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**Gastronomy as a creative industry: a study on the case of Peru**

**By**

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## Résumé

Depuis les dernières années, les industries créatives ont gagné en importance en raison de leur contribution au développement économique, social et culturel des territoires dans lesquels elles opèrent. Ces industries se caractérisent par les processus créatifs qui sont le principal intrant de production, et elles peuvent émerger dans n'importe quelle partie du monde. Cependant, les recherches empiriques qui portent sur les industries créatives ont été réalisées dans les pays développés. De plus, ce n'est que tout récemment que l'approche du système régional d'innovation a été utilisée comme cadre d'analyse pour comprendre la dimension créative et le processus d'innovation au sein de ces industries. Cette thèse vise ainsi à contribuer à l'avancement des connaissances sur les industries créatives en analysant les mécanismes qui influencent les conditions de mobilisation de la créativité au sein de l'industrie créative dans un pays en voie de développement. Plus particulièrement, nous avons choisi de réaliser une étude qualitative sur le secteur de la gastronomie au Pérou. Ce cas a été choisi car le secteur de la gastronomie a véritablement explosé au cours de deux dernières décennies. De plus, il s'agit d'un secteur qui attire l'attention de plusieurs acteurs de la scène locale, tout en bénéficiant d'une reconnaissance au plan international.

Les résultats de la recherche ont montré que la théorie des industries créatives était applicable dans ce cas particulier et que, comme le suggère l'approche sur le système régional d'innovation, le flux de créativité et d'innovation dans ce secteur peut s'expliquer à partir de quatre mécanismes: l'apprentissage interactif, la production de connaissances, la proximité et l'intégration sociale.

**Mots clés:** Industries créatives, Économie créative, Système régional d'innovation, Créativité, Pays en développement, Gastronomie péruvienne, Réseau d'acteurs.

## **Abstract**

In recent years, the concept of creative industries has gained more relevance because of their contribution to economic, social and cultural development for the territories where they operate. These industries are characterized for having creativity as a main input, and they can emerge in any part of the world. However, most empirical research analyzing creative industries has been done in developed countries. Moreover, it is only recently that the regional innovation system approach has been used as an analytical framework to understand the creative compound and the innovation process inside a creative industry. Nevertheless, the few studies that have accomplished this task were performed only in the developed world. Thus, this thesis aims to contribute to academic content on creative industries by studying the mechanisms that mediate the conditions for the mobilisation of creativity inside a creative industry which has emerged in a developing country. In specific, we chose to do a qualitative study illustrating the gastronomic sector in Peru. This case was selected because Peruvian gastronomy has boomed in the last two decades and it is an ongoing phenomenon that attracts the attention of a variety of actors from the local scene and that has international recognition as well.

The research findings showed that the theory from creative industries was applicable in this particular case and that, as suggested by the theory on regional innovation system, the flow of creativity and innovation inside the industry can be explained by four mechanisms: interactive learning, knowledge production, proximity and social embeddedness.

**Keywords:** Creative Industries, Creative Economy, Regional Innovation Systems, Creativity, Developing Country, Peruvian Gastronomy, Network of actors.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Context of the research

In recent years, creativity and knowledge have become highly valued resources in the international arena. According to Dunning (2009), one of the main changes in the international business activity in the early 90's is the emergence of intangible assets as key inputs for wealth generation. Indeed, creativity is an intangible asset searched for by many companies these days. Thus, creativity has been studied from different perspectives because of its role in creating value for organizations and for economic recovery and growth (Slavich & Svejenova, 2016). Literature on the concept of creativity shows that there is no consensus about the definition of this phenomenon, however most of the interpretations understand it as a process (individual or collective) that results in the creation of something novel (Anderson, Potočnik, & Zhou, 2014). Highly related to the idea of creativity is the notion of innovation. For some scholars, the boundaries between the two concepts are blurred, however Anderson et al. (2014) understand creativity as the stage of idea generation, and innovation as the subsequent stage of implementing ideas toward better procedures, practices, or products. Creativity and innovation can be seen as a source of competitive advantage (Porter, 1998; Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009). This has gained the attention of academics, businessmen and policymakers. In 2001, John Howkins recognized the power of creativity for economic development in his book 'The Creative Economy: How people make money from ideas'. In his view, creativity can be defined as the action of 'having a new idea'. This has to be personal, original, meaningful and useful (Howkins, 2005a). According to him, "the creative economy consists of the transactions in (the resulting) creative products. Each transaction may have two complementary values: the value of the intangible, intellectual property and the value of the physical carrier or platform (if any)" (Howkins, 2005b:4). Thus, the term creative economy emerged and started to be popular. Moreover, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), has contributed to the notion of the creative economy and refers to it as "an evolving concept based on creative assets potentially generating economic growth and development" (UNCTAD, 2008:15). In this perspective, creativity is understood as the capacity of conceiving new ideas to produce original work.

Besides creativity, culture also plays a significant role in the creative economy because the creative process is influenced by place specific attributes like tradition and heritage (Garnham, 2005; Scott, 2006).

The creative economy is composed by the creative industries. There is still debate on the list of activities that can be considered as creative industries (Howkins, 2005a). According to UNCTAD (2008), the following list of activities can be considered as creative industries: Audiovisuals, Creative Services, Cultural sites, Design, New media, Performing arts, Publishing and printed media, Traditional cultural expressions, and Visual arts. However, in Howkins's view the classification should not be limited to specific sectors, rather they should be classified based on the creative perspective they have. As an example he compares the American car industry with the Japanese car industry. He highlights that one is extremely creative while the other is not (Howkins, 2005b). Despite their variety, all creative industries share four key characteristics that differentiate them from others. First, their final outputs primarily rely on a creative component. The products and services are mainly valued by their originality and symbolic characteristics rather than their functional ones. This means that organizations in these industries consider creativity as a main factor to develop a competitive advantage, this differs from organizations that based their strategy on reducing costs and that compete through 'price' (Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009). As a consequence competition is based on differentiation (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008; Scott, 2006). Second, the industry structure is characterized by the coexistence of a large number of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) with few corporate firms. Third, the labor markets present a high degree of part-time, temporary and freelance forms of work (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008; Scott, 2006). Learning-on-the-job is very common in the workforce (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008). And fourth, creative industries tend to cluster creating networks of collaborative work (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008; Scott, 2006; UNCTAD, 2008).

The UNCTAD has highlighted the potential of creative industries for human development. Specifically, the UNCTAD puts emphasis on the economic, social and cultural aspects. In the economic aspect, creative industries promote the dynamism of SMEs. Additionally, they are involved with other industries of the economy. "A specific aspect of inter-industry relationships [...] is the existence of beneficial spillovers from the creative sector to other parts of the economy" (UNCTAD, 2008:65). Moreover, since they tend to cluster and to form networks, different actors emerge from the private and public sector ensuring the existence of an innovative environment (Scott, 2006). In the social aspect, creative industries stimulate job creation for a non-conventional workforce (artists), and invite high skilled and unskilled people to participate in the industry. In this sense, individuals from different social classes interact. In addition, considering the cultural component present in the products and services

they offer, creative industries help to appreciate the cultural heritage of a territory and foster identity at a national, regional or city level.(UNCTAD, 2008)

Creative industries can be present in developing economies as much as in developed ones, but illustrative cases from the developing world have little visibility (UNDP & UNESCO, 2013). Unlike manufacturing industries, the creative industries do not always imply large investments. They have creativity and knowledge as a central core of the business model, making creative industries very attractive for developing countries. It can be a way to activate the economy considering their limited monetary budget and the positive socio-economic outputs previously mentioned.

“In particular, the idea of the creative economy in the developing world draws attention to the significant creative assets and rich cultural resources that exist in all developing countries. The creative industries that use these resources not only enable countries to tell their own stories and to project their own unique cultural identities to themselves and to the world but they also provide these countries with a source of economic growth , employment creation and increased participation in the global economy” (UNCTAD, 2008:16)

Despite the potential contribution of creative industries for developing countries there is limited academic work on how this kind of economic activities can foster human development in these countries. One explanation is “the difficulty of obtaining formal economic indicators at the local level”(UNDP & UNESCO, 2013:28). Additionally, the concepts related to creative industries originated in the developed world, so most of the studies and lessons learned in the literature are from developed countries. This leaves a latent need to do research in the developing world in order to verify and contrast the findings on this topic. Developing countries should not be ignored, on the contrary empirical and academic work related to the development of these countries is quite relevant in order to promote their participation in the global economy and to achieve a more equitable distribution of wealth along the world. The report of the UNDP and UNESCO (2013) sustains that success cases from developing countries have little visibility in the international scenario. “There is a paradox in the world today: despite the richness of their creativity and the abundance of their cultural resources, many developing countries are failing to take advantage of the potential for development of their creative industries”(UNCTAD, 2008:201).

## 1.2. Objectives of the research

There is a growing literature documenting empirical cases about creative industries. These studies use several perspectives to analyse and to understand the aspects related to this phenomenon. For example, the work of M. Lee (2015) studied networks in creative industries related to knowledge transfer and learning in South Korea. Moreover, the work of Cohendet, Grandadam, and Simon (2010) also covered the topic of network of actors, and the interaction between the formal and the informal in the creative process by presenting the case of video game and art performing in Montreal. Others have studied creative industries linked to topics related to regional development (Cooke, 2011; Lazzeretti, Capone, & Cinti, 2010), place-branding and tourism (Hjalager, 2009; A. Lee & Wall, 2014; Suet Leng & Badarulzaman, 2014), and individual creativity (Drake, 2003). However, the innovation and networks issues are only modestly covered, and innovation theories and research methods are yet to be applied to developing countries. Experts on the study of creative industries have highlighted the relevance of social interactions and context in these economic activities (Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009). Additionally, they have recommended to assess them using a systemic approach (Pratt, 2004). Thus, it is only recently that the 'innovation system approach' has become a framework for research in creative industries related business and activities (Cooke, 2011; Hjalager, 2009; Lazzeretti et al., 2010). The regional innovation system (RIS) approach underpins the relevance of interactions and relationships between the different actors in the creative process that takes place in a specific territory (Cooke, Uranga, & Etxebarria, 1998; Doloreux, 2002). This matches perfectly with the nature of the creative industries, making it a suitable framework when assessing them. On the other hand, in recent years, a new strand of research in the gastronomy industry (Cooke, 2011; Donald & Blay-Palmer, 2006; Lazzeretti et al., 2010) has been taken on board to uncover and to explain the nature, extent, and driving forces of the development of the gastronomy industry understood as a creative industry. In spite of its potential, the innovation system approach has been modestly used in relation to gastronomy industry. Lazzeretti et al. (2010) address the gastronomy issue applying the regional development platform to systemize the actors, resources and activities present in the Tuscany region. Cooke (2011), also investigates the gastronomy sector including the regional innovation systems approach, building on the case of Rogaland-Stavanger and Skane. However, no study has been done using the regional innovation system approach to assess gastronomy in a developing country.

The objective of this research is to investigate the driving forces and mechanisms that mediate the conditions for the mobilisation of creativity in the gastronomic sector in Peru. Understanding the mobilisation of creativity is highly relevant because it ensures the stability and flourishing of the sector in any creative industry. This in turn can be translated to regional development. Considering that the regional innovation system approach puts emphasis in the context and in the interaction between firms, formal institutions and other organizations that promote the dissemination of creativity (Doloreux, 2002), we believe that this framework is suitable in order to address the objective of this study. Additionally, experts on creative industries (Drake, 2003; Hall, 2000; Pratt, 2004; Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009) are also emphatic about these concepts when trying to understand the flow of creativity in this kind of industries. The objective can be translated to the following research question:

***How do the different actors present in the gastronomic sector in Peru contribute to the mobilisation of creativity within the industry?***

In order to achieve this objective, three specific objectives are formulated. The first objective is to identify and describe key actors present in the gastronomic sector. The second objective is to analyze the relationships among these actors and their role. The third objective is to analyse the internal mechanisms that facilitate the creative process in a collaborative environment. Here, we refer to the importance of proximity and social capital in the establishment of the numerous networks developed among the actors related to this industry.

### 1.3. Methodology

The case study is particularly appropriate to answer research questions which require detailed understanding of social or organizational processes because of the rich data collected in context. Cassell and Symon (2004) and Yin (2011) recommend this kind of research to study a real-world setting. So, considering the characteristics of the research question just presented, a qualitative study was chosen based on the case of Peru. Furthermore, we selected to work on a single case study because of the particular factors present in Peruvian gastronomy and because of the level of analysis sought. Data collection includes primary sources, such interviews and information gathered in gastronomy congresses, and secondary sources, such magazines and books related to the sector. The study was held in Peru using in depth interviews and observation as methods. For interviews, 11 actively involved actors from the gastronomic sector participated. Moreover, observation method was used covering two gastronomic events.

The case of Peru was chosen because of the current dynamism of the gastronomic sector. In recent years, Peruvian cuisine has boomed locally and has gained more attention at a national and international level (Appell, 2012; Johanson, 2016; Ulla, 2012). In 2012, the renowned Spanish chef Ferran Adria participated in the elaboration of a documentary named “Peru sabe. La cocina, arma social” about Peruvian gastronomy. The documentary showed how cuisine can be used for economic and social development purposes. Additionally, in that year Peru was recognized as the World’s Best Culinary Destination by the World Travel Awards and it has maintained that recognition for five consecutive years. Furthermore, two Peruvian restaurants positioned themselves in the top 10 restaurants in the list of The World’s 50 Best Restaurants – 2017. As a consequence, the gastronomy sector is attracting more actors to be part of it, creating business opportunities for them (APEGA, 2013). This current phenomenon deserved further analysis in order to assess the real benefits that it can provide to this territory. For this reason, we found enriching to investigate this particular industry and country as a case study.

#### 1.4. Contribution and implications

Despite the opportunities that creative industries can provide in terms of economic growth and social inclusion for developing countries, limited work has been done assessing these industries in the developing world. Most of international business scholars have focused their studies on industrial countries and on multinational enterprises (MNE) as a unit of analysis, however as time passes the world’s economy is becoming more integrated and developing countries also have a role to play in the international landscape. Thus the main contribution of this thesis is to build empirical knowledge for theories related to creative industries based on the case of Peru and the output of the research will be useful for policymakers and academic researchers.

Moreover, the results of this study have theoretical, empirical and practical implications. First, for theory, the study investigates how the gastronomy industry in Peru, can be analysed and understood as an innovative system. Second, it provides new empirical material on the gastronomy industry in Peru which represent an industry and a context under-explored in the literature. The gastronomic sector is present around the world, food systems have a strong link with different actors of the economy (Long, 2004). Findings from this research will allow us to question if the results can be generalised to the gastronomic industry in other contexts. Finally, in a practical perspective, the results of this study are highly useful for the economic

actors involved in the Peruvian gastronomic sector. Furthermore, institutions from this country can acknowledge the specific conditions that fostered the mobilisation of creativity across the actors present in the industry so it gives them a hint of what should be reinforced about their policies and what new challenges they face.

### 1.5. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured as follows. After this introduction, chapter 2 presents the literature review on the concepts and theories behind the creative economy and creative industries, then it provides a discussion of relevant empirical work done on creative industries, and explains why the regional innovation system approach was chosen as theoretical framework to assess the case. Chapter 3 describes the research design and the methodology used to conduct the research. Chapter 4 gives an historical review of the development and growth of the gastronomy industry in Peru. Chapter 5 illustrates the case of the gastronomic sector in Peru by analyzing the information gathered conducting eleven interviews and participating in two gastronomic events. Following, chapter 6 presents the interpretation of the findings relating them with theory on creative industries and regional innovation systems. Finally, chapter 7 provides concluding ideas and highlights the theoretical and practical contributions of the study.

## 2. Literature Review

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of the creative economy and the main theories and concepts surrounding this phenomenon. Then, we analyze previous empirical done on creative industries. Next, the regional innovation systems and its relation to creative industries is presented. This section helps to understand how the creative process is kept alive in creative industries and the theoretical framework selected. Finally we highlight the research gap found after reviewing the literature.

### 2.1. Creative economy

#### 2.1.1. Definition and context

The term 'creative economy' was spread in 2001 by John Howkins in his book "The Creative Economy: How people make money from ideas". In an interview held in 2005, Howkins defined the Creative Economy as: "An economy where the major inputs and outputs are ideas. I would also say it's an economy where most people spend most of their time in having ideas"(Howkins, 2005b:3). In a more detailed description, he states that "The creative economy consists of the transactions in (the resulting) creative products. Each transaction may have two complementary values: the value of the intangible, intellectual property and the value of the physical carrier or platform (if any). In some industries, such as digital software, the intellectual property value is higher. In others, such as art, the unit cost of the physical object is higher" (Howkins, 2005b). In his book, Howkins sustained that in the year 2000, the creative economy was worth US\$ 2.2 trillion worldwide, and that it was growing at 5 per cent annually.

Other authors have also focused on the study of the creative economy and they agree on the relevance of innovation, creativity, culture, interactions, and economic growth for defining the term. (Cooke & Lazzaretti, 2008; Mommaas, 2004; Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009; Scott, 2006). But perhaps, the most accurate definition for the better understanding of this thesis is the one provided by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD):

“(a) The creative economy is an evolving concept based on creative assets potentially generating economic growth and development; (b) it can foster income generation, job creation and export earnings while promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity



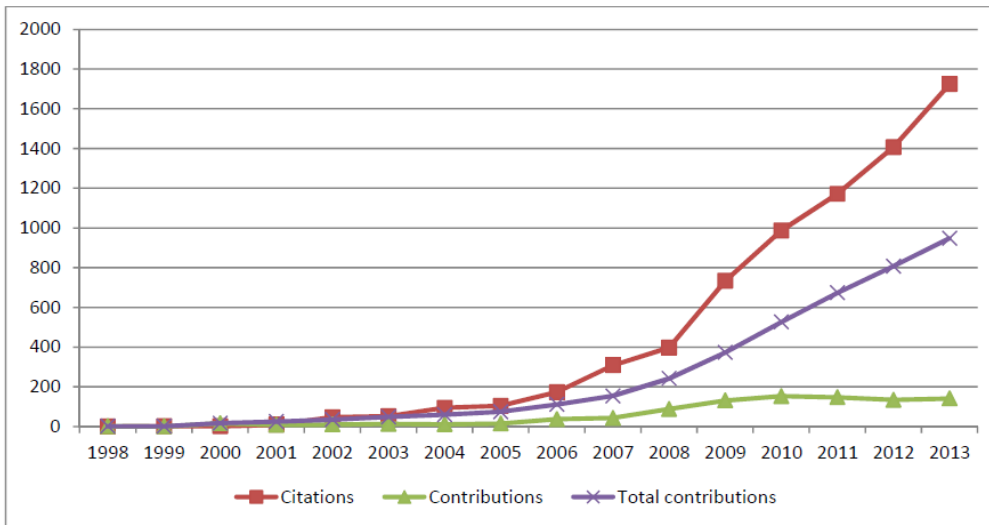
and human development; (c) it embraces economic, cultural and social aspects interacting with technology, intellectual property and tourism objectives; (d) it is a set of knowledge-based economic activities with a development dimension and cross-cutting linkages at macro and micro levels to the overall economy; (e) It is a feasible development option calling for innovative multidisciplinary policy responses and interministerial action; (f) at the heart of the creative economy are the creative industries” (UNCTAD, 2008:4)

This approach highlights the importance of non-material aspects for economic development like social inclusion, equality, and sustainability. Also, unlike other descriptions of the term, this definition puts technology, intellectual property and tourism at the same level of possible objectives sought in this kind of economies.

Furthermore, for a better understanding of the work that has been done surrounding this concept, it is important to acknowledge that the literature includes other expressions to refer to this phenomenon, like ‘cultural economy’ (Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009), or ‘new economy’ (Scott, 2006).

