjort, og dermed også afsløret, om Noma eller Geranium får den eftertragtede tredje stjerne....

## Stjernedrys til restauranter

Thursday, March 13, 2014 BT Section 1 Page 16 Signe Damgaard Berlingske Nyhedsbureau... 428 words Id: e44e7684

HÆDER Tre nye restauranter i København har fået Michelin-stjerner, mens *Noma* og Geranium fortsat må nøjes med to. Clou, Marchal og Studio -tre...

## Michelin-stjerne på rekordtid

Thursday, March 13, 2014 Berlingske Section 1 Page 9 (NATIONALT) Søren Frank... 796 words Id: e44e5a5b

Restauranthimlen. København udvidede stjernebestanden, men uden trestjernede restauranter er byen stadig henvist til Michelins andendivision - provinsen...

## HITTER I HELE VERDEN NORDISK SOMMERHUSSTIL

Sunday, March 23, 2014 Berlingske Section 6 (Boligen) Page 4 Emma Biørn Fish... 530 words Id: e45280d0

Tendens. Den enkle skandinaviske sommerhusstil med de rene linjer og masser af hygge er blevet populær i udlandet - og det er så vidt forskellige...

## Mad på *Noma*

Friday, April 11, 2014 BT Section 2 (TV Guide) Page 6 55 words Id: e45aade6

I de sidste år er Storbritannien nærmest gået amok over alt skandinavisk, det være sig drama, møbeldesign, mode og endog mad. I dag er Hugh i Danmark og...

## Nyt billigt madmarked serverer street food

Friday, April 11, 2014 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 8 Rasmus Kramer Schou... 776 words Id: e45a9b7a

Ø-mad. København får endnu et kæmpe madmarked midt i byen. Denne gang tæt på vandet, i øjenhøjde med gæsterne og fyldt med containere, trailere og...

### Nordisk mad og fænomenet *Noma*

Sunday, April 27, 2014 Berlingske Section 3 (Business) Page 12 ALFRED JOSEFSEN  
LEDELSESKONSULENT, FOREDRAGSHOLDER... 804 words Id: e4603677

### NEDSLAG: Er myresmør og gærede græshopper på vej ud?

Sunday, April 27, 2014 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 9 SØREN FRANK... 404 words Id: e4603584  
René Redzepi har ikke de store forventninger til Nomas placering på restauranternes verdensrangliste, World's 50 Best, som offentliggøres i morgen. »Et...

### *Noma* verdens bedste

Tuesday, April 29, 2014 BT Section 1 Page 14 Maria Runøe Møller... 221 words Id: e460e8f4  
Den danske superrestaurant Noma med René Redzepi i spidsen, kan igen kalde sig verdens bedste restaurant. I går aftes i London blev Noma nummer et i...

### 1 Brølet

Wednesday, April 30, 2014 BT Section 1 Page 2 KURT LASSEN... 63 words Id: e46171c5  
*Noma* Restaurant Noma er for fjerde gang kåret som verdens bedste efter et års overvintring på andenpladsen. ...

### TURISME: *Noma* lokker turister til

Wednesday, April 30, 2014 BT Section 1 Page 30 333 words Id: e4616cb4  
\$3. Efter et års pause generobrede *Noma* mandag aften titlen som verdens bedste restaurant, ligesom Geranium kravlede op ad den gastronomiske rangstige...

### *Noma*, nykker og nytænkning

Wednesday, April 30, 2014 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 2 LINDA OVERGAARD  
Erhvervsredaktør... 348 words Id: e46164d6  
Tillykke til *Noma*, som igen er kåret til verdens bedste restaurant! Holdet bag det københavnske madtempel fik fuldt fortjent en festlig aften i London...