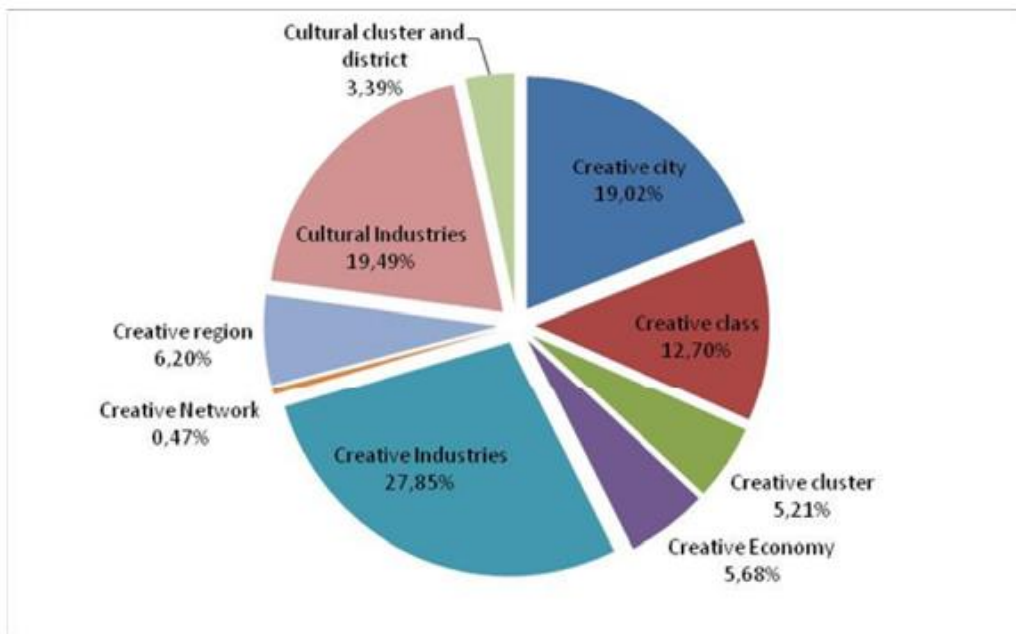
As it was previously mentioned, the creative economy term was popularized in 2001, so it is a recent topic of study. As such, limited research have been done documenting the evolution of the topic in the literature. There are just two studies that have accomplished this task. First, the work of Chuluunbaatar, Ottavia, Luh, and Kung (2013) in which the authors mapped the existing studies related to creative economy, creative industries and cultural industries from the 1970s to 2013. Specifically, they identified topics, authors, origins and methods behind those studies. Second, the work of Lazzeretti, Capone, and Innocenti (2016) in which the authors also investigated about the existing studies done on the creative economy and related themes but with a narrower range of time (from 1998 to 2013) and with a Social Network Analysis in order to identify disseminators and founders of the creative economy research. Two of the results of this latter study will be highlighted here. First, the number of publications regarding this research arena has started to increase since 2006 (See figure 1). Second, there are four main topics in the literature about creative economy research: the creative class, creative industries, cultural industries and creative city. (See figure 2).

Figure 1: Evolution of Creative Economy: citations and contributions (1998-2013)



Source: Lazzeretti et al, 2016 : 8

Figure 2: Distribution of ISI publications on Creative Economy research per topic



Source: Lazzeretti et al, 2016: 9

It would be worthy to elaborate more on the concept of the creative class since it triggered the attention of several scholars to the notions of creativity in an economic environment.

In 2002, Richard Florida published the first edition of his book, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, and thus gave birth to the idea of the existence of a creative class. By this term, he referred to those members of the economy who have creative talent and whose efforts are a primary driver of economic development (Florida, 2002). Florida alludes that any territory that can manage to attract this new workforce will enjoy economic development. The statements proposed in his work originated controversies in the academic world and they received numerous critics (Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008). Specifically, the work of Pratt (2008) highlights that the role of culture has been overlooked in Florida's argument. Moreover, he presents three points of critic: "First, the miss-identification of causality (the creative class and urban change); second, the issues of operationalizing the measure of the creative class; and finally, the focus on consumption at the expense of production (that is, presenting it as a dualism rather than as a notion that includes the whole cycle for production through to consumption)" (Pratt, 2008: 108). Despite the debate generated by the work of Florida, it is important to recognize that the notions of the creative class are part of the background of the current study on the creative economy.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that due to its novelty, the idea of the creative economy is at an early stage and its conceptualization is still being shaped (Chuluunbaatar et al., 2013; Lazzeretti et al., 2016; UNDP & UNESCO, 2013).

### 2.1.2. Creative Industries

Creative industries are the center of the creative economy (UNDP & UNESCO, 2013). In order to have a better understanding of creative industries, we will start this sub-section explaining the origins of the term, then we will present the definition of the concept, and finally we will highlight its main characteristics.

The term 'creative industry' emerged in Australia in 1994 in a policy making context. However, it became more popular in the late 1990s when the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) of the United Kingdom establish the Creative Industries Task Force (Howkins, 2005a; UNCTAD, 2008). Therefore, the concept of creative industries appeared in a pragmatic scenario, where governments started to discover the potential of these kind of industries for economic development. Since then, these two countries have considered the promotion of creative industries as an important matter. Consequently, it is no surprise that between the

main disseminators of the topic in the academic field, we find authors from UK and Australia (Lazzeretti et al., 2016).

There is no a unique definition for creative industries. Each country or organization has adapted the concept according to their needs and perspectives (Howkins, 2005a; UNCTAD, 2008). The DCMS defines creative industries as “Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001:5). Furthermore, the UNCTAD defines them as:

“The cycles of creation, production and distribution of goods and services that use creativity and intellectual capital as primary inputs. They comprise a set of knowledge-based activities that produce tangible goods and intangible intellectual or artistic services with creative content, economic value and market objectives. Creative industries constitute a vast and heterogeneous field dealing with the interplay of various creative activities ranging from traditional arts and crafts, publishing, music, and visual and performing arts to more technology-intensive and services-oriented groups of activities such as film, television and radio broadcasting, new media and design”(UNCTAD, 2008:4).

We can infer that the range of the economic activities present in these kind of industries is very broad but that all have in common a high degree of creativity as a main pillar. In this context creativity is understood as the capacity of conceiving new ideas to produce original work (Howkins, 2005b; UNCTAD, 2008).

There are four key characteristics present in the creative industries. The first characteristic is that the final outputs primarily rely on an innovative compound. Consequently, competition in these industries is essentially on the basis of product differentiation (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008; Scott, 2006). In other words, players in these sectors put emphasis on qualitative attributes. As expected, demand is driven by symbolic and creative features. For example, “middle–class consumers in China want products to contain more cultural elements. They are paying more attention to the design, packaging and brand of products instead of the functional value of the product. They are attracted by symbolic values, such as taste, emotion and stories” (UNDP & UNESCO, 2013:36). Additionally, due to the intangible and subjective compound of the outputs, there is risk and uncertainty about the acceptance of the final product between consumers. Moreover, since creativity is the most important input, creative industries are present in developed economies and in developing ones (Scott, 2006; UNCTAD, 2008). They are not an exclusive phenomenon of sophisticated economies because creativity can be found all around the world (UNCTAD, 2008). Second, regarding the industry structure,

it is characterized by the presence of several SME's coexisting with few large firms (Pratt, 2004; Scott, 2006). The former are benefitted by the latter thanks to the rise of networks that facilitate the injection of capital through subcontracting and outsourcing (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008; Scott, 2006; UNCTAD, 2008). Third, the labor markets are characterized by a high degree of part-time, temporary and freelance forms of work (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008; Scott, 2006). Individual artists and producers play an important role as idea originators in the industry (Howkins, 2005b). Many workers go in and out of employment, complicating the task of assessing the size and scale of the sector. Moreover, informal learning is greatly valued. Most of the workforce develops special skills by 'learning-on-the-job' (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008). A fourth characteristic is that creative industries tend to cluster in a specific geography (Scott, 2006; UNDP & UNESCO, 2013). This agglomeration of firms are linked together not only by a physical space but also by networks that promote the collaboration between them. Furthermore, they interact with other entities present in the environment, so the networks formed include not only firms but also other actors that contribute to the industry (Scott, 2006). Thus, the local relationships between the different actors present in the industry are fundamental for the sharing of knowledge that in turn reinforces the creative compound (UNDP & UNESCO, 2013). Besides, the specific territory where these industries cluster also contribute to their creative process. Place-specific features like particular traditions, sensibilities and norms play an important role influencing the actors:

“The foundation of the creative industries in any country is the traditional knowledge that underlies that country's distinctive forms of creative expression: the songs, dances, poetry, stories, images and symbols that are the unique heritage of the land and its people. This knowledge is kept alive by written, oral and pictorial transmission of cultural traditions from one generation to the next. Like any body of knowledge, it does not stay still but is constantly interpreted, reinterpreted, augmented and adapted to new formats” (UNCTAD, 2008:36).

We will elaborate further on the principles related to clustering and the dynamics behind it in the subsection 2.1.5 networks of actors.

### 2.1.3.Cultural Industries

Adorno and Horkheimer coined the term 'culture industry' in 1944 in their work "Dialectic of Enlightenment" (Garnham, 2005). They used the term with a polemical purpose, highlighting

the opposition between culture and industry (Garnham, 2005; UNCTAD, 2008). Just in the 1980s the term cultural industries started to be accepted without a negative connotation, but there is still debate whether culture should be used for economic purposes (UNCTAD, 2008). The UNDP and UNESCO (2013) uses it with a positive connotation and defines cultural industries as “forms of cultural production and consumption that have at their core a symbolic or expressive element” (UNDP & UNESCO, 2013:20). Therefore, the products and services commercialized in these industries are characterized by containing symbolic messages. Additionally, these products and services present an intrinsic value that cannot be fully expressed in monetary terms (UNDP & UNESCO, 2013).

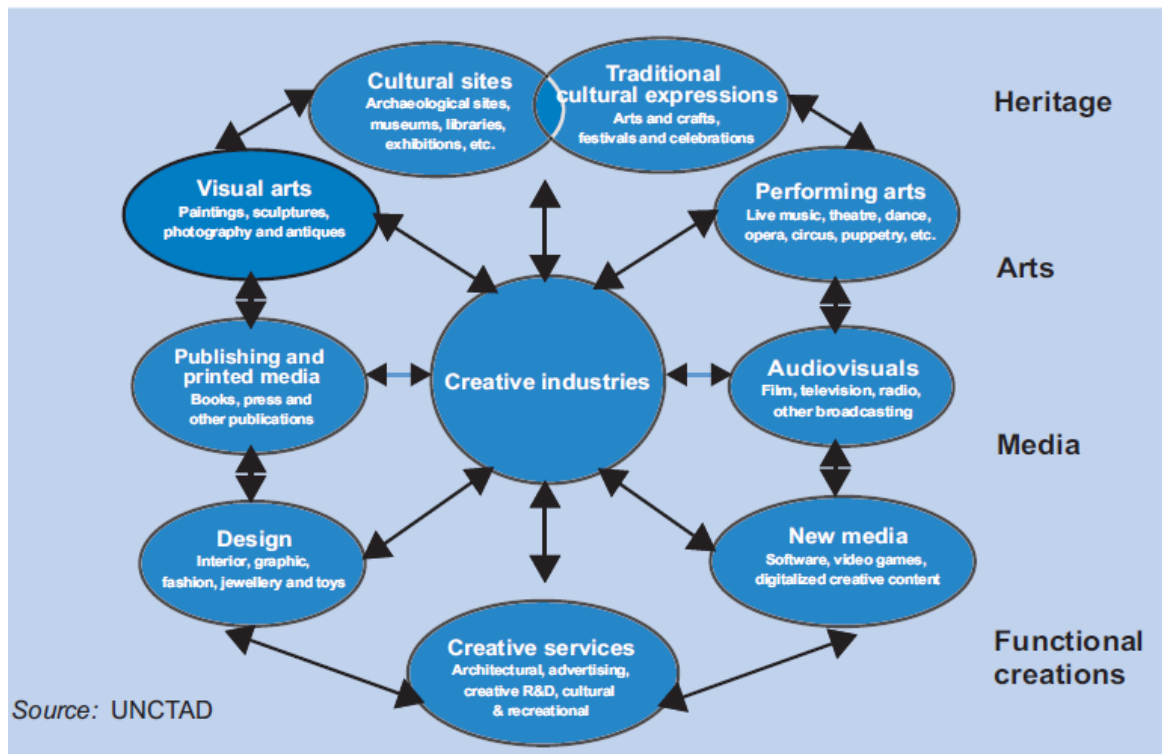
Before ending this subsection, it must be stressed that cultural industries are part of creative industries (UNDP & UNESCO, 2013). Although some authors use both terms interchangeably, Cooke and Lazzeretti (2008) affirm that a distinction should be done between the two terms because they have distinctive modes of production, institutional bases and aesthetic content. The boundaries between the two concepts are difficult to identify, however, it is not the objective of this study to assume this task but to build empirical knowledge on the concept of creative industries. Thus, we will agree with UNESCO (2013)’s view by considering that creative industries include the cultural ones without further questioning between the differences.

#### 2.1.4. Classification of creative industries

There is no consensus regarding which industries can be classified as creative (Howkins, 2005a; UNCTAD, 2008). According to Howkins (2005b), the classification of these should not limit to specific sectors. For him, even conventional manufacturing and conventional service industries can be turned into creative industries if they acquire a creative perspective.

Several models have been developed to classify them but for the purpose of this study, we will present the one proposed by UNCTAD (2008):

Figure 3: UNCTAD classification of creative industries



Source: UNTAD, 2008 :14

Although, gastronomy is not specifically mentioned in neither of the models developed to classify them, it meets the characteristics provided in the definitions of creative industries. Howkins (2005b) sustains that the creative economy is about having ideas about doing something differently or something better than somebody else. Indeed, gastronomy seeks to combine and transform ingredients into something new that can be differentiated from the other offers. This started during the 1970's with the birth of the Nouvelle Cuisine, which was characterized by a new generation of cooks that turned gastronomy into a creative field by inventing new recipes based on their own inspiration instead of replicating traditional French dishes (Chossat, 2008). "Culinary creativity involves the production of new dishes or ideas that can be implemented to present better and tastier dishes" (Peng, Lin, & Baum, 2013:2688). Additionally, several authors have considered gastronomy - also referred as food, cuisine or culinary arts - to be a creative and innovative discipline (Capdevila, Cohendet, & Simon, 2015; Chossat, 2008; Cooke, 2011; Peng et al., 2013). "A critic might object from on high that food is not culture nor is it creative as music or art are. But that is a mistake since food, cuisine and the culinary arts give rise to cultural tourism of the culinary kind and food, arguably is the most levelling cultural form especially since many food cultures derive from peasant cuisine" (Cooke, 2011:3). Furthermore, Cohendet, Grandadam, and Simon (2009) support that cuisine

is part of the resources of a creative territory but that is commonly neglected. Moreover, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recognizes Gastronomy as a creative field in their program UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN). “The 116 cities which currently make up this network work together towards a common objective: placing creativity and cultural industries at the heart of their development plans at the local level and cooperating actively at the international level”(UNESCO, 2016).

#### 2.1.4.1. Creativity in the gastronomy industry

In the work of Capdevila et al. (2015), the authors state that there are two cases in which creativity can be applied to gastronomy. In the first case, they refer to the new uses or combinations of existing ingredients, processes and techniques that result in new recipes. In the second case, they allude to the establishment of new rules, which disrupt the previous rules of cooking imposed by the dominant school. In this respect, the work of Ferran Adria in his restaurant el Bulli has been remarkable (Capdevila et al., 2015; Svejenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007). The gastronomic offer of elBulli is an excellent example of creativity and innovation in this industry. In 1987, Ferran Adria was working at elBulli adapting and recreating traditional Catalan and Spanish recipes as part of his haute cuisine proposal when he was amazed in a conference by the answer that Chef Jacques Maximin gave to the question of “What is creativity?” Maximin replied “creativity means not copying”. After this affirmation, Chef Ferran Adria started a long journey to fuel his culinary creativity. Adria highlights that “Creativity should not be considered as a classical first step in a linear process of innovation. Creativity is a permanent process of building ideas that is conducted in parallel with the process of innovation that consists of offering new gastronomic experiences to consumers” (Capdevila et al., 2015:28). Thus, seeking innovation, Adria questioned the rules of the traditional cooking, and he used some principles from chemistry to reinvent some dishes. Some experts relate his work to molecular gastronomy, however, for him is more than that (Svejenova et al., 2007). As the work of Capdevila et al. (2015) showed, a creative endeavour in gastronomy demand time and dedication, and it not the result of luck or randomness. “Adrià faces the creativity process in a very methodological, precise, and collective approach, by gathering, analyzing, synthetizing, contrasting, and mixing ideas and concepts to create new ones”(Capdevila et al., 2015:28). Slavich, Cappetta, and Salvemini (2014) also show how Italian Chefs deal with creativity in the gastronomic context. The authors highlight the tensions that could rise between creativity and reproduction. This study showed, that in order



to traduce Chef's creativity to customers, the innovation process includes a phase of reproduction of the recipes. For this, codification of recipes is part of the innovation process and is a way to categorize ideas.

Considering the supporting ideas that link gastronomy with creativity in an economic environment, we conclude that despite the fact that current models do not explicitly classify gastronomy as a creative industry, for the purposes of this thesis, we will consider it as one, and we will build empirical knowledge on this case.

#### 2.1.5. Networks of actors

According to Pratt and Jeffcutt (2009), the 'creativity effect' is central for the existence of creative industries, and it is the result of the interaction between context and organization. In other words, it has to be understood as an interactive process where knowledge is shared collectively but at the same time, it is embedded in a particular location (Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009). Thus, social interactions are a main pillar for ensuring the flow of knowledge and new ideas within the industry. This social interactions are commonly expressed as networks (M. Lee, 2015; Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009). Additionally, it is important to understand that the creative process involves the transfer of tacit knowledge (knowledge that cannot be codified) (Bathelt, Malmberg, & Maskell, 2004). This tacit knowledge is shared on a face-to-face basis and is considered local knowledge that flows thanks to proximity. In this regard, interaction between actors play an important role promoting knowledge transfer and learning (Bathelt & Cohendet, 2014; M. Lee, 2015). Here, local and non-local knowledge interplay because of the level of global integration of these days (Bathelt & Cohendet, 2014). Furthermore, it is worthy to clarify that the creative process depends not only on the knowledge created by firms and institutions but also on the way they interact with their environment (Doloreux, 2002). In line with this, Pratt (2004) argues that researchers studying creative industries need to attend not only to the firms and organizations, but also to the networks formed in them. When referring to the actors that encourage learning and innovation in creative industries, Scott (2006) organized them in three levels. "First, at one level are firms and workers, [...] then another level is constituted by the infrastructural facilities and social overhead capital, such as local schools, universities research establishments, design centers, and so on, that complement the innovative capacities of these networks. At yet another level, it is an expression of the

cultures, conventions, and institutions that comes into existence in any agglomeration” (Scott, 2006:8).

Considering the facts previously mentioned, we can conclude that understanding how the networks of actors emerge and what are their linkages is fundamental in creatives industries.

#### 2.1.6. Creative industries and human development

Creative industries can foster human development by taking advantage of place-specific characteristics of a determined geography (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008; Hall, 2000; Scott, 2006; UNCTAD, 2008). The UNCTAD (2008) has put emphasis on this regard. Specifically, UNCTAD highlights that these industries bring economic and social development. In the economic aspect, creative industries inject dynamism to the SMEs sector by their interaction with the larger actors present in these industries. Additionally, thanks to their tendency to create networks, different actors emerge from the private and public sector looking after and reinforcing the innovative component of the sector (Scott, 2006). Another positive outcome is the spillovers effect it can have to other parts of the economy because of it is highly interrelated with other industries (UNCTAD, 2008). In the social aspect, creative industries promote job creation for high skilled workers as much as for unskilled ones. In this respect, many non-conventional creative talent are invited to be part of the economy. Additionally, they can be considered society-inclusive because they reunite people from all social classes either as producers or as consumers. Furthermore, due to its cultural component, creative industries foster identity at a national, regional or city level. They can be used as a mean to appreciate the common cultural heritage of a territory (UNCTAD, 2008).

#### 2.2. The creative industries: key empirical findings

Considering the aim of this thesis, we searched for previous qualitative studies related to the creative economy and the food and gastronomic sector in developing countries. However, after finding a scarce number of studies, the scope was broaden reaching other creative industries and other territories. Thus, fourteen articles were selected as representative and worthy to analyze for the particular purpose of this thesis. We list these articles in table 1, and then we highlight the main ideas of each in order to acknowledge what has already been studied in the field.

Table 1: Key empirical articles

	Reference	Title	Industry	Territory	Emphasis on
1	Drake (2003)	'This place gives me space': place and creativity in the creative industries	Craft metalwork and digital design	England (London, Birmingham, Sheffield)	Individual Creativity/ location
2	Turok (2003)	Cities, Clusters and Creative Industries: The Case of Film and Television in Scotland	Film and Television	Scotland	Regional development
3	Donald and Blay-Palmer (2006)	The urban creative-food economy: producing food for the urban elite or social inclusion opportunity?	Food	Canada (Greater Toronto area)	Regional development
4	Hjalager (2009)	Cultural Tourism Innovation Systems – The Roskilde Festival	Music Festival	Denmark (Roskilde)	Place Branding/ Tourism
5	Comunian (2010)	Rethinking the Creative City: The Role of Complexity, Networks and Interactions in the Urban Creative Economy	Multi-sectors	England (North East Region)	Networks/ actors
6	Cohendet, Grandadam, and Simon (2010)	The Anatomy of the Creative City	Video game and art performing( circus)	Canada (Montreal)	Networks/ actors
7	Lazzeretti, Capone, and Cinti (2010)	The Regional Development Platform and "Related Variety": Some Evidence from Art and Food in Tuscany	Art and food	Italy (Tuscany)	Regional development
8	Cooke (2011)	Food Geography and the Organic Empire: Modern Quests for Cultural-Creative Related Variety	Food	Norway (Rogaland-Stavanger) and Sweden (Skane)	Regional development
9	Goede and Louisa (2012)	A case study of the creative zone Scharloo and Pietermaai in Curacao	Multi-sectors	Curacao (Scharloo and Pietermaai)	Place Branding/ Tourism
10	Lin (2013)	The Evolution of Taipei's Music Industry: Cluster and Network Dynamics in the Innovation Practices of the Music Industry	Music	Taiwan (Taipei)	Networks/ actors
11	A.Lee and Wall (2014)	Food Clusters, Rural Development and a Creative Economy	Food	Canada (Savour Muskoka)	Place Branding/ Tourism
12	Rantisi (2014)	Exploring the role of industry intermediaries in the construction of 'Local Pipelines': The case of the Montreal Fur Garment Cluster and the rise of Fur–Fashion connections	Fur-garment	Canada (Montreal)	Networks/ actors
13	Suet Leng and Badarulzaman (2014)	Branding George Town world heritage site as city of gastronomy: prospects of creative cities strategy in Penang	Food	Malaysia (George Town)	Place Branding/ Tourism
14	M.Lee (2015)	Fostering connectivity: a social network analysis of entrepreneurs in creative industries	Multi-sectors	South Korea (Seoul)	Networks/ actors

Source: Own elaboration

Although contend of all the articles selected is related to the concepts of creativity and innovation in an economic environment, we can organize them in four groups according to the aspects emphasized in each: the role of networks of actors, regional development, place branding and tourism, and individual creativity. All these concepts can be intertwined when

assessing creative industries, however each author has highlighted a specific facet in the case analyzed.

Regarding networks and actors in creative industries, Comunian (2010) studied the process of cultural development by adopting a complexity theory approach. The author carried out his study between creative practitioners in the North East region of England. He stated that cultural development has to be seen as a complex adaptive system where the variety of agents and their interactions play an important role. Furthermore, the interviews showed that formal networks support creative practitioners but organic networks also play an important role creating bounds between them and reinforcing trust in the social aspect. In line with this, Cohendet et al. (2010) also refer to the interaction between the formal and the informal in order to create links between them. Precisely, the authors highlight the role of the 'middleground' facilitating this interactions. This 'middleground' is composed by communities that foster the flow of knowledge between the 'upperground' and the 'underground'. This in turn ensure the innovation process in a creative city. Thus, based on these ideas the author proposed a theoretical framework ("The three layers of the Creative City") and applied it to the city of Montreal. Two firms from creative industries were selected: Ubisoft (videogame) and Cirque du Soleil (art performing). Both cases confirmed the relevance of the 'middleground' in the creative ecosystem of the city. Furthermore, Lin (2013) contributes to the cluster-network dynamics by studying the interactive relationships between the urban cluster environment and the mobilisation process of project networks. The author alludes to the concepts of path-dependence and path-creation to analyze Taipei's music industry. Lin (2013) concludes that the evolution of the music industry in Taipei is driven by the interdependent relationship between the path-dependence effect (place-specific context) and the path-creation (strategic agency of music entrepreneurs). Additionally, the author states that cluster-network tensions in this particular case can be manage under three notions: cultural-economic coordination, global-local interdependence and production-consumption interactions in music innovation practice. Moreover, Rantisi (2014) also analyzed the networks present in a creative industry but focusing on the role of intermediaries constructing 'pipelines' for the flow of knowledge. Using the case of the Fur-garment in Montreal, the author concludes that intermediaries play an important role building 'local pipelines' especially for cases in which clusters lack lead firms. Such 'local pipelines' facilitate cross-industry information exchange, that in turn promotes learning and cluster renewal. Finally, M. Lee (2015) examined the structure and knowledge flow of an entrepreneurs' network in creative industries by using social network analysis as a tool. The author proposed

a framework to assess knowledge transfer and learning using two primary indicators: (1) connectivity, and (2) quality of the information. The empirical case was done based on the study of entrepreneurs from creative industries in Seoul. The author concludes that cluster-based relationships are best facilitated by 'gatekeepers' who connect actors and encourage them to participate in and maintain long-term relationships. Additionally, other social characteristics like trust and solidarity also influence in the transfer of knowledge.

In regards of the work done emphasizing the contribution of creative industries for regional development, the work of Lazzarotti et al. (2010) and Cooke (2011) can be mentioned. Both authors relate to the concepts of innovation systems and to related variety in an urban-rural context. However, the first one used the regional development platform as a tool to assess art and food industries in Tuscany. The authors concluded that the tool was useful analyzing the case and helped to identify the signs of how creativity can be reinforced through relationships between different sectors. Additionally, they sustained that the actors involved in the economic enhancement of the cultural, artistic and natural resources can smooth the progress of innovation processes and regional development if they are organized around a shared idea. In the work of Cooke (2011), the author highlights the dynamics of rural-urban relational space by studying the case of culinary tourism and 'green/gourmet' cuisine in Norway and Sweden respectively. In his concluding remarks, he emphasizes that there has been a city-centric bias in the literature, neglecting the opportunities of assessing more rustic cases. Thus, he presented agro-food as an example of the 'experience economy' that involves urban-rural development. He proposed three frameworks that can be apply in this cases: (1) the 'worlds of production' approach, (2) the 'related variety' approach, and (3) the 'regional innovation systems' approach. Moreover, the work of Turok (2003) also addressed the potential of creative industries for economic development. Thus, basing on the theories related to clusters and networks, the author remarked the contribution of the creative industries for the economy and why these kind of industries are sought in a particular territory. Then, he analyzed the case of film and television in Scotland comparing it with London. The author concluded that the industries analyzed in Scotland contribute in a modest way to the Scottish economy and they are not developed enough. Additionally, he argued that national and transnational regulation could be more relevant than the creation of networks for this particular case. Lastly, the work of Donald and Blay-Palmer (2006) also covered the topic of urban development but focusing on a socially inclusive perspective. Specifically, the authors determined the role of public policy for the development of creative-food industries in the greater Toronto area and they role prompting a socially inclusive economy. The findings

showed that the creative-food industry did offer an opportunity for a more socially inclusive and sustainable urban development model. Four areas in the creative food economy were found as evidence of this: (1) improved access to the spaces of diversity and to the learning of others, (2) improved access to healthy and quality food (3) improved urban – rural connections, and (4) better labor conditions and prospects.

In respect to place branding and tourism, several authors linked this concepts with the presence of creative industries like music and food. For example, Hjalager (2009) recognized the relevance of music festivals attracting tourism. In the study, the author investigated to what extend and how a music festival can be analyzed and understood as an innovation system. She focused her study on the Roskilde festival, and found that, in effect this music festival present the characteristics of an innovation system. In Goede and Louisa (2012), the authors assessed a specific zone in Curacao using UNCTAD's concepts of creative industries, and the theoretical frameworks provided by the author Landry and Wu on the concepts of creative cities and clusters. The findings showed that the area analyzed had the characteristics to become a creative zone, however more efforts are needed to establish forum, leadership and networks. Moreover, A. Lee and Wall (2014) studied the case of a food cluster in Saviour Muskoka and found that the development of a food cluster that involves synergistic relationships between a primary sector (agriculture) and a tertiary service sector (tourism), accompany by a vibrant cultural sector can underpin a creative economy that fosters economic development in rural and urban areas. Suet Leng and Badarulzaman (2014) also tackles the notion of creative industries as a source place branding, image and identity to attract the attention of the global scene. The study analyzed the case of George Town (Malaysia) as gastronomic city following the creative cities network criteria developed by UNESCO.

Finally, the work of Drake (2003) investigated the relationship between place and individual creativity. The study was conducted between creative individuals from three British cities (London, Birmingham and Sheffield) who worked in the craft metalwork and digital design industries. Three local resources were found as catalysts for individual creativity: (1) visual environment, (2) intensive social and cultural activity, and (3) local brand based on reputation and tradition.

The searching showed that most of the studies were conducted in developed territories and that a scarce number addressed the task of investigating the gastronomic sector and the role of the actors and linkages enhancing the mobilisation of creativity. Moreover, it is interesting

to see how creative industries can be studied transversely addressing different perspectives of theory, and using different theoretical frameworks. There is no unique method in this respect.

We also were able to find some connecting ideas between the different authors for each of the four research streams identified. In regard to networks and actors, most authors highlighted the appearance of specific individuals or organizations that serve as linking nodes for the flow of knowledge inside the industry. These are referred as 'gatekeepers', 'intermediaries', or 'the middleground'. Additionally, the notion of trust is highly relevant in most of these studies. For regional development, the rural-urban dynamic and the policy-making arose repeatedly. Studies related to place branding, remarked the positive outcomes of creative industries attracting tourism. Finally, concerning individual creativity, although we classified just one article in this category, we can relate this study to the others by the importance of location in the creative process.

### 2.3. Theoretical framework

In order to assess the case of Peruvian gastronomy as a creative industry, we have selected the regional innovation system (RIS) approach. This theoretical framework allows for an understanding of the complex driving forces and mechanisms that mediate the conditions, the extent and the outcomes of creative behaviors at the regional level. Although our research refers to the gastronomy industry in Peru, in other words, to the national level, we have selected a theoretical framework developed for the regional scale because this analytical tool allow us to focus on the actors and the social interactions that triggers creativity on the territory with a more empirical perspective. Investigating these issues at the national level as a starting point for this study would be too challenging. So, despite our research question was initially formulated to the Peruvian gastronomy, we will do our study focusing on the region the shows more dynamism for the development of the industry. Preliminary evidence points to Lima as the chosen region, but this will be tested with primary data, and if necessary, other regions could be mentioned. However, it is important to highlight this caveat because it might be seen as disconnection between theory and empirics when we refer to national scale and we use the regional innovation systems. We will elaborate further on this respect in this sub section.

Considering that the regional innovation system approach puts emphasis in the context and in the interaction between firms, formal institutions and other organizations that promote the dissemination of creativity (Doloreux, 2002), we believe that this framework is suitable for the objective of this study.

### 2.3.1. Why RIS for creative industries?

As the previous section showed, creative industries can be analysed from different perspectives, and applying a variety of theoretical frameworks. However, with respect to this research, we searched for an analytical approach capable of explaining in a holistically way all the variables that could be inducing the flow of creativity in the Peruvian gastronomic sector. First, we considered using the business cluster approach (Porter, 1990) due to its high relation to innovative behaviour, however we discarded it because this approach focuses mainly in the firm. "A critic of the business clusters literature highlighted its shortcomings: a focus on the individual firm preferences and a lack of attention to non-economic, situated temporal and spatial variables; a lack of attention to the specificity of particular industries and their associated regulatory peculiarities; and, finally information issues associated with the operationalisation of the cluster model" (Pratt, 2004: 62)

According to Pratt (2004) creative industries should be analyzed under a web, a network or an ecosystem perspective. He sustains this because of the complexities of the many horizontal relationships and interdependencies that exist within the sector, and with industries and institutions outside the creative industries. Hence, we oriented our research to the existing theories related to innovation system.

Innovation systems can be studied at national, regional, and sectorial scale (Cooke, Uranga, & Etxebarria, 1997; Malerba, 2005; Suorsa, 2014). Furthermore, Fromhold-Eisebith (2009) sustains that economic creativity can vary according to the scale, identifying the different levels showed in figure 4. However, the author is aware of the difficulty of attributing innovativeness to a specific scale. "It is not easy to discern which level has the most influential constellation of identifying factors that aggregate to, and are reflected in, uneven spatial patterns of knowledge production and application" (Fromhold-Eisebith, 2009:203).



Figure 4: Cascade of clustered creativity

continents or economic blocks,  
countries within a continent,  
regions within a country,  
cities within a region,  
quarters within a city,  
firms within a quarter,  
teams within a firm, and  
individuals within a team.

Source: Fromhold-Eisebith (2009: 203)

In particular, the regional innovation system has received critics because of the lack of precision defining the concept of region, and the linkages between regional, national and international policies and actors (Suorsa, 2014). We are aware of the scale questionings about the RIS theory, but it is not our objective to solve them here. Rather, we will accept the position of some scholars (Cooke et al., 1997; Fromhold-Eisebith, 2007) who sustain that the study of creativity and innovation linked to social interactions is better understood at the regional scale. Tacit knowledge greatly influences the innovative compound, and proximity plays an important role in this respect. This is why the size of the territory should allow close interaction between actors. “The basic perception of a system as a set of nodes and relationships [...] that matches the idea of collaborative networks of science organizations, innovating firm and public support agencies can much better be associated with Regional Systems of Innovation (RSI) than National Systems of Innovation (NSI)” (Fromhold-Eisebith, 2007:223).

“Because of the massive complexity of researching this (actors and linkages) at national level, we think there are justifications both for beginning the study of systems with a conceptual rather than operational emphasis and also doing this at regional level rather than national level in the first instance. [...] Candidate categories for such systems analysis could be: capital-city regions; 'high-tech' regions; services regions; high-performance engineering regions; reconversion regions (former heavy industry); and rural or agricultural or peripheral regions”(Cooke et al., 1997:479).

Based on these ideas, and considering that gastronomy is greatly associated to regional produce, we find suitable to work on regional scale, and to follow the RIS approach. Peru is characterized by a variety of microclimates and this in turn is translated into the biodiversity of each region that produce different ingredients as inputs for local cuisine. Despite the

previously mentioned controversies regarding the appropriateness of the regional scale in the study of innovation systems (Suorsa, 2014), the work of Cooke et al. (1997) remains valid supporting the RIS approach.

Moreover, this framework gives special attention to institutions and their role creating policies that help injecting new knowledge to the regions (Cooke et al., 1998; Doloreux, 2002). This could be particularly relevant assessing the Peruvian case in order to identify the level of involvement of institutions and to evaluate if the initiatives taken in policy-making terms are prompting creativity or not.

Additionally, creative industries theory underlines the relevance of the formation of networks. "Researchers need to attend not only to the firm and its organisation, but also to the networks it operates within" (Pratt, 2004: 55). Indeed, the RIS puts emphasis in the interaction between firms, formal institutions and other organizations that promote the dissemination of creativity (Doloreux, 2002).

Another aspect that makes RIS a suitable approach to assess creative industries is its focus on context (Doloreux, 2002). Location fulfil an important role in the development of creative industries by giving context to the creative course. As previously stated in this thesis, the actors involved in creative industries are a key piece ensuring the flow of knowledge needed to preserve the creative compound along the chain. These actors are influenced by place-specific characteristics, like traditions, sensibilities and norms that constitute the local "atmosphere"(UNDP & UNESCO, 2013). So this social aspect has to be analyze considering the surroundings. In line with this, Pratt and Jeffcutt (2009) argue that in order to discover how creativity could be maximized in any individual, enterprise, region or economy, first, one has to understand where it is 'located'. Additionally, the authors state that the 'creativity effect' is always socially and economically situated. "The nuanced interplay of social and physical embedding in place and industry may produce the innovative effect" (Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009:11). Furthermore, Hall (2000) also highlights the role of territory influencing creativity. The work of Drake (2003), focused on this regard by investigating whether creative workers perceived the place in which their enterprise is located as a source of inspiration. In his paper, the author suggests that "place-based resource may be the prompts and stimuli which can be turned to economic advantage by artists and designers" (Drake, 2003:513). Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that the mobilisation of creativity usually involves the share of tacit knowledge. In this respect, location is also relevant because proximity allows a better flow of

knowledge. “Unlike other areas of the economy, some aspects of cultural production (and consumption) can be codified and normalized, but many cannot; arguably, these are the most valuable ideas to this industry. Thus, key high- value-added interactions will continue to embed cultural production in a small number of unique parts of cities” (Pratt, 2008:115).

Aligned with this, a central aspect of the RIS is the notion of embeddedness, which refers to the social relations that are embedded in a specific context that cannot be “reproduced” or “sold” and enhance the interactive learning in a creative atmosphere (Doloreux, 2002).

### 2.3.2. Regional Innovation Systems

Beyond the scope of creative industries, several academics have studied creativity and innovation in a circumspect location (Moulaert & Sekia, 2003). Creativity and innovation are considered a source of competitive advantage. Although literature suggests that the boundaries between the two terms are not clear, creativity can be associated to the stage of generation of new ideas and innovation to the subsequent stage of implementation of those new ideas (Anderson et al., 2014). For the present thesis, we will imply that creativity is a prerequisite for innovation. So, due to the potential of creativity to develop a competitive advantage (Porter, 1998), several scholars have investigated how to maximise it from different levels of analysis, including the regional level (Cooke et al., 1998; Porter, 1998; Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009). Geographers and scholars interested in regional development have proposed numerous territorial models that help to assess the creative process in the path of regional development. Each model has its own terminology, however Moulaert and Sekia (2003) refer to them as territorial innovation models. After analyzing them, the authors stated that “these models are conceptually quite diverse and that their building blocks are used in incongruent ways” (Moulaert & Sekia, 2003:291). Based on the work of Doloreux (2002) and Moulaert and Sekia (2003) we can mention six territorial models: Industrial district, technopole, innovative milieu, learning region, cluster of innovation, and regional innovation systems. It is not the aim of this thesis to go into detail about the source and evolution of the different theories that support each model, but to focus on the one selected as the theoretical framework for this work: the regional innovation system.

A regional innovation system can be defined as a system “in which firms and other organizations are systematically engaged in interactive learning through an institutional milieu

characterized by embeddedness” (Cooke et al., 1998:1581). Furthermore, Doloreux (2002) states that “the concept of regional innovation systems evolves from the premise that innovation is a process that relies on a variety of factors that are internal and external to firms” (Doloreux, 2002:246). It highlights the notion of cooperative relationships between members of the system. Moreover, the RIS puts emphasis in the relationships inside the networks of actors present in the environment. “The literature on regional innovation systems provides substantial description and analyses of relationships between innovation, learning and the economic performance of particular regions” (Doloreux & Parto, 2005:134). These linkages constitute the means in which knowledge is transfer, and the learning process is viable. In this respect, institutions must provide policies that promote the exchange of knowledge across the system. “The main justification for developing specific targeted policy measures within the regional innovation system network is to concentrate on improving capabilities and performance in local firms, as well as improving their business environment” (Doloreux & Parto, 2005:135). Furthermore, the system is constituted of a set of heterogeneous actors. “These innovation networks are often formed from a heterogeneous group of actors including representatives of firms, universities, technology centres, and development organizations” (Harmaakorpi, 2006:1086). Despite their differences, the actors are able to form a common vision and a sense of trust. We should pay particular attention to understand the factors the enable this trusting atmosphere that allows the collective learning (Harmaakorpi, 2006).

Doloreux & Parto (2005), point out that two sets of studies seem to apply a framework of analysis based on RIS. The first is a comparative empirical study of various regions, and the second is a detailed analyses on individual regional innovation systems, also referred to it as a ‘snapshot’. The latter is the one that interest us in this thesis. In order to use RIS as a theoretical framework, we will use the 4 basic elements and the internal mechanism identified in Doloreux (2002). Indeed, Philip Cooke, an expert in regional economic development, and in particular in the Academic material that has been elaborated surrounding the concepts of RIS, also sustains that an innovation system can be specified by key organizational elements and linkages between them (Cooke et al., 1997). For the purpose of this thesis, we chose to work using the propositions of Doloreux (2002) as a guide because of the pragmatism in his approach and the clarity defining the elements and mechanisms of a RIS. Now, we will describe them and present a representation of these in figure 5.

#### 2.3.2.1. Four basic elements

Firms, institutions, knowledge structures and holistic innovation policies are the four main elements comprising a regional innovation system. Each has a role to play facilitating the mobilization of creativity in a regional level. A brief description of each will be provided.

##### Firms

It includes all businesses present in the system. They are economic actors that play an important role generating and diffusing knowledge. They can be understood as users and producers, and as collaborators and competitors.

##### Institutions

Between the institutions present in the system, we can mention universities, R&D centers, and government entities. They reduce uncertainties, coordinate the use of knowledge, mediate conflicts, and provide incentives.

##### Knowledge infrastructure

It refers to the physical and organizational infrastructure needed to support innovation. Knowledge infrastructures can take different forms. It would be worthy, to mention three: innovative support structures that promote technology diffusion (e.g. science parks), public agencies for technology transfer and innovation advice, and R&D institutions (e.g. universities, national laboratories, research institutes). These forms of knowledge infrastructure facilitate and modulate innovation processes.

##### Policy-oriented regional innovation

At the national level, public resources and policies are used to promote stable social interactions. "RIS policies are intended to improve interactions between the knowledge infrastructures, firms, and institutions" (Doloreux, 2002:248). These policies increases learning capabilities and knowledge diffusion inside the system.