### Mudderpølen mellem frisind og forargelse

Friday, May 02, 2014 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 15 Louise Østergaard Forfatter Kultur-, debat-og navneredaktør: JESPER BEINOV Indlæg sendes... 1168 words Id: e4625689  
KULTURDEBAT. Forleden aften havde jeg to interessante oplevelser, der skulle vise sig at være forbundet med hinanden ved et utilsigtet sammentræf. Først...

### Jeg prøver at være lidt svensk

Sunday, May 11, 2014 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 19 SARAH SKARUM... 370 words Id: e465be4e  
Monica Bach Nielsen udgiver magasinet Lille Nord, der skal udkomme globalt og vise nordisk børneliv. Hvad gør man, hvis man er fotograf og synes, det er...

### Tag på museum til kalorie-og kageorgie

Tuesday, May 20, 2014 BT Section 1 Page 12 53 words Id: e468c4aa

I dag er det Noma og nordic cuisine, der hitter, men det danske køkken har tidligere høstet stor international anerkendelse - kagekøkkenet vel at mærke. ...

### Begmand til *Noma*

Sunday, June 15, 2014 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 12 SØREN FRANK... 1004 words Id: e472457a  
*Noma* er »kun« nr. 7 på Opinionated About Dinings liste over Europas bedste restauranter. ... D en belgiske restaurant »In de Wulf« løb med...

### Mit frirum

Saturday, June 21, 2014 Berlingske Section 4 (Fri) Page 4 Thomas Conradsen... 644 words Id: e474cd8e  
Morten Resen - der hele sommeren laver live-tv fra Tivoli på TV2 - elsker en Silkeborg-restaurant højere end *Noma*, er fan af både USA og amerikanere, og er...

### Sol over Gudhjem

Saturday, June 28, 2014 Berlingske Section 5 (Rejseliv) Page 17 Judith Betak... 713 words Id: e4777c1e  
Udenfor Tivoli. Fra et stykke med røget sild til en gastronomisk duel i verdensklasse. ... Mange restauranter rundt om i det danske sommerland har...

### Middag til 60.000 kr.

Wednesday, July 30, 2014 BT Section 1 Page 16 Yllka Haxhijaj... 316 words Id: e48256cb  
MAD Fynsk kro giver *Noma* baghjul med det store gourmetbord. Du skal have den velpolstrede pung med, hvis du bestiller et bord til to på Falsled Kro på...

### Debat: Nej, danskerne lytter ikke til Dan

Friday, September 12, 2014 BT Section 1 Page 6 (debat) SØREN FRANK Madredaktør på Berlingske... 275 words Id: e492ec30  
DEN MEST POPULÆRE ret i Danmark er spaghetti med kødsovs, så det er vel nationalretten. Dan Jørgensen vil lave en anden ret, som skal være nationalret...

### HOVEDER

Sunday, September 14, 2014 Berlingske Section 1 Page 52 17 words Id: e493990b  
Dan Jørgensens kåring af danskernes nationalret har allerede affødt mange kreative forslag: Københavns Zoo NOMA Liberal Alliance.

### De5... uden bord på *Noma*

Friday, September 26, 2014 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 4 Rasmus Kramer Schou... 534 words Id: e49876c6  
Alternativt. Titlen som verdens bedste restaurant betyder, at du som regel ikke kan få bord på *Noma*. ... *Nomas nabo* Amass er en ulv i fåreklæder....

### LUKNING: Kokkestrid om *Noma*

Wednesday, November 05, 2014 BT Section 1 Page 13 Nicolaj Thomas Truelsen... 270 words Id: e4a838ef  
En lang strid mellem grundlæggeren af *Noma*, Claus Meyer, og *Nomas* køkkenchef og medejer, René Redzepi, rasede engang så vildt, at den prisbelønnede...

### MS SPØRGER: Bryan Ferry

Sunday, November 16, 2014 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 10 KIM FLYVBJERG... 891 words Id: e4acc1b2

SVARER. Han fik ikke besøgt Københavns kunstgallerier, men glædede sig til *Noma* om aftenen. ... § Det nye album hedder »Avonmore« og første single »Loop ...