#### 2.3.2.2. Internal mechanisms

It can be understood as the internal dynamics of the RIS. These dynamics explain the efficiency and success of the system.

### Interactive learning

This is central for the existence of RIS. “Interactive learning can be understood as the process that generates learning between actors who participate in the innovation process” (Doloreux, 2002:249). The ability to innovate is highly associate to the ability of share knowledge between the actors. Between the benefits that interactive learning offers to the involved firms, we can mention: First, the know-how information to face major technology shifts. Second, fixed-costs reductions in procurement and distribution in front of speed technological change. Third, an optimized management of speed by shortening product life cycles. This helps reduce uncertainties in technological innovation.

### Knowledge Production

It can be classified in four categories: know-what, know-why, know-who, and know-how. In the RIS, knowledge is shared thanks to a high degree of trust that has to flourish between the actors. Furthermore, knowledge is socially embedded and it can appear in tacit form or codified form.

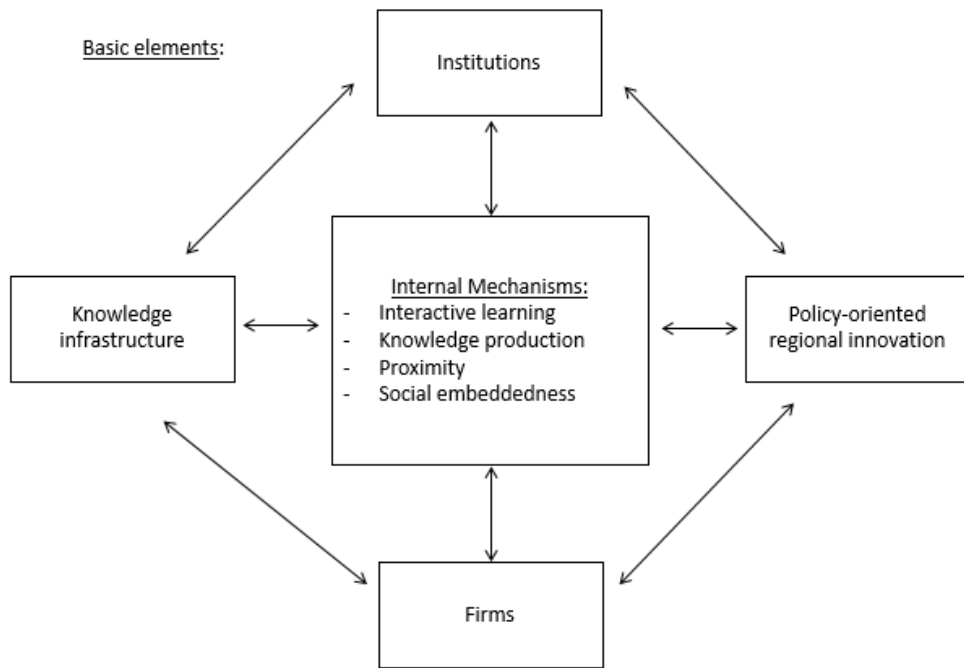
### Proximity

There are three perspectives in which proximity can be explain in a RIS. First, proximity related to spatial agglomerations. In this respect agglomeration forces influence relationships of firms and institutions with local suppliers and customers, shared infrastructures and others externalities. Second, proximity related to the logic of transaction costs. Due to physical proximity, the communication and exchange of knowledge becomes less costly. Third, proximity related to social and cultural aspects. Regarding this last point, proximity in the social aspect can turn into high trust. It is important to acknowledge that a lack of common social and cultural understanding can obstruct relations between actors.

### Social Embeddedness

Interactions in the RIS are influenced by the specific context where they take place. So, in order to understand such interactions, it is necessary to consider the institutional and cultural environment that surrounds them. “Central to the concept to RIS is the notion of embeddedness. This notion considers the role of personal relations and networks” (Doloreux, 2002:251).

Figure 5: RIS representation (elements and mechanisms)



Source: Own elaboration based on the work of Doloreux (2002)

#### 2.4. Research gap and contribution

The literature review showed the potential of creative industries in today's context. It supports the fact that due to its characteristics it can foster economic, social and cultural development. However, little has been done documenting this phenomenon in developing countries because of the difficulty accessing to local data in these regions and because of the fact that most of the disseminators of this theory come from the developed world and have based their empirical studies in countries that have more visibility in the international scenario. Understanding the driving forces and mechanisms that mediate the conditions for the mobilisation of creativity in a developing country could be enriching for the current academic research done on this topic. For this reason, this thesis targets that research gap and proposes to elaborate an empirical study based on the case of Peruvian gastronomy. By going to the field and having direct contact with the main actors of this creative industry, we are able to understand the factors and mechanisms behind this creative environment. As proposed by the literature, the networks of actors fulfil an important role ensuring the flow of knowledge required in the creative process within creative industries. Despite the fact that some scholars have investigated these networks of actors, their case studies have been applied for developed countries mostly. It is relevant for the Academy, to include studies done in other territories in order to test the theoretical proposals build for the developed world.

In line with this, this thesis will contribute to the academic literature by adding empirical knowledge related to the notion of creative industries using a case study from a developing country. This involves theoretical, empirical and practical implications. First, for theory, as previously stated, it tests the concepts and notions built for the developed world and concludes if they apply for the case analyzed as well. Thus, it investigates to what extent the regional innovation system approach can be used assessing the case of Peruvian gastronomy. Second, it provides new empirical material on the gastronomy sector in Peru which represents an industry and a context under-explored in the literature. Finally, in a practical perspective, the results of this study are highly useful for the economic actors involved in the Peruvian gastronomy. It gives them a pathway of the good practices found and needed to follow in order to maintain the gains of the industry, and the obstacles that have to be surpassed in order to keep attracting more actors, and benefits to the industry.



### 3. Methodology

In this chapter we will explain and justify the process followed to answer our research question. As a reminder, the objective of this research is to investigate the driving forces and mechanisms that mediate the conditions for the mobilization of creativity in the gastronomic sector in Peru. In line with this objective, we elaborated the following research question:

***How do the different actors present in the gastronomic sector in Peru contribute to the mobilisation of creativity within the industry?***

Furthermore, we followed three specific objectives that helped us ground the general objective of the study, and serve as a route map during the study:

1. Identify and describe key actors present in the gastronomic sector.
2. Analyze the relationships among these actors and their role.
3. Analyze the internal mechanisms that facilitate the creative process in a collaborative environment.

#### 3.1. Research design

To answer our research question, we conducted a qualitative study using a single-case study: The Peruvian industry of gastronomy. Yin (2011) recommends this kind of research in order to study a real-world setting. More specifically, he considers 5 features that explain why a qualitative research should be done: (1) Studying the meaning of people's lives, under real world conditions, (2) representing the views and perspectives of the people in the study, (3) covering the contextual conditions within which people live, (4) contributing insights that may help to explain human social behavior, and (5) striving to use multiple sources of evidence. All these characteristics match with the approach used in this study.

The case study is ideal to answer research questions which imply a detailed understanding of social or organizational practises by gathering data in context (Cassell & Symon, 2004). "Case studies can be useful in illuminating behaviour which may only be fully understandable in the context of the wider forces operating within or on the organization, whether these are contemporary or historical" (Cassell & Symon, 2004: 325)

Selecting a single case study allowed us to have a more detailed analysis of the situation and mechanisms investigated. Moreover, Doloreux and Parto (2005) sustains that assessing single

case studies under the scope of regional innovation systems offers a detailed 'snapshots' of the unique characteristics of institutional context and policy initiatives that influence the interactions among different actors. So, considering the level of analysis sought, and the resources available to conduct the study, we find single case study highly suitable for this thesis.

We chose to work on the Peruvian case due to its singularity and due to the limited empirical research done in the developing world. The literature review showed the relevance of creative industries for economic and social development. However, it also demonstrated that most fieldwork has been done illustrating cases from the developed world. The results of this thesis could encourage further research in developing countries that can eventually enrich the theory of creative industries in these territories. Moreover, the success of Peruvian gastronomy is a current phenomenon that has crossed borders, gaining international recognition in the global culinary scene in recent years (APEGA, 2013; Appell, 2012; Johanson, 2016). Over the last two decades, Peru has been one of the fastest-growing economies in Latin America, however the economic situation of this mineral-rich country is highly dependent on commodity prices (OxfordBusinessGroup, 2017). In this context, authorities have promoted the development of new sources of income for the economy. Thus, gastronomy represented an interesting opportunity to promote tourism, and to build a new country image around this concept. Furthermore, it also sparked the economy at the urban level, attracting young men and women to become chefs and motivating the proliferation of Peruvian restaurants.

The nature of this study is mostly descriptive since we intend to test selected concepts of creative industries and regional innovation system on the Peruvian case. We documented the findings in a narrative form, associating theory with the phenomenon analyzed. The study also involved some exploratory elements to suggest future research.

### 3.2. Data collection

The collected data for this study comes from primary and secondary evidence. According to Yin (2011) Primary or first-hand evidence is data produced by a situation without being documented by someone other than yourself; and secondary or second-hand evidence is data produced by others. Furthermore, Yin (2011) sustains that qualitative research can combine both. Fieldwork (primary evidence) can be complemented with the extensive examination of historical archives (secondary evidence). Therefore, we collected preliminary secondary data

that included extensive examination of historical material documenting the evolution of Peruvian gastronomy, so we could have contextual information of the phenomenon before conducting our fieldwork. This serves as a starting point to have a more comprehensive idea of which actors should be included in the study in order to answer our research question. Moreover, collecting secondary data helped to identify names, titles, and organizations of the gastronomic sector and was very useful for the terminology used conducting interviews with people from the sector. The secondary evidence was collected from books, reports and magazine articles documenting the evolution of Peruvian gastronomy. A summary of these data can be found in the next chapter.

To collect primary evidence, we used two methods recommended by Yin (2011): in-depth interview and observation. The interview method allows the researcher to get firsthand information and to investigate in a deeper level the motivations, thoughts, desires, and attitudes among others, of the interviewee. In this case, interviewees were actively involved actors of the gastronomic sector in Peru. We ensured that the selected sample included at least one individual representing each of the four basic elements of regional innovation systems proposed by Doloreux (2002): Firms, institutions, knowledge infrastructure, and policy-oriented regional innovation. We selected eleven participants with diverse profiles to perform the interviews. Considering the scope of this thesis and the limited resources, we found it appropriate to work with this number of in-depth interviews with key actors. All agreed to disclose their names except one, which did not reply on this matter, and whose identity will be keep confidential, under the tag "Interviewee #8". Table 2 contains the list of participants, a brief description of their role in the gastronomic sector, the date in which the interview was held, and an assigned label to refer to each participant in chapter 5: Analysis of the Peruvian case.

Table 2: List of interview participants

	Interviewee's name	Role / Position	Interview Date	Assigned label for the study
1	Jun Saito	Restaurant Owner ("Isolina" ranked #21 in Latin America Best Restaurants 2017)	5 – June, 2017	Restaurant Owner
2	Brenda Castro	Former Pastry Chef in 2 prestiges restaurants ("La Huaca Pucllana" and "La Gloria")/ Blogger	6 – June, 2017	Chef, blogger
3	Rosario Rodriguez	Chef/ Technical instructor at Le Cordon Bleu group in Peru	7 – June, 2017	Technical instructor
4	Hernan Benza	Food Truck Owner, Youtuber, Festival Organizer	8 – June, 2017	Food event organizer
5	Jose del Castillo	Chef ("Isolina" ranked #21 in Latin America Best Restaurants 2017)/ part of the culinary movement	13 – June, 2017	Chef, part of the culinary revolution
6	Marta Tostes	University Professor (Innovation expert), worked in a project for the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy – APEGA	13 – June, 2017	University Professor
7	Emilio Diaz	Innovation expert and member of the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy – APEGA	16 – June, 2017	Member of the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy
8	Interviewee #8	Mater Iniciativa – Research Center of restaurant "Central", ranked #5 in World's Best Restaurants 2017	23 – June, 2017	Research Centre team member
9	Liszett Butron	Innovation area member of the Ministry of Production, Government body	26 – June, 2017	Ministry of Production representative
10	Jose Lujan	Chef / Member of the campaign of new generation of chefs "generacion con causa"	3 – July, 2017	Chef, member of "the new generation"
11	Jessica Carrasco	Member of the Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism, Government body	10 – July, 2017	Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism representative

Source: Own elaboration

Eleven semi-structured Interviews were performed in Peru. Ten of these were conducted in person, and one by email. For all cases, we followed an open ended interview guide (see appendix 1). This interview guide was elaborated considering the theoretical concepts we wanted to test regarding creative industries, and regional innovation systems on the Peruvian case. Specifically, the interview guide covered three main subjects: creativity in the gastronomic sector, the role of the actors, and the internal mechanisms that mediate the flow of creativity. Although the interview guide provides a path to follow, this method requires flexibility in order to obtain information based of the answers of the interviewee. The answers can lead to new questions that were not considered in the preliminary interview guide but that are relevant for the study.

Interviews were held in Spanish in order to promote a familiar environment for the interviewees. Qualitative studies are recommended to be done using the mother tongue of the participants so they will feel more comfortable, avoiding language limitations. We were very careful translating the main ideas of the interview in order to avoid making any changes to the meaning of the interviewees' answers.

Finally, interviews were recorded with the interviewee's approval, taking notes simultaneously of the main ideas. The duration of each meeting was one hour approximately.

While participating in two gastronomic events, the observation method was used. The first event was the "II International Congress of Gastronomy" and the second was a local food festival called "Filo". In both cases we focused on capturing interactions between the different actors present in the event. The objective was to identify how knowledge is shared in these public gatherings.

### 3.3. Data analysis

Data obtained observing and interviewing was analyzed following a pattern- matching technique. Therefore, data from the interview transcripts and from the observation session were dissembled and merged in a database organized by the concepts found in the theory presented in the literature review. To accomplish this, we used the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA. This program allows to categorize data following a coding scheme, which is presented in chapter 5. Additionally, for the analysis of data we put special attention in crossing information between the answers provided by each interviewee in order to identify similarities and discordances about the concepts tested. The results from the study were

contrasted with the concepts about creative industries and regional innovation systems in order to find similarities or new considerations for the case analyzed.

#### 3.4. Validity of the study

Along the study, several aspects were taken into account in order to maintain the validity and reliability of the study. For triangulation, as Yin (2011) recommends we collected converging evidence from three different sources: Direct observation, verbal reports, and written material. Moreover, for respondent validation, posteriori conversations were held with some participants through electronic mail and messages to corroborate the results found in the previous meeting. Additionally, to lower the need for further triangulation, all interviews were recorded. “The need to triangulate will be less important when you capture and record the actual data directly. For instance, if you can tape record an interview or photograph a visually important matter, there will be less, if any, need to corroborate the evidence” (Yin, 2011: 82).

For reliability, all interviews followed the same protocol, using the same consent letter and interview guide. This means that if the study is done again following this specific protocol the same results would be obtain.

## 4. Gastronomy in Peru: A historical review

In this chapter, we will present a summary of the data collected from secondary evidence that explain the evolution of the gastronomic sector in Peru. This narrative about the key facts and actors of the industry will facilitate the comprehension of the analysis presented in the next chapter.

Nowadays Peruvians recognize their gastronomy as one of the most important components of their cultural background and they feel proud of it. Peruvian cuisine has achieved recognition not only for its culinary qualities but also for its role unifying people from different social classes who are willing to remove any social barrier when they gather together with the same purpose: enjoy a tasty Peruvian dish. But this is a recent phenomenon that started in the early 90's, in previous decades, Peruvians had to struggle with terrorism (two terrorists groups had presence in the country, Shining Path and MRTA) and with a devastating economic crisis. This opened deep wounds in the society, generating a lack of trust and a generalized disbelief in Peru's future. The 90's was a period of transition towards a better economic situation and the gastronomy phenomenon was just starting to give signs of its potential (Matta, 2013). But it is not until the beginning of the new millennium that Peruvian cuisine gained more support from different actors and was able to achieve recognition not just at a national level but in the international sphere as well. Thus, Peru has been selected as World's Best Culinary Destination for five consecutive years since 2012 by the World Travel Awards. Moreover, two Peruvian restaurants positioned themselves in the top 10 restaurants in the Pellegrini's Ranking of The World's 50 Best Restaurants – 2017. Another significant contribution diffusing the name of Peruvian gastronomy was the participation of the renowned Spanish chef of elBulli, Ferran Adria in a documentary named "Peru sabe. La cocina, arma social", which means "The taste of Peru. The cuisine, a social weapon". Together with Peruvian chef Gaston Acurio, they showed how cuisine can be used for economic and social development purposes. Additionally, authorities and actors from the private sector have been working together with the goal of making Peruvian Gastronomy the most attractive of the region. Thus, creating "Mistura", the largest culinary fair in Latin America. Moreover, media from national and international range has covered the phenomenon. Recently, a Netflix production and Emmy-nominated documentary Chef's Table launched its third season including the story of Virgilio Martinez. He is a Peruvian chef, owner of the fifth best restaurant in the world according to the list The World's 50 Best Restaurants. The show highlights the creative component of the chefs and their offer. But to understand the success of Peruvian

cuisine, most of the leading actors of the gastronomic sector agree on these two reasons: the influence of a variety of cultures that immigrated to Peru throughout history, and the agrobiodiversity that its geography offers. After a brief review on these matters, we will present the evolution of this phenomenon explaining its paths towards the favorable position it has gained today.

#### 4.1. Fusion of cultures

Peruvian cuisine has adopted a mix of characteristics from Spanish, African, Chinese, French, and Italian cuisine due to the arrival of people from these cultures to Peru (Euromonitor, 2013). Spanish influence is the strongest because for several years, Peru was under its domain. The arrival of the first Spaniards brought new ingredients and animals that were part of their common life at home. Among them we can mention: onions, garlic, olives, vine, bay, pepper, eggs, cows, and hens. Additionally, they contributed with culinary techniques like fry, marinate, and carve, just to mention a few. Later, the arrival of African slaves also contributed to the enrichment of the culinary of those days. From this influence, very famous dishes were created like “anticucho” and “cau cau”. In particular the ones elaborated with unusual parts of the meat, like the heart or the insides (Matta, 2013). Later on, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Chinese immigration occurred basically to assume a role in the labor force working the land, but as time went by, these immigrants started to own small restaurants and they settled in a specific area nowadays known as “Capon” street, in Chinatown (La Torre Silva, 1992). Chinese people brought with them ginger, tamarind, soy sauce, sesame seed, and rice. This last ingredient became one main component of Peruvians’ daily diet. Recipes using all these ingredients mixed with the local ones and originated what is now called “Chifa”, a Peruvian-Chinese food that is very popular and that is offered in specialized restaurants known by the same name. Next, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese immigration represented a significant influence for seafood dishes. With easy access to the Pacific Ocean through the large coastline, Japanese people made the most of the biodiversity found in the sea applying their own techniques. That is how the Nikkei food appeared, a Peruvian-Japanese food fusion. Italian influence can also be mentioned, especially because of its contribution bringing pasta, pesto, minestrone, tomato sauce and pizza (UNWTO, 2016).



#### 4.2. Understanding the geography

Peru has been privileged with a large agrobiodiversity thanks to its geography. It has three regions with different natural characteristics: the coast, the highlands, and the jungle. Each with diverse altitudes and with its particular climate, flora, and fauna. This makes Peru one of the four most megadiverse countries on the planet (Mater Iniciativa, 2016). Peruvian gastronomy has taken advantage of the diversity of its ingredients since the first civilizations. According to the official website of Peru's country brand managed by the Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism, the combination of the land and Andean wisdom of first native civilizations created a special harvest that was maintained in good conditions by using innovative food preservation techniques. To refer to these ancestral crops, the government has categorized them as superfoods. Figure 6 shows some of these superfoods.

Figure 6: Characteristics of the Superfoods



**SACHA INCHI**  
(*Plukenetia volubilis*)

**Cultivation.** A seed that grows in the Amazon rainforest.  
**Properties.** It has essential fatty acids such as Omega 3, 6 and 9. Vitamins A and E.  
**Some uses.** Seed or oil.



**AMARANTH**  
(*Amaranthus Caudatus Linnaeus*)

**Cultivation.** A plant that grows between 2,000 and 3,800 masl in mild and cold climates.  
**Properties.** High in leucine. Source of sodium, calcium, iron, zinc, vitamin E and B.  
**Some uses.** Its flour can be used for buns, cakes, breads, tortillas; and also energy bars, and pastries.

**CAMU-CAMU**  
(*Myrciaria dubia*)

**Cultivation.** Native fruit of the Peruvian Amazon.  
**Properties.** It has up to 3 grams of vitamin C per 100 grams of fruit, almost 40 times more than oranges. It is an antioxidant.  
**Some uses.** Soft drinks, natural juices, desserts and sauces.

**TARWI**  
(*Lupinus mutabilis*)

**Cultivation.** Grown between 2,000 and 3,800 masl in mild and cold climates.  
**Properties.** Highly nutritive in protein and fat. It contains nutrients such as Omega 3 fatty acids.  
**Some uses.** Stews, cebiche de chocho, desserts, soft drinks, tarwi cream soup.

**CAÑIHUA**  
(*Chenopodium pallidicaule*)

**Cultivation.** Area of the Peruvian highlands, above all in the Puno region, between 3,500 and 4,200 masl.  
**Properties.** Cereal with high level of protein. Important source of insoluble fiber and energy.  
**Some uses.** Flour that can be used in breads, cream, soups, sauces, cakes, drinks or porridges.

**MASHUA**  
(*Tropaeolum tuberosum*)

**Cultivation.** Tuber that grows in the south and central highlands.  
**Properties.** High values of protein, carbohydrates, fiber and calories.  
**Some uses.** Boiled, steamed, fried, mashed, in soups, jams and sweets.

**QUINUA**  
(*Chenopodium quinoa*)



**Cultivation.** On altitudes from sea level in the coastal area up to 4,000 masl.  
**Properties.** A very complete and easy-to-digest pseudocereal, balanced in proteins, fats, and carbohydrates. Rich in methionine and cysteine, minerals (iron, calcium and phosphorus) and vitamins.  
**Some uses.** Stews and atamalados, picantes, salads, as a pasta substitute, milk, flour, breads, or drinks.

## PURPLE, BLACK OR BLUE POTATO

*(Solanum tuberosum)*

**Cultivation.** Peruvian Andes.  
**Properties.** Rich in vitamin C and phenolic compounds. It is an antioxidant.  
**Some uses.** Cooked, baked, fried, as a side dish with sauces, mashed, in soups or flours.

## PURPLE CORN

*(Zea mays)*

**Cultivation.** Varieties that are most abundant are the purple corn of Canta (Lima), el mejorado, the ones from Caraz (Ancash), Arequipa, and Cusco, and maiz negro (black corn) from Junin.  
**Properties.** It contains anthocyanin; with antidiabetic and antitumour effects; and helps to control obesity and hypertension. It is also a source of antioxidants.  
**Some uses.** Chicha morada, magamorras (a kind of porridge), cakes and sauces.



## MACA

*(Lepidium peruvianum)*

**Cultivation.** A root that grows between 2,800 and 4,800 masl.  
**Properties.** Similar nutritional value of that of grains and cereals. High in protein, carbohydrates, fiber and fats. Helps to combat anemia; an important source of energy.  
**Some uses.** Flours, powders, syrups, liquors. With the flour they make breads, cakes and tarts.

Source: PROMPERU (2016:44)

Because of their nutritional value and their particular taste, the government has identified the opportunity of registering them by country of origin principle. Additionally, they are attractive for businessmen who would like to export them.

“Peru is the largest global producer of quinoa, and awareness of the cuisine has grown along with the seed’s popularity in the US, China, Japan due to its high nutritional content and capability to act as a gluten-free grain substitute” (Euromonitor, 2013: 1)

The most renowned chefs also recognize the diversity of Peruvian ingredients as a success factor. That is the case of Virgilio Martinez, owner of the fifth best restaurant in the world according to Pellegrini’s Ranking of The World’s 50 Best Restaurants – 2017. Indeed, he and his sister created ‘Mater Iniciativa’, the research center behind ‘Central’ Restaurant. So under the direction of Virgilio Martinez, a team of researchers travels across Peru investigating and collecting new ingredients that grow in different parts of the country, from the sea level to the mountain top. It is precisely this diversity of climates and ecosystems that inspired the chef to elaborate his menu. Therefore, the restaurant tasting menu present an offer that reproduce the chef’s vision of the different altitudes of Peruvian land.

#### 4.3. Before the beginning of the gastronomy industry : Novo – Andean cuisine

In the 1980's, an innovative culinary proposal was created and it was called Novo-Andean cuisine. It had as a main objective to revalue Peruvian cuisine by using traditional ingredients and by incorporating international culinary knowledge that improved its presentation in order to meet the expectations of local gourmets and international critics. By applying techniques used in major gastronomic capitals to native products such as quinoa, kiwicha or alpaca meat, the creators of this trend intended to offer a more exportable version of Peruvian food. One example of this is the quinotto, a dish that is a variant of risotto in which quinoa is used instead of rice (Matta, 2013). The conceptualization of this new cuisine is attributed to Bernardo Roca Rey and Cucho La Rosa (Acurio, 2016). However, this new offer did not have many fans between Peruvian consumers at that time, mainly because people that had the economic resources to spend in a nice restaurant preferred to attend places with an international influence. There was a marked tendency to value foreign offerings over local options. Therefore, Novo-Andean cuisine had very few followers at the beginning, however the next generation of chefs would continue to spread this trend with more success as we will be explain later.

#### 4.4. The birth of the industry

Peruvian cuisine earned a privileged position in the national and international sphere mostly due to the effort of Peruvian chef Gaston Acurio. He has been the mastermind behind the flourishing of Peruvian gastronomy. He has gained a special recognition between Peruvian people not only for his achievements in the gastronomic sector but also for his work strengthening national identity, fostering social inclusion and creating awareness about nutrition. Yet, he was not alone in the valorization of Peruvian cuisine, other chefs of his generation also contributed.

Now, based on the available material documenting the rise of Peruvian gastronomy (Acurio, 2016; APEGA, 2016; Matta, 2013; Ochoa, 2016; Oppenheimer, 2014), we will provide a summary of the most significant actors and events.

#### 4.4.1. The Leader

Gaston Acurio made his way to become a chef by going against the willingness of his father. His family was part of the urban upper class of Lima, and at that time cooking was not perceived as a prominent career, on the contrary it was considered a hobby and it was associated with subordinated tasks (Matta, 2013). His father, a former minister, expected him to become a lawyer just like him. Indeed, Gaston kept for himself his passion for cooking, and went to the university in Peru to study law. Before finishing, he decided to continue his career in Spain in Universidad Complutense de Madrid. In his first year studying there, he started to work at night in restaurants and offered himself to cook special dinners for the Peruvian embassy and other social events. In his second year in Madrid, he decided to follow his passion for food and dropped the university. Thus, he took cooking classes in Madrid for the next two years without telling his parents. Eventually, he confronted his family and received their support to improve himself in the gastronomic sphere. This allowed him to travel to Paris and study in the renowned school in culinary arts, Le Cordon Bleu. Once in France, he was an outstanding student and a passionate worker in a restaurant that was nearby the school. He mostly spent his time studying and working in order to improve his culinary skills. At the age of 23, after 2 years working at the Parisian restaurant he was promoted to head chef (Oppenheimer, 2014). During his time in France, Gaston met Astrid, a German girl who also studied at Le Cordon Bleu in Paris and who would become his wife. They had several common interests, specially their passion for food. So after finishing his studies in Paris, Gaston asked Astrid to go with him to Lima and follow their dream of having their own restaurant. Back in Lima in the year 1993, Gaston found an investor interested in having the representation of Le Cordon Bleu in Peru and helped him install the school. Astrid for her part found a job in a pastry shop that was frequented by the urban elite of Lima. In parallel, they devoted great part of their time to pursue their goal of opening their own restaurant. The restaurant was not conceive to offer Peruvian food. At that time French cuisine was the reference for distinguished food. So, both chefs had in mind that in order to be successful and renowned in the gastronomic sphere they had to perfectly replicate French dishes. Thus, they opened their restaurant "Astrid & Gaston", which consisted of an entirely French menu. They considered themselves Haute Cuisine, which required to standardly follow classic recipes of French cuisine (Chossat, 2008). The restaurant was such a success that the return on investment took only six months. Nevertheless, both chefs were always seeking for new trends and they were open to innovation. In this way, when they noticed that Nouvelle Cuisine was gaining more

attention in the culinary world, the chefs started to question themselves about the offer of the restaurant. Nouvelle Cuisine started in the 1970's as a trend that stimulated creativity in the culinary context. Thus, chefs were expected to invent new recipes based on their own inspiration instead of replicating classic dishes of the French gastronomy (Chossat, 2008). Additionally, the search for French ingredients in Peru also complicated the operation of the restaurant. Moreover, thanks to globalization and to the media, the flow of information about successful cases in gastronomy increased. Therefore, the young couple discovered that there was a trend to appreciate local cultural aspects in the gastronomic context. At the end of the 90's, Spanish chef Ferran Adria disrupted gastronomy by moving away from traditional French techniques in order to create his own. Additionally, the Spanish chef highlighted the use of regional and local ingredients in his innovative menu. This paradigm shift took place along Europe, so Gaston and Astrid decided to incorporate this vision in their restaurant. Thus, the chef started to give a twist to the dishes by including traditional Peruvian ingredients in the recipes. This brought value to marginalized indigenous products. By the year 2000, the menu of the restaurant was compound by a very large number of Peruvian products and it was precisely because of this that the restaurant distinguished itself. In that year, Gaston received a proposal to open another "Astrid & Gaston" in Chile. Gaston agreed and the internationalization of his restaurants started. This first international venture was another success in his trajectory. At this point of his career, Gaston started to understand that his competitive advantage as a chef was his Peruvian identity. Consequently, in the year 2002 he decided to travel across Peru in order to discover native ingredients and to get inspired by its culture. In his trip, he realizes the importance of learning about the origin of the products and the people that cultivate these products. He captured this in his first book "Peru: a culinary adventure". Moreover, he turned into an influential figure beyond the limits of his restaurant thanks to a TV show he conducted. So far, he had gained recognition in the upper class of Lima because of his work as a chef, but thanks to his TV show "Aventura Culinaria" he could expand his message to more people. The idea of the show was to travel throughout Peru searching for the best Peruvian meal. So he acted as a culinary critic but he did not limited his scope to prestigious restaurants, on the contrary, the idea of the show was to find the best traditional places that not many people knew. So, the TV show also contributed to destroy prejudice between people from different social class.

In 2005, he launched a seafood restaurant named "La mar", followed by two other restaurant with different concepts. One offering Chinese food and the other one, traditional Peruvian dishes. Every new project launched by him, represented an almost certain success. From that

moment on, he has expanded his business covering different types of food. He has more than 9 brands of restaurants with restaurants all over the world. Recently, during an interview he confirmed the possibility of opening one restaurant in Dubai, and one in Qatar (Ochoa, 2016). In 2006, he was invited to give the opening speech in a very prestigious business school in Lima. Until then, he was seen as a successful chef, with several international awards but his speech revealed his qualities as a leader and a visionary. Gaston highlighted the potential of using gastronomy as a tool to build a country brand and the opportunity it represented for economic and social development. From a very optimistic perspective, he encouraged the future business professionals to believe in their country and to compare with other markets that had successfully developed the food industry. His speech transcended and was published in different media. Moreover, in 2012 Gaston invited the renowned Spanish chef Ferran Adria to participate in the elaboration of a documentary named "Peru sabe. La cocina, arma social" about Peruvian gastronomy. The documentary showed both chefs traveling across Peru and giving the message that cuisine can be used for economic and social development purposes.

These are just a few of Gaston initiatives to promote Peruvian cuisine. In parallel, he has not lost track of his businesses, where innovation continues to be the mandate. According to an interview broadcasted in CNN (Hispanic version) in 2014, in that year he owned 43 restaurants in 11 countries, earning more than US\$ 100 million in sales. The interview was conducted by Andres Oppenheimer, an Argentine writer who had studied Gaston as an example of an innovative leader in Latin America. This as part of his book "Crear o Morir", which documents eight innovative cases of individuals of the region. We can also mention as another achievement of Gaston, the fact that his first restaurant, "Astrid & Gaston", has been included in the list of The World's 50 Best Restaurants for several years. In the last edition, it occupied the position #33 of the ranking. Today, he continues his work in Peru towards economic and social development using gastronomy as a mean.

#### 4.4.2. The rise of new chefs working together

Although Chef Gaston Acurio was a central piece behind the boom of Peruvian gastronomy, other chefs of his generation also played an important role in this process. Between years 2000 and 2003, other young cooks appeared in the gastronomic scene. Most of them proceeded from a good social position and had studied culinary arts abroad or had worked in renowned international restaurants. In that moment, after having positioned themselves as

renowned chefs, they got together with Gaston and started to think about their future in gastronomic terms. They realized that in order to move forward in the culinary world they had to offer something authentic and they could not continue to replicate other countries' gastronomy. Thus, they created a culinary movement highlighting the value of traditional food and Peruvian ingredients. Moreover, they understood that it had to be a collaborative and collective effort otherwise it was not going to reach the impact they were searching for. So, these chefs strengthened their interaction and agreed to work following the same goal: position Peruvian gastronomy as one of the best of the world. Their speech was to go beyond individual interests because if Peruvian gastronomy gained international recognition every business related to the gastronomic sector would win. More potential customers would come from abroad to try Peruvian food and more opportunities for internationalization would be created. Gaston sustains that this shared vision was essential in the process of promoting Peruvian gastronomy. A key piece in this process was that chefs saw each other as partners and not as rivals. Moreover, the process implied rediscovering the richness of traditions and culture. Indeed, by 2003 renowned chefs and traditional cooks respected the work of each other and prejudices were eliminated. Furthermore, the culinary movement showed the importance of including all the actors present in the sector. Thus, they put special emphasis valuing the effort of the people who cultivate the products. Until that moment their work was unnoticed.

#### 4.4.3. Peruvian Society of Gastronomy – APEGA

In 2007, the chefs that were part of the culinary movement along with other actors of the gastronomy sector created a formal entity in order to continue with their goal. Thus, they formed the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy, also known as APEGA for its initials in Spanish. In 2008, APEGA organized the first culinary fair bringing together the main players in the gastronomic chain. Since then the fair takes place once a year in Lima and seeks to promote gastronomy as a factor for development, wellbeing and cultural identity. Currently, this fair is promoted by the name of "Mistura" and it is the most important fair in the gastronomic sector in Latin America. Each year the fair attracts some 400,000 people and gets the attention of the local and international press and social media. Despite it was mainly an initiative of Peruvian chefs, the government also participated through the support of the Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism. Once that the work of distinguished Peruvian chefs showed



its first results and Peruvian cuisine started to be famous abroad, the government joined the effort and created a special area in charge of strengthening Peru's country brand through its gastronomy. In 2012, after the government's involvement in this matter, Peru received the award for World's Leading Culinary Destination by the World Travel Awards. Since then, Peru have won this recognition for five consecutive years. According to Gaston Acurio's point of view, the State's efforts have helped the sector, however he considers it can contribute more by adopting a more strategic vision like the one implemented in Sweden, where the government have a long term plan which have turned into a food policy up to 2030.

Beyond the fair, the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy has organized other events that promotes the interaction between different actors of the gastronomic sector. Thus, they work in a project of food farming chains, in an initiative with the government promoting innovation in the sector, and in the International Gastronomy Congress, which is held yearly.

#### 4.5. Collective efforts towards new goals

In recent years, the development of the gastronomic sector has attracted people not only from the culinary world but also from other sectors that are interested in collaborating with it. Thus, universities and other knowledge entities have joined the cause. They have brought new topics to the agenda. Hence, they have focused the discussion beyond the promotion of Peruvian gastronomy as a tasty meal. Now, aspects like improving nutrition of Peruvians, or valuing ancestral techniques and ingredients are part of the speech. Moreover, the continuity of creativity and innovation in the work of the future generation of chefs, and the sustainability of their offer are matters that have gained attention. Another important consideration is the work that still has to be done in order to meet health and quality standards in the entire sector. As an example of these new considerations, in November 2016 an event named "Yuntefonos" took place in the University "Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru". The goal of the event was to bring together the Academia, the public sector and the private sector in order to share their different visions about how gastronomy and tourism could be used as tools for development and how they can create a joint commitment for this. The topics covered by the different discussion teams were: rural poverty reduction, child malnutrition, biodiversity and environmental sustainability, research and innovation, and strengthening national identity. There was a noteworthy participation of the government in the event, with the contribution of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Production just to

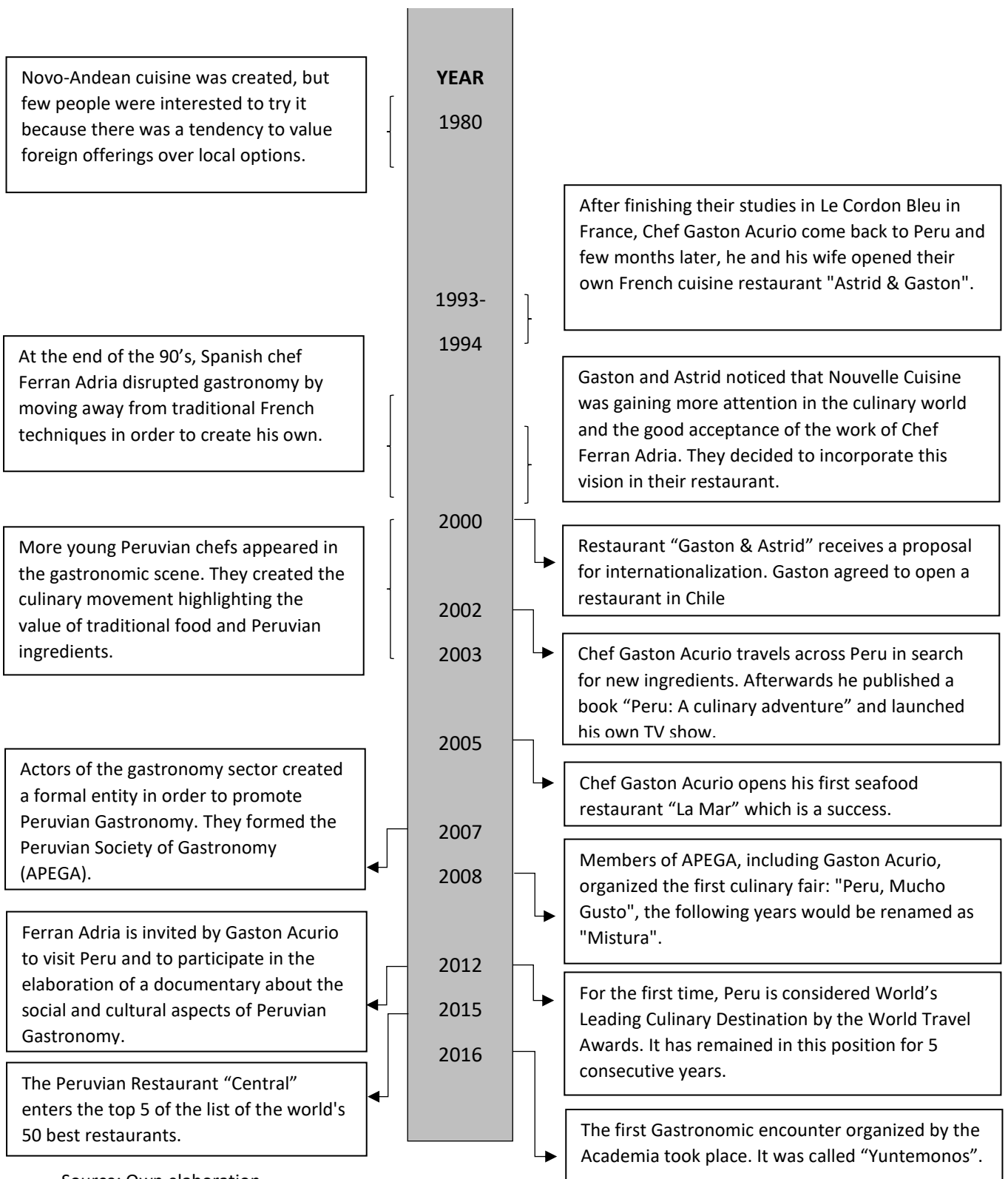
name a few. In parallel, the event served as an introduction for the soon coming new career in gastronomy, which will be led by Gaston Acurio.

Another initiative that is worth mentioning is the work that is being done by the National Council of Science, Technology, and Innovation, known as CONCYTEC together with “Mater Iniciativa”. The first is a public institution and the second is the research center of restaurant “Central”, the most famous Peruvian restaurant at the moment thanks to its recognition as # 5 in the list of The World’s 50 Best Restaurants, and to a Netflix documentary named Chef’s Table, which recently showed the story of Virgilio Martinez, chef of the restaurant. These two entities have gathered together in order to connect researchers with cooks and other actors from the food industry and to investigate about the benefits of native ingredients.

Moreover, just a few months ago a new generation of chefs was officially presented as the successors of Gaston Acurio and other pioneer chefs who were part of the culinary movement. This new generation of chefs share a common vision about the future of gastronomy and great part of their speech is about creating awareness around sustainability and the role of the people who cultivate the land.