### Velopdragne Lillebror

Friday, December 19, 2014 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 7 Søren Frank... 956 words Id: e4ba8b02

Madanmeldelse. Restaurant Brors toer, Lillebror, leger café om dagen og rigtig restaurant om aftenen - uden dog at blive helt lige så rebelsk som storebror. ...

### Lyserød maraton

Sunday, December 28, 2014 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 14 SØREN FRANK... 1607 words Id: e4bcd0ce

Søren Frank har været til dekadent maratonsmagning af de bedste rosé champagner - hovedsageligt fra topårgangen 2002. For mit vedkommende starter...

## 2015

### Kom med på *Noma* i Japan

Friday, January 16, 2015 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 19 19 words Id: e4c66cac

Restaurant & Cafe. *Noma* har slået dørene op på toppen af luksushotellet Mandarin Oriental i Tokyo. ...

### *Noma* og Geranium på trestjernet kurs

Tuesday, February 24, 2015 BT Section 2 (Sporten) Page 16 134 words Id: e4d99655

På de fineste danske restauranter holder man vejret i disse dage. For i morgen uddeles der nemlig igen stjerner i Michelinguiden, hvor der for første...

### 5 Note

Thursday, February 26, 2015 BT Section 1 Page 36 24 words Id: e4dcffa8

I fokus i dag: Michelin-guiden offentliggør, hvem der i denne omgang bliver belønnet med stjerner. ...

### Debat: Hvad er opskriften på Danmarks madsucces?

Saturday, February 28, 2015 BT Section 1 Page 4 (DEBAT) 67 words Id: e4e1e568

Hele verden snakker om dansk gastronomi. De danske restauranter har nu sammenlagt rekordhøje 21 Michelin-stjerner. ...

### Cocktailbarens svar på *Noma*

Sunday, March 01, 2015 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 28 SØREN FRANK... 913 words Id: e4e22a49

Artesian i London er tre gange i træk kåret som verdens bedste bar. Søren Frank har mødt chefbartenderen, Simone Caporale, som fortæller om hemmeligheden bag ...

### Forsidehenviisning: Så vildt lever STJERNE KOKKENE



Tuesday, March 03, 2015 BT Section 1 Page 1 9 words Id: e4e2d782

*Noma* - talent død af stress som 32-årig. René Redzepi: RAMT AF SORG Umenneskeligt hårdt Dødsangst Blodprop.

#### Anm: Den store fusionsfest

Friday, March 27, 2015 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 13 Søren Frank... 892 words Id: e4ee9f48

Madanmeldelse. *Noma* og eIBulli møder Andes, Amazonas og Caribien på den ambitiøse dansk-venzuelanske restaurant Taller. Den fik ikke for lidt på...

#### Debat: KOMMENTAR: Dengang jeg skrev til Dronningen

Thursday, April 16, 2015 Berlingske Section 1 Page 29 (DEBAT) MERSIHA COKOVIC Konsulent... 1025 words Id: e4f54c45

Respekt. Jeg har lært at en dronning ikke kan stoppe en krig eller redde uskyldige fra at dø. ... Det var vinter 1993, og selv om klokken ikke var...

#### Vi har et bord om 11 måneder

Wednesday, June 03, 2015 BT Section 1 Page 20 Mike KaltoftJensen... 178 words Id: e50f7c7c

SUPER-RESTAURANT. Verdens bedste restaurant ligger da i København og hedder *Noma*? Desværre ikke længere. *Noma* har mistet titlen til El Celler de Can...

#### Henvi sning: Kommentar: Masser af danske godter trods *Nomas* nedtur

Wednesday, June 03, 2015 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 2 LINDA OVERGAARD ERHVERVSREDAKTØR... 377 words Id: e50f6ed7

Da Berlingske tirsdag aften kl. 22.48 kunne udsende »breaking news« om kåringen af verdens bedste restauranter, røg *Noma* ned ad sejrsskam len til fordel...