This section have presented a brief review of the evolution of Peruvian gastronomy in the last two decades in order to have a better understanding of the phenomenon before going in a deeper analysis of the variables studied. Figure 7 shows a timeline of the most significant facts mentioned here.

Figure 7: Timeline of the Peruvian gastronomy boom



Source: Own elaboration

## **5. Analysis of the Peruvian case**

In this chapter, we illustrate the case of Peruvian gastronomy by analyzing the information gathered conducting eleven interviews and participating in two gastronomic events. The interviewees selected are actively involved actors in the gastronomic sector, so their views and comments are very valuable for this thesis. Additionally, as it was previously presented in the methodology section, their profile demonstrates the variety of actors included in this research. This fact enriches the analysis because it allows contrasting information from different perspectives.

Moreover, we analyze the information leaning on the principles presented in the theoretical framework selected. Thus, the concepts of regional innovation systems were a guide in order to investigate the driving forces and mechanisms that mediate the conditions for the mobilization of creativity in the gastronomic sector in Peru. Here, the concepts of innovation systems, creativity, and creative industries intersect. To facilitate the analysis of these concepts, we processed data using the coding scheme presented in figure 8.

This chapter is divided as follows. First, we identify and describe key actors in the gastronomic sector so as to capture the extent of the industry and the people involved. Then, we analyze the relationships among these actors and their role. Next, we present how creativity is understood by the actors and how important it is in the gastronomic context. Finally, we analyze the internal mechanisms that facilitate the creative process in this particular case.

Figure 8: Coding Scheme

Parent code	Code
Mapping the actors	Firms Institutions Knowledge infrastructure Policy-oriented regional innovation
Role of the actors	More involved Less involved
Creativity in the gastronomic sector	Definition Relevance Inspiration Individual vs collective Keeping the flame alive Obstacles
Internal Mechanisms	Interactive learning -Interaction between actors -Learning spaces -Communication  Knowledge production -Trust / shared knowledge -Tacit / codified  Proximity -Benefits  Social embeddedness -Social and cultural values -Common purpose/community

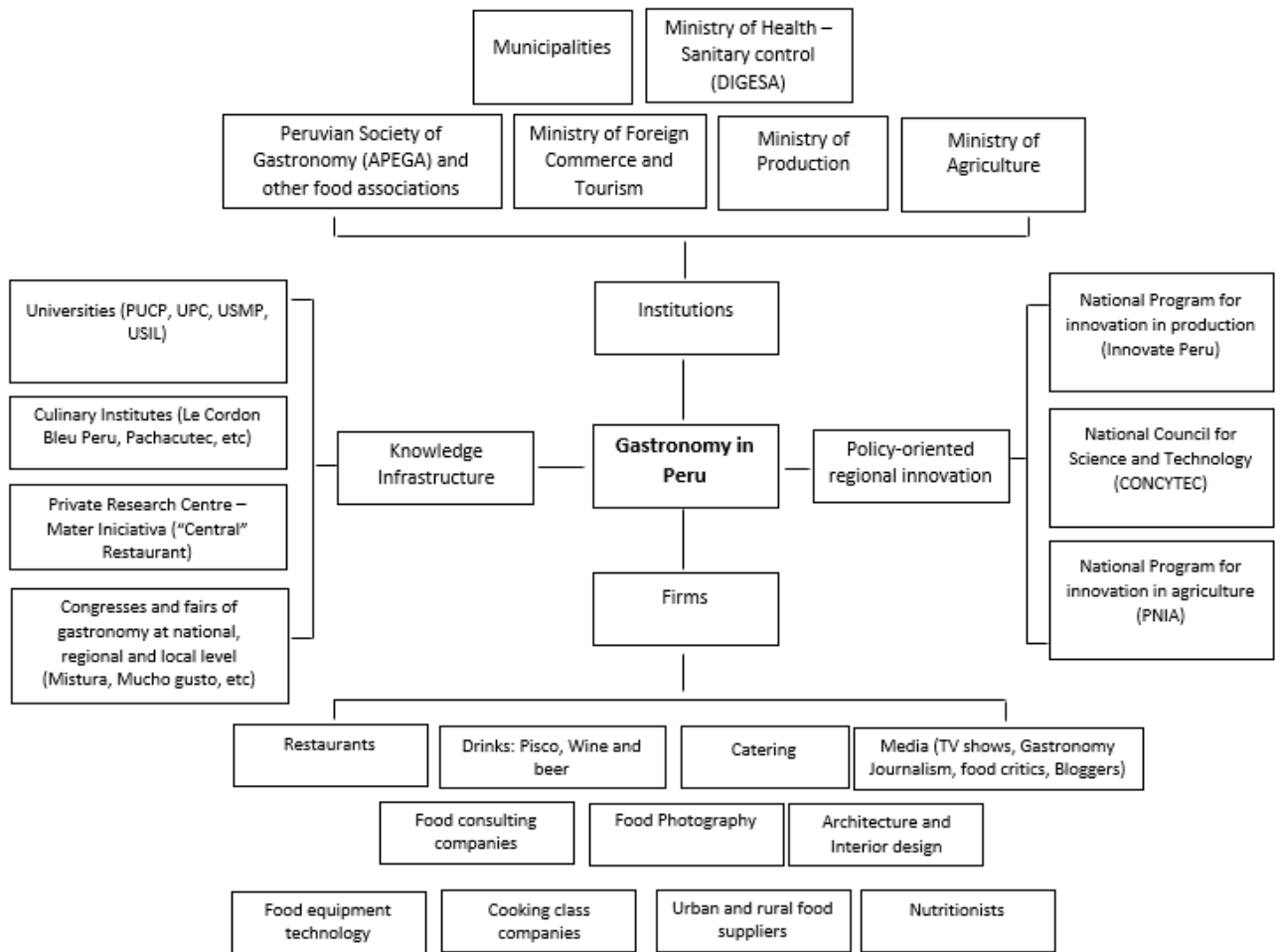
Source: Own elaboration

### 5.1. Key actors in the gastronomic sector in Peru

In recent years, the gastronomic sector has gained more attention from local authorities in Peru. Due to the international recognition of some Peruvian chefs, the government has launched a communicational campaign promoting the sector and encouraging more people to be part of it so they can contribute to the economy of the country. However, it was difficult to find official data from the government that provided a full view of the actors who participate in this sector. Most of the information about the economic situation of the sector is provided by the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA) and Lima chamber of commerce. So after researching for secondary data in APEGA's reports and other Peruvian websites related to the gastronomic sector, we elaborated a first list of the key actors. Then, according to their role and contribution in the sector, we classified them in one of the four basic elements presented in the theoretical framework about regional innovation systems. Finally, in order to ensure the validity of this information, it was complemented with the answers of the interviewees about identifying the actors. Mapping the actors was a fundamental first task in order to have the first glimpse of this creative industry. Figure 9 illustrates the key actors classified by the four basic elements present in an innovation system (Doloreux, 2002). Along the research, Lima repeatedly appeared as one of the most recognized regions where gastronomy has taken importance. So many of the actors are located in this region. The high level of centralization in the capital also has influenced this situation. However, during the study other regions like the north coast and the highlands were mentioned for their concentration of gastronomic offer. Due to this, the study was not limited to Lima, but the idea was to identify the range of the sector inside the country. As formerly stated in the previous section each region has a lot to offer in gastronomic terms.

After mapping the actors, we could identify the presence of the four basic elements of an innovation system. Nevertheless, the prevalence of each and the level of engagement in the sector differ from one to another. Next, we will provide a brief description of the actors identified.

Figure 9: Representation of the actors involved in the gastronomic sector



Source: Own elaboration

### 5.1.1.Firms

In this category, we can highlight restaurants and other food and drink establishments. According to the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy – APEGA (2017), there are approximately 100 thousand of these businesses in Peru, and together with the economic activity of hotels they contribute to the 3.2% of the gross national product of Peru (INEI, 2016) (See appendix 2). The industry is mostly shape by medium and small firms, specifically they represent the 84.37% of the gastronomic sector (APEGA, 2017). However, there are also a few big players like Acurio group, formed by businesses owned by Chef Gaston Acurio. He manages 9 brands in total, some with international reach. The presence of many SME's interacting with few large firms is a particular characteristic of creative industries as it was mentioned in the literature review. Moreover, thanks to the international promotion of Peruvian gastronomy, there has been an increase in the number of tourists that come willing to try Peruvian gastronomy. Also, Peruvian consumers who are part of the workforce have change their lifestyle lately. Instead of going home for lunch, they prefer to have lunch in restaurants near their workplace due to the traffic and short amount of lunchtime. This situation has encouraged many entrepreneurs to join the gastronomic sector in order to take advantage of these opportunities. However, not many are conscious of the challenge it represents and they do not succeed in the business. According to experts, 50% of the new ventures do not survive more than 3 months operating. In this category, we can also find related businesses that have appeared in order to supply products and services to the restaurants. It is worthy to mention that all the interviewees spontaneously identified the existence of urban and rural food producers. While the other firms were identified just by some interviewees, depending on their involvement and their role in the sector. This category also includes the arrival of new business models in the market. For example, Urban Kitchen is a company that offers private cooking classes dictated by a rotating staff of recognize chefs who specialize in different culinary streams. People who register for this, not only learn by taking the class but also are invited to bound and enjoy their meal afterward like in a restaurant experience. Additionally, restaurants have been demanding more ad- hoc services. For example, now there are companies that design utilities according to the special need of a particular restaurant. Similarly, architects, photographers, and consultants have started to specialize in the sector and they are recognized and sought for their experience working in gastronomy. Moreover, in the last sixteen years, the audiovisual and written content about the sector has also multiplied. Here we can mention



food critics, journalists, YouTubers, bloggers, and TV shows. For example, newspapers with large readership have a special column dedicated to discuss gastronomic topics.

### 5.1.2. Institutions

According to the theory of regional innovation systems, institutions are crucial players reducing uncertainties and promoting the use of knowledge and new technologies in the industry. However, this theory was built in developed countries, where usually governments have strong institutions. In the case of Peru, institutions are still doing a big effort dealing with corruption and transparency. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see government initiatives fostering the growth of the gastronomic sector. We could identify four ministries formally involved with the gastronomic sector. The Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism was the first government institution to commit to Peruvian gastronomy. It started to be actively involved around 10 years ago, with the creation of PromPeru. A division that focuses on promoting the image of Peru abroad. In 2011, this division officially launched Peru country brand and since then it has joined efforts with other actors in order to make Peruvian gastronomy internationally famous. Next, we identified the participation of the Ministry of Production. Recently this institution has recognized the importance of creative industries for the economy. However, there is not a specific area dedicated exclusively to them as there is in other developed countries. One of the first steps that this Ministry has taken is to create a special fund to finance innovation initiatives related to gastronomy. Additionally, it launched a national contest for innovation in gastronomy specifically. Next, the Ministry of Health also participates regulating the sector in sanitary control terms. The Ministry of Agriculture also has joined the effort. Its work focuses on the guidance of the rural producers, and on the protection and sustainability of national crops and seeds. The interviewees who worked in some of these institutions highlighted that the gastronomy is a transversal topic that has to be work from different institutions in parallel. Other local authorities, identified during the study, were the local and regional Municipalities. They issue permissions for restaurants to operate. Beyond that, now many Municipalities organize food fairs at a local or regional level. From all the institutions identified in the sector, the most mentioned for every interviewee was the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA). There were other food associations identified by fewer participants like the association of food trucks and the association of “picanterias” of Cuzco, which is regional traditional food.

### 5.1.3. Knowledge infrastructure

The actors identified in this category are universities, technical institutes, research centers, and social gatherings that stimulate the flow of knowledge in the gastronomic sector like congresses and fairs. In the case of universities, four were emphasized: Universidad San Martín de Porras (USMP), Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas (UPC), Universidad San Ignacio de Loyola (USIL), and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP). Even though the latter does not have gastronomy in the curricula yet, it is planned to be included next year. Meanwhile, the University and the renowned chef Gastón Acurio are working on promoting the career. Often, universities invite recognized Peruvian chefs and other culinary personalities to be part of the board in charge of the career. Besides the four organizations mentioned, there are more universities in Lima and other regions that offer the option to get universities degrees in gastronomy. According to the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA), the demand for education related to gastronomy has notoriously increased. As time passes, more young men and women are interested in becoming chefs and be part of this culinary revolution. Many of them have economic limitations so gastronomy represents a way to overcome this situation. In line with this, there has been a proliferation of culinary institutes that offer a technical career. However, there is still a need for public occupational training centres that could educate people without resources. Many interviewees affirmed that there is a lack of technical workforce in the sector. Positions like kitchen assistant, and server are difficult to be covered by trained people.

Other sources of knowledge are fairs and other official events related to gastronomy, like “Mistura” and the International Congress of Gastronomy, both organized by APEGA. The first is the biggest and more important food fair in Peru. Taking place once a year, “Mistura” is a space where many actors in the sector interact and share their experiences. On the one side, it invites a variety of Peruvian restaurants which are willing to please consumers with their culinary qualities, and on the other side, it stimulates the flow of knowledge within the sector by including a special section where culinary experts can give conferences and different actors from the gastronomic chain can interact. In 2016, it welcomed almost 400,000 visitors and lasted 10 days. Congresses and other open events are also held throughout the year. These usually invite actors from the Academia, the media, the private sector, and the public sector. In November 2016, there was a much-sounded event called “Yuntefonos”. It was organized by the famous chef Gastón Acurio and university Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP). It successfully gathered the different gastronomic actors and opened the discussion

for relevant topics to be considered in the sector. It also communicated the plan of including a career in gastronomy in that university.

Moreover, we can highlight the work of “Mater Iniciativa” as a knowledge infrastructure in the sector. It is a research center run by the restaurant “Central”, top 5 in the world according to the World’s 50 Best Restaurants list. It is the only one in its kind in Peru. A team of researchers travels along the Peruvian territory searching for new ingredients that can be included in the restaurant’s gastronomic offer. Here, traditional ingredients are fundamental to the success of the restaurant since its concept was built based on the variety of geographic altitudes and the Peruvian produce that can be found there.

#### 5.1.4. Policy-oriented regional innovation

In this category, we identified three initiatives lead by the public sector. First, the Ministry of Production has a national program for innovation that is called Innovate Peru. This organism promotes innovation in the different productive sectors in the country. As evidence from the study showed, for the case of gastronomy, it has a remarkable participation funding and supporting initiatives like the International Congress of Gastronomy and the Agenda for Innovation and Technology in Gastronomy. The latter had as an objective to identify key points in the sector that have to be prioritized in order to bring more dynamism to the sector and to improve current standards. Second, there is the National Council for Science and Technology (CONCYTEC). This body has been working with farmers and chefs with the purpose of valuing the biodiversity of the country through the generation of new knowledge. In this process, CONCYTEC seeks to strengthen capacities for research and technological development in the sector. This is worked under the Transversal National Program of Science, Technology, and Technological Innovation for valuing of Biodiversity.

Lastly, the National Program for Innovation in Agriculture (PNIA) was also mentioned during the interviews. Its objective is to stimulate innovation, technology and research development, and technology transfer in agriculture. Special funds are assigned to finance initiatives that could contribute to the objective of the program.

## 5.2. The role and contribution of individual actors

In the previous section, we not only presented the actors, but we also gave an anticipated idea of their role. However, based on the interviews we will be more precise about the role they play in the sector and about the way in which their contribution is recognized by the other actors. Furthermore, we will contrast the theory with the facts demonstrated in the Peruvian case.

Overall, all the interviewees recognize Gaston Acurio and other prestigious chefs's work as a key role in connecting the different actors in the sector. Gaston is considered as a binding piece and he inspires trust. Any initiative he endeavors, he receives a vote of confidence from the gastronomic community. Hence, the work from the private sector acted like a trigger for the development of the sector. The young community of Peruvian chefs were the leaders in the beginning of the gastronomic revolution and then other actors have joined them to work for the same objective. The public sector for its part has recently got more actively involved going beyond the promotion of gastronomy abroad. All interviewees were familiar with the work of the Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism creating awareness of the culinary attributes of Peruvian gastronomy inside and outside the country, whereas the work of other public institutions involved is not necessarily known. For example, the Ministry of Production launched two years ago a national contest for innovation in gastronomy but none of the other interviewees were aware of it.

*“In 2015, the national plan for diversification in production had the objective of identifying economic activities other than manufacture that could serve as driving forces to reactivate the economy. In other words, we searched for sectors different from the ones of leather, footwear or mining. Hence, we discovered that gastronomy represented a big opportunity not only for the potential it has abroad but also for the work that can be done inside the country” (Ministry of Production representative).*

This demonstrates the willingness of authorities to inject innovation to the sector but that it is in small scale yet. The regional innovation system theory gives special relevance to the role of institutions in these matters. However, there is no detail about the process of adoption of these measures in time. Peruvian authorities have discovered the potential of this creative industry and they have started to include it in their planning in the last years, but they still need to allocate more resources to develop the innovative compound inside the sector. The percentage of public investment in innovation in Peru is lower than the average percentage of the region.

*“Other countries of Latin America invest 1.7% of GDP in R&D. Peru, only 0.7%. That shows that innovation is not a priority on the agenda for economic growth yet. I think the government has started to consider innovation as a tool for economic growth recently. It’s a good start but we have to look the facts and the reality in order to propose more initiatives regarding this matter” (Research Centre team member).*

*“The public sector has a very small capacity to engage in any economic activity. Unlike Chile and Brazil that have 34 – 35% of the GDP designated to the State, Peruvian public funds manage 16% of its GDP. We have to be aware that it has a limited capacity to become involved” (University Professor)*

In general, it is expected that institutions from the public sector take a step forward in their role. Not only as a regulatory agent but also as an advisor. On the other hand, institutions from the private sector like the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA) are already taking the lead in paving the way for the development of this creative industry. APEGA organizes several conferences and fairs with the aim of bringing together different gastronomic actors to discuss relevant topics to the development of the sector. Thus, with the support of Innovate Peru, a national program of the Ministry of Production, APEGA invited scholars and other specialists in matters of innovation and project management to do a diagnose of the sector and to elaborate an agenda for technology and innovation in gastronomy. Moreover, it has a special team working on innovation in the sector. A recent initiative of this team was to investigate the opportunities to develop new technologies for gastronomic equipment that could be locally produced. But the most advertised work of APEGA is the organization of “Mistura”, a major gastronomic fair in Peru. We can analyze this fair as the center of a web of relations where different agents and institutions participate in order to gain and share knowledge.

*“I would say that the food festival Mistura is an example of an innovation system. The complete gastronomic chain is present. Producers, government, fishermen, cooks, universities, big companies, etc. It’s very interesting”. (Member of the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy)*

At the firm level, chefs see themselves with a multifaceted role. Besides assuming their role creating a culinary offer, they also feel responsible for the impact of gastronomy on topics like social inclusion, sustainability, and cultural identity. They are real influential agents in the scene.

*“I think and I feel that I can do more than just cooking and managing my restaurants. I know that these tasks are very important but I also believe that chefs can work in projects that benefit society in different aspects like recovering traditions, supporting rural*

*producers, educating people with limited resources, eradicating hunger, etc.” (Chef, member of “the new generation”)*

*“For example, now that I am writing my blogs, I not only share recipes but also the stories behind our traditional dishes. Most of the people don’t know them, so I feel my contribution is to educate and preserve our identity.” (Chef, blogger)*

Knowledge infrastructure entities play an important role as well. Despite that gastronomy has been seen as a profession more seriously just two decades ago in Peru, there has been an important contribution from the Academia elaborating written material about Peruvian Gastronomy. Most of it, related to tourism and traditional cuisine. Moreover, careers related to gastronomy have multiplied in universities and culinary institutes especially because Peruvian chefs are starting to have more working options outside the country as well. International awards have helped Peruvian chefs becoming attractive prospects to cover positions in hotel and restaurants abroad. Universities not only have the role to educate students but also they can contribute stimulating research in this field. In this aspect, there is a still much work that can be done.

Furthermore, it is worthy to mention the work of “Mater Iniciativa” investigating the agrobiodiversity of Peru. This is a private research center created to provide insightful information for restaurant “Central”. Here, a team of researchers travels across the country collecting ingredients and the knowledge that surrounds them, including the expertise of farmers and the traditions behind Peruvian produce. Afterwards, the findings are used to conceive singular dishes in the restaurant “Central”. This organization has allied with the National Council for Science and Technology (CONCYTEC) to promote the use of ancient crops and other ingredients in gastronomy. Moreover, it organizes different events to diffuse the knowledge about Peruvian gastronomy. This would be analyzed later in the subsection about learning spaces.

### 5.3. Creativity

In this section, we will analyze the way in which creativity is understood in the gastronomic context in Peru. In the literature review, we sustained that creativity is a prerequisite for innovation. Creativity can be associated with the stage of generation of new ideas and innovation to the subsequent stage of implementation of those ideas. So in order to understand the preconditions in an innovation system, it is important to interpret creativity

under the eyes of the main authors and to know the causes that stimulate creativity in them. First, we will analyze how creativity is defined in the gastronomic context and provide some examples of the sector. Second, we will analyze the importance of creativity to be successful in the sector. Third, we will present some sources of inspiration for the actors. Fourth, we will discuss if the creative process is perceived as an individual or collective practice. Following, we will explain the way in which creativity can be kept alive in the sector, and finally, we will show some aspects that can block the production of novel ideas inside the sector.

### 5.3.1. Definition

There are different ways in which creativity is understood in the gastronomic context. The majority of the interviewees did not provide a specific definition; instead, they illustrated their idea of creativity in gastronomy by providing examples.

Creativity was mostly associated with the creation of new recipes or to the modification of traditional recipes by replacing or adding new ingredients. They refer to this as fusion cuisine, and in most cases, they use Peruvian ingredients as new elements of the recipe. Moreover, the owner of “Isolina”, a restaurant that recently joined the list of the 50 best restaurants in Latin America, emphasized that creativity has to be present throughout the food experience. It is required not only to create new dishes but also to offer a completely new experience for the customers. He considers that customers are becoming more and more demanding for new experiences and creativity turns into a key piece to exceed customers’ expectations. For example, in his restaurant, his team puts special attention to the service, the decoration, and the music in order to recreate a cozy environment.

Furthermore, in most cases, creativity was associated with the action of customization. Participants considered that by adding a personal “touch” they differentiate their offer from the rest.

*“You can tell which students have their creative side more developed. For example, despite that I give the same instructions to all of them, some distinguish their work in the detail of decoration.” (Technical instructor)*

Some examples of creativity in the gastronomic context include the creation of equipment and tools for cooking. In this way, traditional pork cooking technique evolved and instead of using a rustic material, people have invented stainless steel equipment (See Figure 10).

Figure 10: Equipment for traditional pork cooking



Source: Google Images

Additionally, in order to promote more innovation inside the industry, the Ministry of Production launched the National Contest for Innovation in Gastronomy. Forty-eight projects were accepted and from these, ten won. There were two categories:

- Machinery, Equipment, Implements, Hardware and Software
- Processes of Final and intermediate Products

### 5.3.2.Relevance

All the participants agreed that creativity is highly important in gastronomy. In their view, chefs are artists that not only replicate recipes but also express their ingenuity through food. Moreover, creativity can play as a success factor inside the gastronomic sector. Often, the most creative restaurants gain more recognition in the sector and attract more customers that are willing to try them. In this sense, creativity can contribute building a competitive advantage. For this reason, some participants mentioned that the government should be more involved in stimulating creativity and innovation in the sector.

*“Definitively creativity is important; you have to be creative to attract people’s attention, especially with all the biodiversity of products, the history and the culture that we have.” (Chef, member of “the new generation”)*



### 5.3.3. Inspiration

There are different elements that trigger culinary creativity. Most of them imply the interaction with other actors from the sector. For example, in several cases visiting other restaurants inside and outside Peru is very useful for getting new ideas. International influence plays an important role nourishing the local offer. Chefs like to adopt and take as a reference, the culinary experiences they had when traveling abroad. Moreover, visiting rural and urban markets also helps them to be inspired. Talking to rural producers or to food intermediaries about the benefits of seasonal fruits and vegetables gives them new ideas for recipes. Some take a step forward and go to explore the environment where the ingredients grow and to know the people involved in the cultivation. This gives them an idea of the historical and cultural background of the ingredients, and afterward it is transformed into a dish that expresses all that knowledge in an abstract way.

*“Great part of my inspiration comes from our culture. I mean the community, the farmers, the archaeology, etc. When you learn about these elements it is amazing how it feeds the imagination and provides new ideas that are translated into a dish” (Chef, member of “the new generation”)*

*“We believe that the best way to get truly inspired is when you are aware of the journey that the ingredients had to take to get into your kitchen” (Research Centre team member).*

Additionally, social media is another source to get new ideas. Nowadays, chefs and foodies share their knowledge through blogs and other open sources that stimulate open discussions and exchange of ideas related to gastronomy.

Lastly, brainstorming meetings also fuel creativity. Some interviewees mentioned that they gather with people from diverse professional backgrounds (chefs, architects, designers, business administrators) and after sharing their point of view on different matters related to gastronomy, new ideas appear.

### 5.3.4. Individual or collective

Although some consider that the creative process starts at the individual level, all participants agreed on the fact that the interaction with other people has a positive influence on the generation of new ideas. Therefore, interviewees believe that the best ideas come when several actors have been involved in the creative process.

*"People's opinions help you develop new ideas. Comments from your clients or friends can open your eyes, or challenge you to try new things"* (Chef, blogger)

*"It's not about thinking in individualities, instead actors contribute in a collective level to build a shared brand that is Peruvian gastronomy"* (University Professor)

#### 5.3.5. Keeping the flame alive

Most participants believe that the best way to preserve the creative compound in their life is to challenge themselves every day. Maintaining creative enthusiasm depends on their own will, and on how much they are concerned about being updated with the trends of the industry. It is not a spontaneous state that is maintained over time. Therefore, they search for sources of new knowledge like culinary training courses in specific topics, social networks with information shared by top chefs, and other media with relevant facts of the industry.

*"I do think that you need to put special emphasis to ask yourself what you are doing to be creative. If you want to succeed in this industry you have to keep innovating"*  
(Restaurant owner)

#### 5.3.6. Obstacles

Interviewees mentioned three aspects as creativity blockers. First, to stay in a comfort zone. Once that success is reached there is a temptation to keep doing things the same way. Most renowned restaurants in the sector are the ones that success did not hinder their creativity, and on the contrary, they continuously challenge themselves to keep the creative compound alive. Second, dealing with non-creative or risk-averse partners also interrupts the creative process. Usually, these individuals prefer the status quo and do not support novel ideas. This complicates brainstorming sessions in which they participate. Third, the lack of knowledge of the different forms in which creativity can play an important role in the sector. Most actors associate creativity and innovation just with the use of unconventional ingredients or with the use special equipment in the kitchen. They are not aware of all the benefits it can bring to their business if creativity is applied in different ways.

*"Usually, innovation is related to new machinery. Most people don't realized that it can be also applied to the processes, to the business models, or to the supply chain, to mention a few cases"* (Ministry of Production representative)

#### 5.4. Mechanisms that facilitates the creative process

In this section, we will analyze the case under the scope of the internal mechanisms that facilitate the creative process in a collaborative environment. As presented earlier in the literature review about regional innovation systems, we are using the four elements proposed by Doloreux (2002) as a guideline for the study: Interactive learning, knowledge production, proximity, and social embeddedness.

##### 5.4.1. Interactive learning

According to the literature, learning is closely connected to innovation, so now we will analyze how the interaction between actors of the gastronomic sector stimulates learning. First, we will examine the way in which this interaction occurs and how this creates long-standing relationships. Specifically, we will examine trade networks (user-producer linkages) and knowledge networks (flow of know-how favorable for innovation). Following, we will identify the most relevant learning spaces inside the sector. Finally, we will discuss the different communication channels they use.

##### 5.4.1.1. Interaction between actors

After conducting the interviews, we can affirm that most interaction between actors occurs in a horizontal way with partners and suppliers and that they usually involve the exchange of information of the sector. Moreover, the strongest linkages inside the network are the ones built as a consequence of a user-producer relationship, also known in the literature as trade network. Some actors see this as a limitation since they would like to interact with a bigger network. They consider that there is still an opportunity for institutions to bring together actors that do not have contact with each other and that can stimulate mutual learning.

Inside the gastronomic sector, interaction with farmers and with intermediaries has gained special attention in the last decade. For generations, these actors have been forgotten because other actors in the gastronomic chain did not care much about the origin of local ingredients, nor the knowledge that surrounded it. Yet now, the role of the people who cultivate Peruvian products has started to be recognized for its great value in terms of

knowledge. They hold key information about a variety of traditional Peruvian crops. Nevertheless, this is just a start, in the next years; these actors can contribute even more in the learning process inside the sector if they are more included.

For example, most interviewees consider that having a frequent interaction with intermediaries and farmers allows them to have access to useful information to perform better inside the sector. Participants see them as a source of knowledge and ask for their guidance about the benefits of ingredients. Moreover, producers and intermediaries recommend seasonal ingredients in order to take advantage of the best conditions of fruit and vegetables, and in some cases, they introduce new or unusual ingredients. This kind of knowledge is very appreciated by chefs because it helps them to create new dishes. As a result, there has been a new alliance between chefs and farmers based on solidarity and trust. Both actors are aware of the importance of this relationship for the development of Peruvian gastronomy.

*“We do have direct contact with farmers, this allows us to be updated about the ingredients that are on the market and the farmers usually give us samples of these new ingredients so we can taste them and figure out how it can be useful in the kitchen. Sometimes, farmers go to the restaurant, or they contact the restaurant by phone or by email. Sometimes, we talk with intermediaries too because they are close to the farmers, and they also have this kind of knowledge”* (Chef, blogger)

*“As time passes, food suppliers are becoming more actively involved with the restaurant. There is nobody that knows better about ingredients than the food suppliers. They will tell you the best they have in terms of taste and quality. This often occurs with fish for example”* (Restaurant owner)

Furthermore, the interaction between members of food associations or interaction between chefs of different restaurants also stimulates learning by the flow of know-how information favorable for innovation. This is considered in the literature as a knowledge network.

According to the participants, interactions in the gastronomic sector usually are informal and with a friendly tone. From time to time, chefs tend to have informal meetings in order to share their experiences and to get advice as an exchange. This also occurs when they participate in food events as guests.

*“I always keep in touch with other chefs. Usually, Gaston (Acurio) takes the initiative and email us or gather us to discuss his new projects related to the gastronomy community”* (Chef, part of the culinary revolution)

Moreover, the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA) and other food associations always share information with their members, and with people interested in joining in. There are quite a few of these associations in the sector; however, the most recognize is APEGA.

*“Many entrepreneurs come to APEGA with new ideas, looking for advice and for an opportunity to enter the sector. In those cases, we usually put them in contact with one of our members. For example, the team of “Central”, one of the most renowned restaurants in Lima” (Member of the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy)*

*“I talked with a couple of people and they put me in contact with the Food Truck Association of Peru. At that moment, just five trucks were part of the association. I joined as the 6<sup>th</sup> member, and now there are more than 20 brands. [...] Many people interested in managing their own food truck call the association for information about suppliers and about the norms needed to be followed” (Food event organizer)*

#### 5.4.1.2. Learning spaces

After investigating about the way in which knowledge is shared inside the gastronomic sector, we found out that food fairs are the most common encounter that stimulates learning between actors. This is because people who participate in this type of events usually have the opportunity to interact with other participants and ask for their advice on specific topics or learn from them when facing contingencies in the fair. The fair called “Mistura” is the biggest culinary event in Peru and gathers all the actors from the gastronomic scene, including farmers from different regions of Peru. The last edition welcomed 392,247 visitors who were excited to taste the variety of the culinary offer. Since 2008, the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA) organizes this event and each year this institution recruits several restaurants from different parts of the country to show their gastronomy. The selection process follows specific criteria taking into consideration the profile of the restaurant. For example, the ingredients it uses, the region it represents, and its ability to increase its commercial capacity. However, the size of the restaurant is not a limitation, food trucks and street vendors are welcomed to participate. This event reunites all types of food offers: traditional, prestigious, popular, trendy, etc. Therefore, the fair allows the exchange of ideas between chefs and restaurant owners that otherwise would rarely interact.

*“Inside Mistura, participants benefit not only from commercial activities but also from new contacts they get. Chefs and restaurant owners have the opportunity to buy directly from the producers who are present at the fair. Moreover, I know many businesses were formed because of Mistura’s interactions” (Chef, part of the culinary revolution)*

Moreover, the fair also pushes participants to question themselves about the technology and the processes they use. In order to respond to the demand inside the fair, several participants have to surpass their regular production. This encourages the adoption of more efficient processes. Additionally, APEGA organizes training workshops for all participants before the event so they can anticipate any adjustments in their operations.

*“Mistura represents 10 intensive days, in which participants need to improve their processes in order to respond to a higher demand. They are aware that the number of orders will increase significantly. On a regular daily basis, participants used to manage 100 orders, but in Mistura, this number turns into 1,000 or 2,000 approximately. This represents a big change for them, it is like a shock. This is why; before the fair, the selected participants have to attend training workshops organized by APEGA. For this, APEGA works in collaboration with local universities, which are willing to contribute with technical knowledge. Indeed, I consider the fair Mistura as an example of an innovation system for gastronomy” (Member of the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy)*

Furthermore, the fair includes a special zone where renowned chefs from the local and the international scene share their knowledge. Designated Peruvian chefs guide international guests to discover Peruvian gastronomy during their stay in Lima. This fosters the flow of knowledge from outside the country and helps to build and image abroad.

Other food fairs take place with a smaller scope but also motivate interactive learning in the sector. For example, some Municipalities are supporting farmers who offer organic products by giving them a special location on Sundays to sell their products. Moreover, from the private sector, there are fairs that target specific types of food. For example, “Filo” is an initiative that started promoting a hamburger festival and recently it did a Japanese food festival.

So far, the encounters described stimulate learning mainly by the interaction of partners and other horizontal relations. However, the Academia and other institutions also organize events to inject knowledge into the sector. In these learning spaces, experts of the sector share their knowledge with actors from the private sector who desire to improve their performance. Although these kind of events are limited, they represent a key space to educate firms and other representatives from the workforce of the sector. Table 3 summarizes the different encounters that allow actors to learn from each other.

Table 3: Learning spaces in the gastronomic sector

Most highlighted events	Description
Mistura	Latin America's most important gastronomy fair. In 2017, it celebrated its 10 <sup>th</sup> anniversary. It is the most important space where all the actors of the sector exchange knowledge.
Local food festivals	Specialized food fairs with a smaller scope than Mistura. Organizers: municipalities, pro-fund organizations, private organizations.
International Congress of Gastronomy	It gathers chefs, scholars, public representatives and other actors that take part of the gastronomic scene in Peru. It also invites international speakers who are renowned in the culinary world. Its propose is to share success stories from the sector and to present aspects that still represent an opportunity.
APEGA's Workshops	The Peruvian Society of Gastronomy in collaboration with universities offer educational sessions in different matters related to gastronomy. It is open to anybody interested in the topic and it has a low cost to register.
Ministry of Production Discussion tables	An inter-ministerial activity that has an objective to align and activate different initiatives related to gastronomy. It also invites actors from the private sector to be part of the conversation.
Yuntemonos	Organized by Pontificia Universidad Catolica on the presentation of its new career in Gastronomy. It brought together the Academia, the public sector, the private sector, the chefs, and the farmers. The event covered different topics that are relevant to today's situation in the sector and that need to be addressed by different perspectives.
Momento Mater	Organized by the Research Centre of the restaurant "Central", it is a cross disciplinary congress which invites cooks, anthropologists, botanists, artists, and other actors

	to discuss themes related to the importance of the cultural background and the future road of Peruvian gastronomy.
Cafe Mater	An initiative lead by the Research Center of the restaurant “Central” in collaboration with the National Council for Science and Technology (CONCYTEC) that has the purpose to investigate the properties of native ingredients in Peru.

#### 5.4.1.3. Communication

Regarding the communication channels used to interact, these can vary depending on the actors they will target. In general, institutions that would like to transfer knowledge to the workforce inside the gastronomic sector say that visual material and practical examples have a better impact than using theoretical material about gastronomy and innovation. Moreover, to stimulate young people to innovate inside the sector, the Ministry of Production launched a national competition called “Innovation for Gastronomy”. In this case, all the information was exchange through social media and its webpage. The team in charge of the competition say that this communication channel works well between young men and women who are about to finish their studies in gastronomy or related careers. Furthermore, according to a university professor, some actors from the gastronomic sector are not used to dialogue with the Academia. This complicates the interaction between scholars and other actors from the gastronomic sector. However, the Academia puts emphasis on giving a clear message about the benefits that innovation can bring to the sector.

#### 5.4.2. Knowledge production

According to the literature, actors should be willing to share their knowledge so interactive learning capabilities increase. In this environment, a high degree of trust between actors is a key piece. In the case of the gastronomic sector in Peru, actors still need to work on this aspect. Despite all interviewees showed themselves open to sharing their knowledge with others, the majority commented that inside the sector is difficult to overpass the sense of mistrust. Many prefer to keep for themselves recipes or techniques that consider a secret.



*“Peruvians are highly creative but very distrustful. A terrible combination to enhance creativity” (University Professor)*

However, there are good examples of shared knowledge as well. Mainly from actors who are leaders in the sector. That is the case of Gaston Acurio, the most renowned Peruvian chef. From the start, he understood that sharing his recipes and other culinary pieces of advice enriches Peruvian gastronomy in the long term. He was the first chef to put aside individual ambitions and think collectively. Others have followed him in this respect, contributing to the knowledge creation of the sector. The research center “Mater Iniciativa” is currently working on a project that aims to develop a platform that will provide information about the ingredients of the different regions of the country and the benefits and tastes they offer. The idea was conceived as an in-house tool that would provide relevant information for the chefs of restaurant Central. This would help them create new dishes using the ingredients that the research team find on each investigation trip they do, but now the team expects to launch the app open to the public. In this way, they are investing in a platform that can be used as a source of inspiration for other actors. Moreover, trust usually initiates between members of a group, for example, the chef of restaurant “Isolina” sustained that he was only able to expand his business by sharing his knowledge with the other members of his team. He had to delegate main tasks in the kitchen so he can focus on the creation of a new restaurant. At the beginning, it was hard for him to share all the details of his recipes with others because he was worried to lose exclusivity. Eventually, he realized that the other big chefs in the sector trust these main tasks to their teams, so they could work on different projects at the same time.

*“He is my right hand in the kitchen. He has worked for me for several years and now he has opened his own restaurant. I passed all my knowledge about opening a new business to him. I am open to help anybody who calls me for advice about owning a restaurant” (Chef, part of the culinary revolution)*

When analyzing knowledge production in the gastronomic sector in Peru, we found the two forms suggested in the literature: tacit knowledge and codified knowledge. All interviewees agreed that there is a type of knowledge that is only obtained in a practical way. Cooking implies several manual tasks like cutting, chopping, and mixing. Although most of these techniques are taught in gastronomy institutes, chefs develop special skills doing these tasks only when they start working in the field. Inside the kitchen, cooks learn new techniques by

watching others chefs with more expertise. Moreover, they learn to listen to their intuitive side by witnessing first-hand how head chefs adapt or personalize recipes. This is not a standard task that could be replicated for all cases; instead, the idea is to develop judgment that will help the chef to exploit its creative side when the situation allows it. Tacit knowledge is mainly obtained through work experience, however, to promote the flow of it, food fairs and congresses usually have on-site classes with renowned chefs.

On the other side, codified knowledge in Peruvian gastronomy includes all material that contains useful information for the learning process. For example, cooking books, recipes, manuals and especially social media.

*“Nowadays, there are several sources containing useful information about Peruvian cuisine. For example, written material like gastronomy books. These, provide information not only about recipes, but also about the history of Peruvian gastronomy, the characteristics of native products, and the cooking techniques. I believe that the number of Peruvian publications should increase, however, we do have good material of some Peruvian authors”* (Chef, member of “the new generation”)

*“15 years ago, publications of Peruvian gastronomy began to increase”* (Member of the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy)

*“Thanks to my blog, I can share information about recipes and cooking techniques with my followers”* (Chef, blogger)

#### 5.4.3. Proximity

Physical proximity facilitates communication and bonding between actors in the gastronomic sector. Especially with farmers, who recently have gained more attention for their knowledge harvesting ancient Peruvian ingredients. Participants highlighted the benefits of being close to the land where the ingredients come from. This eases the access to knowledge gathered in situ where products grow, reduces transportation costs and ensures the freshness of the products.

As theory about RIS sustains, it was difficult to limit the creative behavior to a specific territory or region. The scale where Peruvian gastronomy exist is blurred. We could identify that national, regional and local activities are mixed and the dynamism of each is affected in some level by the other. In general, the government has launched initiatives that promote the gastronomy industry along the country. Most of these initiatives provide the same conditions

and benefits for all regions. However, due to the high level of centralization, most of the economic activity is focused in its capital, Lima. So, although the starting point of this study referred to the gastronomy industry at the national level and its evolution in general, the primary evidence collected showed that most gastronomic activity is located in Lima. This capital city region act as a gastronomic cluster and attracts tourism from abroad. According to APEGA (2017) more than the 50% of the total restaurants of Peru are located in Lima.