#### Niels og *Noma*

Friday, June 19, 2015 BT Section 2 (TV-GUIDE) Page 6 57 words Id: e5163c49

En af verdens bedste restauranter -*Noma* -og mange af de bedste danske kokke henter deres råvarer hos bondemanden Niels. ...

#### Castro går street

Sunday, June 21, 2015 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 8 SØREN FRANK... 1702 words Id: e516f262

Streetfood er tidens varmeste gastronomiske buzz word - såvel i gader og stræder som på de mest avancerede avantgarde-restauranter. Trenden har også slået...

#### KATRINE IRMINGER: INDENFOR

Sunday, June 21, 2015 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 2 306 words Id: e516f239

SONNE, REDAKTØR. Jeg er gået hen og blevet ret glad for gademad. Ikke mindst efter, at min lokale takeaway, »Annes Gademad«, der forsyner mig med alt fra ...

#### Hoteller og spisesteder har skaber flest job

Saturday, July 18, 2015 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 7 153 words Id: e520dc6e

*Noma-effekt.* Mens mange brancher har måttet spænde livremmen ind under finanskrisen, er det siden 2008 gået frem for hotel-og restaurationsbranchen....

### *Noma-boss* starter madskole

Friday, September 04, 2015 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 19 19 words Id: e5320d19  
Restaurant & Cafe. René Redzepi åbner et mad-og naturprojekt, centreret om smag og bæredygtighed, og vil øge vores kendskab til naturens råvarer. ...

### Anm: Gastronomien ifølge Guinness Book of Records

Friday, September 11, 2015 Berlingske Section 3 (KULTUR) Page 7 Søren Frank... 800 words Id: e534df6c  
Madanmeldelse. Mere er ikke nødvendigvis altid bedre efter 45 molekylær gastronomiske serveringer omkring disken på Alchemist. »Hvor mange retter...

### OVERNATNING: *Noma* satser på B&B

Tuesday, September 15, 2015 BT Section 1 Page 12 Rasmus Kramer Schou... 195 words Id: e5366616  
Indenfor en ikke alt for fjern fremtid åbner *Noma* sin restaurant nummer to. Det sker efter vedholdende rygter i en tidligere lagerhal i Strandgade. Her...

### *Noma* lukker - og åbner

Wednesday, September 16, 2015 Berlingske Section 1 Page 6 (NATIONALT) 95 words Id: e536d163  
GASTRONOMI. Danmarks nok mest kendte restaurant, *Noma*, lukker i 2016, men åbner igen i 2017. Det fortæller køkkenchef René Redzepi i et interview med...

### *Noma* åbner ny restaurant

Friday, September 18, 2015 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 19 24 words Id: e537d4bb  
Restaurant & Cafe. Efter 12 år er verdenskendte *Noma* klar til at rykke videre. ...

### Ford lancerer eget medie

Tuesday, October 13, 2015 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 14 169 words Id: e5422959  
Oplevelser på skærmen. Content marketing er i disse år på stort set alle marketing-professionelles læber, og nu skruer Ford i Danmark endnu mere op for...

### INDENFOR

Sunday, October 18, 2015 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 2 KATRINE IRMINGER SONNE, REDAKTØR... 283 words Id: e54452fe  
På min 18 års fødselsdag overnattede jeg i en hytte tæt på verdens højeste vandfald, Salto del Angel, i Venezuela. Det var før, nationalparken Canaima...

### Anm: Mad med mening

Friday, November 20, 2015 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 9 Louise Kidde Sauntved... 320 words Id: e552d661  
Film. Pierre Deschamps dokumentarfilm om *Noma* og ikke mindst mesterkokken bag, René Redzepi, er lige så smuk og sanselig som de retter der fremtrylles på...

### I dag spiser man bedre i København end i Paris

Friday, November 20, 2015 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 8 Jacob Wendt Jensen... 1468 words Id: e552d660

Dokumentar. Fransk filminstruktør, og tidligere kok, er søgt ind bag facaden på restaurant Nomas René Redzepi. ... Der går ikke mange dage imellem, at...

### Noma-boss serverer mexicansk i Torvehallerne

Friday, November 27, 2015 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 19 23 words Id: e555b273

Restaurant & Cafe. Spring køen på Noma over, når René Redzepi gæster den mexicanske taco-pusher i Torvehallerne søndag den 29. november. ...

### En uge i Sydney med Noma i pølseenden

Sunday, November 29, 2015 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 8 SØREN FRANK... 340 words Id: e5566e19

Håndsyet dansk gastrorejse til Sydney med middag på Nomas popop som finale. Som en del af læserne muligvis har bemærket, rykker Noma midlertidigt...

### Jyder er også velkomne!

Sunday, December 13, 2015 Berlingske Section 4 (MS) Page 58 SØREN FRANK... 1465 words Id: e568bcc9

»108 bliver en rigtig københavnerrestaurant.« Mød Kristian Baumann, køkkenchef og medejer på Nomas nye lillebror »108«. Normalt kan en kok dårligt få sit ...

## 2016

### NOMA eller havregrød

Sunday, January 17, 2016 Berlingske Section 3 (Bilen) Page 7 Henrik Dreboldt Redaktør af Bilen Bilæstetiker og klassikerentusiast... 564 words Id: e575aa30

B ilindustrien har et problem. Den har mistet evnen til at begejstre. Eller rettere, den har mistet evnen til at turde at begejstre. Jeg har netop...

### Københavns nye gourmetrestaurant

Friday, March 11, 2016 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 19 23 words Id: e59be8fc

Restaurant & Cafe. De tidligere Noma-drengene, Sam Nutter og Victor Wågman, åbnede torsdag 10. marts en ny restaurant, Ante, på Vesterbro. ...

### Anm: Gastro-viagra hos tante Ante

Friday, April 01, 2016 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur) Page 7 Svend Rasmussen... 893 words Id: e5a3cfc6

Madanmeldelse. Tyrestiklerne glimrer ved deres fravær, men Brors mere forfinede gourmettante Ante serverer avanceret yummi-indmad som havtaskelever og...

## ER DET NYE NORDISKE KØKKEN PÅ VEJ I GRAVEN?

Sunday, April 03, 2016 Berlingske Section 4 (B Søndag) Page 43 SARAH SKARUM OG SØREN FRANK INSPIRERER PÅ SKIFT TIL MAD-OG VINOPLEVELSER UDE I BYEN ELLER HJEMME PRIVAT. SØREN FRANK... 350 words Id: e5a48744  
ude og hjemme. »It is time to put New Nordic Cuisine out of its misery,« skrev den britiske journalist Michael Booth for et par måneder siden i...

### NOMAS AUSTRALSKE EVENTYR

Sunday, April 10, 2016 Berlingske Section 4 (Søndag B) Page 8 Søren Frank... 2746 words Id: e5a747dc  
Søren Frank besøgte Nomas aboriginale popup-restaurant i Sydney, som har sat byen på den anden ende. Selv ser René Redzepi det fire måneder lange...

### Forsidehenvisning: *NOMA NEDENUNDER*

Sunday, April 10, 2016 Berlingske Section 4 (Søndag B) Page 1 15 words Id: e5a7479f  
RENÉ REDZEPI SERVERER KROKODILLEFEDT, KÆNGURUJUICE OG AUSSIE-MYRER I SYDNEY. ...

### Forsidehenvisning: *NOMA DOWNUNDER*

Sunday, April 10, 2016 Berlingske Section 1 Page 1 2 words Id: e5a744f9  
B SØNDAG.

### Debat: Kultur-Kanon

Saturday, June 11, 2016 Berlingske Section 3 (POLITIKO) Page 18 120 words Id: e5c0830e  
Først og fremmest skal vores nordiske køkken med i en kulturkanon, fordi danske restauranter med Noma i spidsen har opnået den største anerkendelse med...

### DVÆRGKÆNGURU OG ABORIGINALE URTER

Sunday, June 12, 2016 Berlingske Section 3 (Søndag B) Page 38 Tekst og foto: Søren Frank... 1633 words Id: e5c0cb48  
Sydneys restaurantscene er en af verdens mestspraglede og multietniske, der tæller en fusion af kinesisk og aboriginal mad, en »filial« af *Noma*, en aflægger...

### Fra gadedreng til cafeejer

Saturday, August 06, 2016 Berlingske Section 1 Page 6 (NYHEDER) Eva Elisabeth Østergaard Jensen... 812 words Id: e5d3cd77  
En ny start. Den praktisk anlagte TAMU-uddannelse har succes med at få unge fra samfundets yderste kant i arbejde. ... Fra en tidlig alder var Ibrahim...

### Et netværk, hvor alle hjælper hinanden

Wednesday, August 17, 2016 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 11 Malene Kruse... 256 words Id: e5d767da  
Forskellighed. Global Shapers indeholder mange kom peten cer, gruppens medlemmer kan drage nytte af. Det gør projektudvikler Mark Emil Hermansen fra *Noma*...

### Billig Michelin-mad i New York

Saturday, August 20, 2016 Berlingske Section 2 (Business) Page 16 MADS SIXHØJ JOURNALIST... 591 words Id: e5d8b1da

Madtip. En middag på en Michelin-restaurant er en hel oplevelse i sig selv, og hvis man finder de rigtige steder på de rigtige tidspunkter, kan det endda...

### Anm: Når lillebror bliver stor

Saturday, September 03, 2016 Berlingske Section 1 Page 24 (KULTUR) Svend Rasmussen... 845 words Id: e5ddcfd2

Madanmeldelse. Efter en kort prøveperiode som pop-up er *Noma-lillebror* 108 nu blevet voksen - en mellemting mellem fine dining og bistro, der er helt sin...

### 5 nye restauranter i København

Tuesday, September 06, 2016 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur og Livsstil) Page 10 GUIDE TIL KØBENHAVN RASMUS KRAMER... 903 words Id: e5de9157

*Noma* har fået en lillebror, og der er kommet både italiensk opfindsomhed og latinamerikansk vildskab til indre by. *Spontan Nyt hotspot* Området omkring...

### Store madoplevelser Down Under

Saturday, September 10, 2016 Berlingske Section 4 (Rejseliv) Page 8 Dorte Hansen... 563 words Id: e5e0676d

Unikke og lokale råvarer som kængurukød har fået nyt liv på gourmet-scenen takket være den danske *Noma-kok* René Redzepis besøg tidligere i år. Australien ...

### SKÅL PÅ DET

Sunday, September 25, 2016 Berlingske Section 3 (Søndag) Page 34 Tekst: NIELS P. YORK... 747 words Id: e5e5dfb6

Vi spiser mere af vores mad af skåle i stedet for tallerkener, både derhjemme og på top-restauranter som *Noma*. Ikea har oplevet en stor stigning i salget af...

### 2 *Noma* forlænger

Thursday, October 27, 2016 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur og Livsstil) Page 13 Søren Frank... 203 words Id: e5f1fe0a

*Noma* tager to måneder mere i Strandgade. Åbningen af *Noma 2.0* på Refshaleøen er skudt til ultimo 2017. Hvis man er hurtig på tasterne mandag 7. november...

### *Noma* popper up i mexicansk jungle

Saturday, November 19, 2016 Berlingske Section 1 Page 18 (NYHEDER) 85 words Id: e5fd33c0

Al madlavning kommer til at foregå over åben ild, og tjenerne vil servere iført badesHORTS og flip-flops. Selv om priserne ikke er i den billige ende,...

### *Noma* skal lave bålmad i Mexico

Monday, November 21, 2016 BT Section 1 Page 4 393 words Id: e5fdb7f3

GASTRONOMI Den danske michelin-restaurant vil gentage sidste års succes fra Sydney med en pop up-restaurant i Tulum. Danske *Noma* har tidligere fløjet...

**2017****INSTAGRAM-STJERNE RYKKER LANGT UD I SKOVEN**

Thursday, January 05, 2017 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur og Livsstil) Page 10 Sarah Skarum... 1014 words Id: e60dc8e4

Stedsans, efterhånden verdensberømt tagrestaurant på Østerbro, rykker ud i de svenske skove i år. For at inspirere gæsterne til at leve et bare lidt bedre...

**1 Restaurant *Noma***

Friday, January 06, 2017 BT Section 2 (TV-Guide) Page 6 56 words Id: e60e3b9d

Her fortælles historien om Rene Redzepi, der er køkkenchef på den verdensberømte restaurant *Noma*, der fire gange er blevet kåret som verdens bedste...

**1 Opvasker bliver medejer af *Noma***

Tuesday, February 28, 2017 BT Section 1 Page 19 Søren Frank... 432 words Id: e6223838

FEJRET Ali Sonko, som har været opvasker på *Noma* siden begyndelsen i 2003, er nu blevet partner i succesrestauranten. Hvis ikke Ali Sonko allerede var...

**Jeg er stadig helt chokeret**

Wednesday, March 01, 2017 Berlingske Section 1 Page 9 (NYHEDER) Anne Funch... 886 words Id: e622acfc

Opvaskeren, der forleden blev partner i Restaurant *Noma*, har stadig ikke helt fattet det. Ali Sonko er født i Gambia, er ikke helt sikker på, hvor gammel han ...

**Forsidehenvi sning: MEDEJER AF *NOMA* TAGER OGSÅ OPVASKEN**

Wednesday, March 01, 2017 Berlingske Section 1 Page 1 2 words Id: e622acbf

NYHEDER. ...

**SIDSTE NAT MED KLIKEN FRA *NOMA***

Thursday, March 02, 2017 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur og Livsstil) Page 8 Søren Frank Madredaktør... 1480 words Id: e62322ca

B var med, da Nomas ansatte og de nærmeste 200 venner af huset i Strandgade på Christianshavn lørdag sagde farvel til 13 år og tre måneder, som ændrede dansk ...

***Noma* er et stykke ikonisk oplevelsesdesign**

Wednesday, May 10, 2017 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur og Livsstil) Page 10 Katrine Irminger Sonne... 507 words Id: e63f943c

Den verdensberømte restaurant blev tildelt en pris i kategorien »Icon Award« - blandt andet for at holde fast i en »uhøj tidelig tilgang til hypen på et...

**1 Forsidehenvi sning: *NOMA* I MEXICO**

Sunday, May 14, 2017 Berlingske Section 3 (Søndag) Page 1 18 words Id: e640f8eb

René Redzepi og resten af holdet fra *Noma* er for en kort bemærkning rykket til Tulum i Mexico.

**Tak for kaffeøl**

Thursday, June 08, 2017 Berlingske Section 3 (Kultur Og Livsstil) Page 16 Kim Flyvbjerg Livsstilsjournalist...  
88 words Id: e6498386

Morgenmad. En du til kaffe om morgenen? Eller en morgenbajer? Du behøver ikke længere at vælge, når Mikkeller i morgen åbner morgenmadsrestauranten...

**TAG UD TIL VANDET OG GÅ *NOMA* I BEDENE**

Thursday, July 20, 2017 Berlingske Section 1 Page 2 29 words Id: e6571a3b

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