Moreover, participants identified an example of an agglomeration at a local level in the city of Lima. It is located in “La Mar” Avenue and it reunites a variety of Peruvian restaurants. Here, the main offer is seafood and the most famous restaurant is the one with the same name as the avenue and opened by Gaston Acurio.

*“Everything is shared, absolutely everything. I even call chefs from other restaurants of this block that I consider my friends and I ask them about sales performance and other relevant information” (Chef, part of the culinary revolution)*

At the regional level, the Ministry of Production has identified other three city-regions characterized by their traditional food and the high concentration of restaurants. These are Arequipa, Trujillo, and Tarapoto. They represent the culinary offer from the south, the north, and the jungle respectively.

#### 5.4.4.Social embeddedness

According to the literature, the fourth mechanism that facilitates the creative process in a RIS is social embeddedness. This refers to the role of personal relations and networks considering the cultural and institutional context where they take place.

For the gastronomic sector in Peru, this mechanism plays an important role connecting people. All interviewees mentioned that their cultural background helped them build shared social and cultural values. No matter the economic differences, nowadays gastronomy has made Peruvians feel as part of one common force. There is a sense of identity and satisfaction surrounding the success of Peruvian gastronomy in the recent years. Participants believe that culture is a key piece of today’s success. They feel that they have a culinary heritage that has been passed down from one generation to the other. Moreover, they are aware that Peruvian geography, its resources, its history and its people are central pieces influencing the food that characterizes them. In several cases, they sustained that they have an especial bond with

gastronomy because cooking at home represented an especial family time with their previous generations, from who they learned how to cook.

*“Definitively, culture is very important and works as an inspiration for chefs. During the last two decades, gastronomy has given back national pride to Peruvians. Today, people consider it as an important piece of their culture, along with other creative expressions”* (Chef, member of “the new generation”).

Furthermore, we were able to see firsthand how different actors feel part of a gastronomic community. All participants expressed their willingness to contribute to the development of Peruvian gastronomy. The different actors see themselves as part of a team with one common purpose: making Peruvian gastronomy one of the best of the world. This will have positive outcomes for each field they represent. Thus, it will have an economic and cultural effect on the society. For example, for the Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism, it will help gain more recognition abroad and attract more people to visit the country to try its food. For firms, it will motivate more people to eat Peruvian food, therefore an increase in sales. For knowledge related entities, it will stimulate investigation in order to seek improvement in the sector.

*“I believe that the common purpose is the desire to grow as an industry. Firms inside the gastronomic sector are thinking in ways to innovate so they can improve their businesses”* (University Professor)

## 6. Discussion of the findings

Based on the analysis, this chapter will provide the interpretation of the findings structured in five parts. First, we will discuss the characteristics of this particular industry. Next, we will elaborate on the concepts of creativity present in the gastronomic sector in Peru. Following, we will highlight some concluding ideas respecting the role of the actors and the mechanisms that mediate the flow of creativity inside the industry. Then, we will present some important aspects to take into consideration for the future of the gastronomic sector in Peru, and lastly, we will compare the findings of this study to the results of other illustrative case studies of creative industries but from the developed world.

### 6.1. Structure of the industry

As theory suggests, the case analyzed shows the four basic characteristics of a creative industry. First, we were able to confirm that the creative compound is the primary input of the gastronomic offer. Peruvian gastronomy has become an unexpected new proposal in the culinary world and has attracted the attention of gastronomic experts from all over the world thanks to its distinctiveness. Actors from the industry sustained that the main aspects that make Peruvian gastronomy so singular are its cultural background and the agrobiodiversity of Peru's geography. These characteristics have shaped the context of this industry and they serve as inspiration to trigger the creativity of Peruvian chefs. Ancestral cooking techniques and the influence of a variety of cultures that immigrated to Peru throughout history, mixed with the local ingredients were the perfect combination to differentiate Peruvian gastronomy from the others. As a good example, we can mention the successful work of Chef Virgilio Martinez, who conceived a tasting menu which embodies the different altitudes and ecosystems of Peru. For this creation, his restaurant "Central" has been internationally recognized, and Chef Virgilio Martinez was invited to be part of the third season of the Netflix production 'Chef's Table'. Furthermore, the importance of creativity as a main input was also validated by all the interviewees. They agreed on the fact that creativity is highly important to be successful in the industry because customers are always looking for new experiences, and restaurants usually compete by differentiating themselves from the others.

Second, regarding the industry structure per se, official information shows that there is a large number of small and medium size enterprises (SME's) coexisting with few large players. It is

interesting to see that this perfectly matches with the nature of a creative industry as we have presented in the literature review. According to APEGA (2017) there are approximately 100 thousands restaurants, of which 84.4% are SME's. Interviewees sustained that most of them do not have high quality standards and are accustomed to working informally. Here, the role of stronger institutions is required, so more regulation and control can be executed. The analysis also showed that although this sector attracts many actors to be part of it, of the total number of new restaurants that are opened monthly, just 50% of these new ventures survive more than 3 months (Anonymous, 2009). Moreover, Acurio Group is the most recognized player in the industry. Formed by an extent number of restaurants owned by famous Chef Gaston Acurio, this corporation is the leading participant in terms of awareness. All interviewees mentioned at some point of the conversation, the role of Gaston Acurio and his restaurants inside the industry. This clearly reflects the strong presence of this player in the sector. Furthermore, there are also big franchises operating in the gastronomic sector, although the number is still limited compared to the other players.

Third, many workers go in and out of employment, making it difficult to assess the size and scale of the sector. However, according to Valderrama (2016), the labor market of the gastronomic sector in Peru employs 400 thousands workers. As many other industries in Peru, it has to deal with high levels of informality, and there is a lack of qualified workers (APEGA, 2017). Other characteristic that perfectly meets the theory about creative industries is that acquiring tacit knowledge is greatly valued. Since there is a scarce qualified workforce, especially for middle line positions, 'learning-on-the-job' is a common practise. Interviewees confirmed how important is to acquire working experience. They sustained that some techniques are best learned in the daily functioning of a restaurant. This reality makes it so important to promote trust inside the sector. If so, experienced chefs can share their knowledge with beginners, and pass on ad-hoc skills that are especially useful inside the industry. This in turn can create a good precedent and generate a chain reaction, fostering the transfer of knowledge to one another. For example, the analysis demonstrated one case in which the chef was able to surpass his paradigm of keeping kitchen secrets for himself and delegate. After sharing his knowledge with his workers, one of them was able to open his own restaurant. However, considering that this industry is characterized by the presence of a few big players, it is important that institutions ensure that labor rights are complied with, and that these big players would not take advantage of the workforce.

Fourth, the gastronomic sector in Peru also showed signs of clustering. Although the gastronomic phenomenon is present all over the country, most of the gastronomic activity

and the most sounded restaurants are positioned in Lima. Indeed, according to APEGA (2017), more than the 50% of the total restaurants of Peru are located in Lima. As a consequence, the government is focusing efforts on the development of gastronomy in other cities besides Lima. It has identified three cities which have a strong culinary offer: Arequipa, Tarapoto and Trujillo. Moreover, it was interesting to know the work of the Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism promoting food fairs in two border cities to increase tourism from Chile and Ecuador.

## 6.2. Creativity in this industry

As previously stated, the creative compound in the gastronomic sector in Peru is highly important. Throughout the study, Peruvian creativity and ingenuity was repeatedly mentioned as a basic element to succeed in this industry. Moreover, the creative process in the gastronomy industry in Peru is characterized by the inclusion of people. Bringing together chefs with farmers has promoted the re-connection of food with Peruvian culture. Chefs have included a fundamental piece in their creative process and that is to understand the particular ingredients that one of the most biodiverse countries has to offer, and the cooking traditions that have been handed down from previous generations. The variety of the ingredients of this land, and its cultural background are factors that make this case so unique.

Although actors who participated in the study did not provide an elaborated definition of creativity, they were very emphatic giving examples of how creativity can be used in different aspects of the whole gastronomic experience. They are aware that customers today search for more than a tasty meal. They are looking for new experiences, and in the Peruvian case, chefs and other actors are passionate about Peruvian gastronomy and they want to express all their creativity in a dish and in the environment that surrounds it. Based on the findings, we can sustain that creativity is mostly understood as the new uses and combinations of existing ingredients and techniques (Capdevila et al., 2015). In most cases, Peruvians have given a twist to traditional food, resulting in the creation of new recipes. Only one case showed signs of going one step forward in the creative process. Here, we refer to the restaurant "Central" owned by Chef Virgilio Martinez. He and his team of researchers have challenged the commonly accepted ingredients and have investigated unexplored areas of Peru in search of ingredients never used before in the gastronomic context. For this, the restaurant has its own research center that analyses the properties of the ingredients, ensuring they are edible and harmless for human consumption.

Furthermore, we found that the interaction with other actors from the sector is the main element that triggers culinary creativity. Interaction can take different forms, but the interviewees mentioned spontaneously the following:

- Visiting other restaurants inside and outside Peru.
- Participating in brainstorming meetings with people from diverse professional backgrounds.
- Visiting rural and urban markets.
- Talking to rural producers or food intermediaries.

In these last two cases, interaction helped to discover the variety of Peruvian ingredients that can be used to create new recipes. Like the example of Virgilio Martinez demonstrated, few chefs have gone a step forward searching for new ideas and have explored different geographies of Peru to get inspired by the ingredients and the environment that surrounds it. Moreover, culture plays an important role motivating new ideas. Peruvian ancestral heritage was combined with a variety of other foreign cultures during an immigration process, generating new culinary offers.

It is also interesting to see that the most recognized and creative chefs have studied abroad or have some international work experience. Thanks to globalization, culinary trends from other parts of the world can also nourish Peruvian chefs with new knowledge. Hence, local and non-local knowledge interplay because of global integration as suggested by Bathelt and Cohendet (2014).

According to the actors, in order to preserve the creative behavior inside the sector, they need to keep challenging themselves everyday searching for new sources of knowledge.

Moreover, we found three aspects that can work as creativity blockers, and that actors should avoid:

- Staying in the comfort zone
- Dealing with non-creative or risk averse partners
- Lack of knowledge of the different areas on which creativity can be applied inside the gastronomic sector (Many actors believe that creativity and innovation encompass a limited scope of action, relating these concepts just to recipes or machinery)



### 6.3. Actors and mechanisms underlying the functioning of the industry and its development

In order to analyze this creative industry, we used the concepts of regional innovation systems as a theoretical framework. This theory suggests that certain elements and mechanisms need to be present in the economic environment so as to boost creativity and innovation. When we tested these principles on the Peruvian case, in effect we were able to identify them, but the level of development of each differs.

Regarding the role of the actors, the degree of commitment between actors varies. The private sector has taken the lead. Specifically, the work of Chef Gaston Acurio boosting Peruvian gastronomy has been remarkable. He has truly changed the way in which Peruvian gastronomy was conceived and has encouraged other actors to be creative and passionate in every task they develop inside the sector.

Furthermore, institutions from the public sector have recently joined efforts for the development of the gastronomic sector. They have taken good initial steps, however when we contrast this reality with regional innovation systems theory, we notice that the role of institutions should be more significant. Here, we have to take into consideration that this theory was conceived in the developed world, where strong institutions shape the business context and provide stability to all agents. On the contrary, institutions from developing countries like Peru, are affected by corruption, lack of continuity in the administration, reduced budget, etc. Despite this reality, these countries are not condemned to block creativity and innovation from their economic activities, it is just matter of being aware of these limitations and learn how to get the attention and support from public institutions. Probably, as the Peruvian case shows, these institutions will not take the initiative to offer especial policies to encourage the emergence of creative industries, but once the private sector takes the first steps in developing these type of industries, public institutions can be involved in order to exploit the opportunities in a larger scale.

In regards with the role of the actors present in knowledge infrastructure entities, the contribution of congresses and gastronomy fairs has been fundamental. Specifically, the fair “Mistura” is an excellent source of knowledge that stimulates interactive learning between all actors of the sector. Moreover, the involvement of the Academia through universities is getting stronger each year, but we can say that it is at an initial stage. Recently, gastronomy is being considered more seriously as a study discipline, and more actors are willing to

investigate and enrich the sector with new knowledge. However, when we contrast the findings on knowledge infrastructure with theory, we were not able to apply some theoretical concepts to the Peruvian case. Specifically, we refer to the presence of innovative support structures that stimulate technology diffusion like science parks and technology parks. These elements were not present in the Peruvian case. None of the interviewees mentioned the existence of such entities and neither referred to these concepts.

Concerning the work of the actors classified under the element 'policy-oriented regional innovation', it was interesting to discover three initiatives that promote the interaction between firms, knowledge infrastructure and institutions, and that look to promote the diffusion of technologies related to gastronomy on a regional scale. These are the National Program for Innovation in Production (Innovate Peru), the National Council for Science and Technology (CONCYTEC) and the National Program for Innovation in Agriculture (PNIA). However, according to the interviewees, more policy formulation addressing the gastronomic sector is required.

Moreover, after analyzing the four mechanisms proposed by Doloreux (2002), we found similarities between theory and reality. In effect, as theory suggests, interactive learning, knowledge production, proximity and social embeddedness favor the flow of creativity inside the sector. However, some mechanisms showed a stronger presence than others did. For example, interactive learning proved to be decisive for the flow of knowledge and for culinary creativity. It takes place mostly due to the informal and friendly relationship between chefs, and it is reinforced during food fairs, expositions, gastronomic congresses, etc. User-producer relationship acts as a source of relevant information and contributes extensively to the exchange of knowledge inside the sector. Food fairs, congresses and other gastronomic encounters are considered learning spaces where actors exchange knowledge and create networks. The biggest culinary event is the fair "Mistura", which is held yearly and gathers almost all of the actors from the sector. Regarding knowledge production, recognized Peruvian chefs have shattered a previous misconception that chefs should secretly keep all information about their recipes and techniques to themselves, by openly sharing their knowledge and recipes with others. However, they are the minority, most of the chefs and the restaurant owners remain skeptical about giving away their 'culinary secrets' because they are more concerned about competing than cooperating. This industry needs more actors following the path of those who are willing to share, in order to expand knowledge inside the sector. In this aspect, social media and other communication channels have helped considerable. Moreover, tacit knowledge is highly valued inside the industry. Cooking implies

many manual tasks that are better learned by working in the field. We also found evidence of codified knowledge. In this category, we found books about Peruvian gastronomy and other publications that enrich the sectors.

Furthermore, social embeddedness is quite relevant analyzing the Peruvian case. In this aspect, we can highlight the contribution of personal relations and networks created around the cultural and institutional context of the actors. Most actors have a strong connection with their cultural background, and they recognize this as fundamental in the booming process of Peruvian gastronomy. Findings were consistent in supporting the idea of community inside the sector. All interviewees sustained that they felt a special sense of belonging and pride because of their work in the gastronomic sector, and this encourage them to keep contributing with the economic development of this sector.

Finally, physical proximity enables communication and bonding between actors. Moreover, the closeness to the land where the ingredients come from plays a key condition to acquire knowledge that spur creativity. It also helps to reduce transportation costs and ensures the freshness of the products.

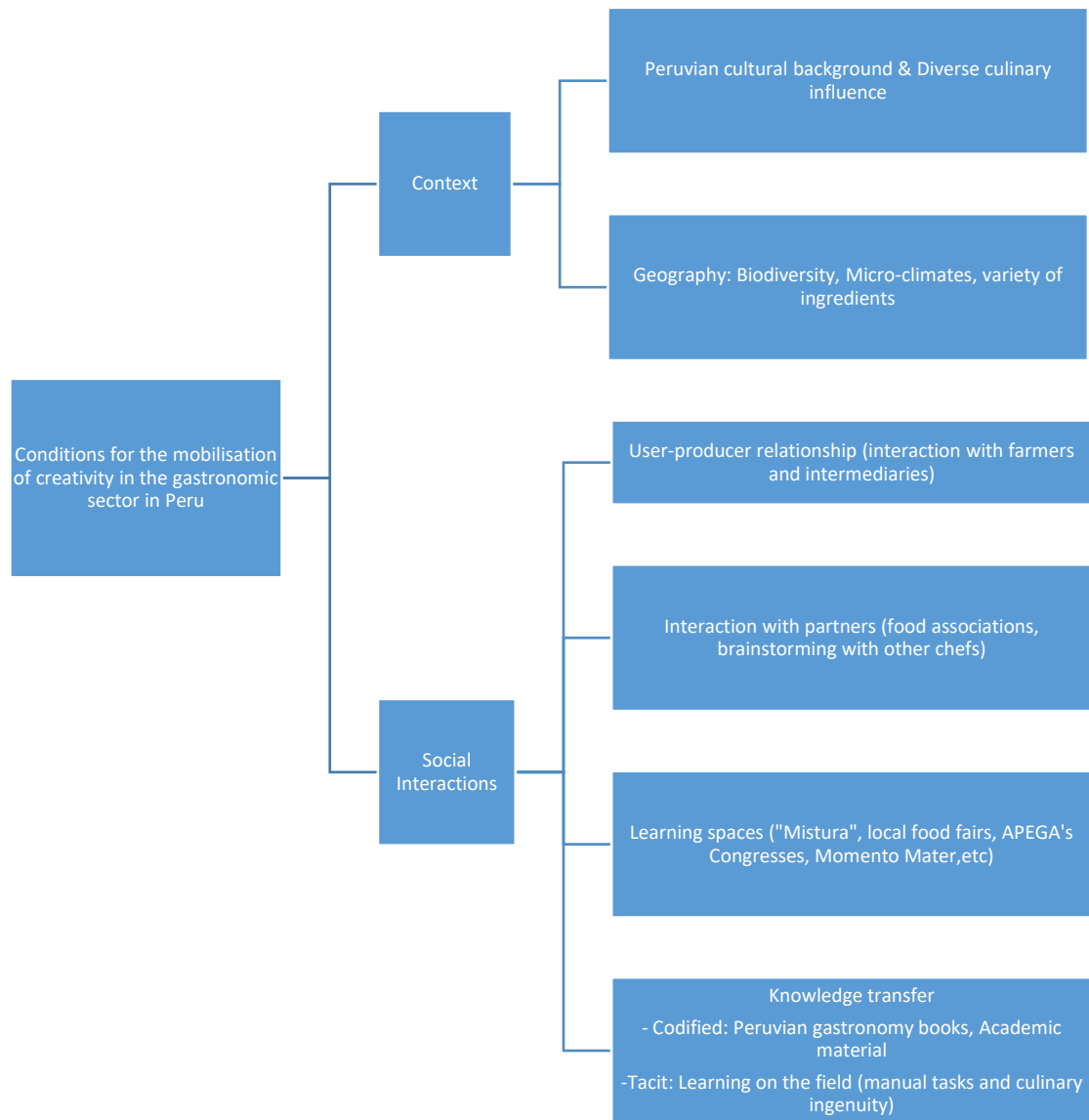
So, going back to our initial research question:

***How do the different actors present in the gastronomic sector in Peru contribute to the mobilisation of creativity within the industry?***

At a macro level, we found two key concepts that explain the flow of creativity in the Peruvian case, and that appeared repeatedly along the study: Context and social interactions. As experts on the study of creative industries have highlighted (Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009; UNDP & UNESCO, 2013) , these two concepts are highly relevant understanding the complexities behind the flourishing and the mobilisation of creativity in these economic activities. Indeed, Peruvian context include a rich cultural background (Inca civilization had a strong involvement developing techniques to preserve food), a mixture of cultures (culinary influence from other cultures due to the arrival of immigrants), and an enriched land with a vast biodiversity (providing a variety of ingredients). Moreover, as the analysis of the interviews showed, social interactions in the gastronomic sector in Peru have allowed the exchange of ideas and have awoken a shared need to work together to make Peruvian gastronomy one of the best of the world. Firms, public institutions, universities and other organizations have joined efforts in this respect.

In order to discover these findings and to be able to answer the research question, the regional innovation system theory was highly useful. By analyzing at a micro level the mechanisms that stimulate creativity, we were able to dig deeper into context and social interactions in order to find more specific elements. Thanks to the concepts behind this approach we were able to understand that knowledge dynamic of the industry results from different processes and interactions, which are stimulated by the four mechanisms analyzed: Interactive learning, knowledge production, proximity and social embeddedness. Figure 11 summarizes these ideas:

Figure 11: Conditions stimulating culinary creativity in Peru



Source: Own elaboration

#### 6.4. Lessons from the case-study: Roles and contributions of RIS in developing countries

We chose to analyze a creative industry in a developing country under the scope of the RIS approach in order to understand the flow of creativity. By conducting this study we were able to see first-hand the positive impact of collective work creating a creative environment and a more inclusive society. The literature review showed that there is a considerable interest on the notions of RIS especially because innovation often can represent a competitive advantage for a territory. But beyond the economic outcome, the results of the case-study showed the valuable contribution on social inclusiveness. The RIS approach put emphasis on social interaction and how this can promote collective learning. By sharing one physical space and one common interest, we were able to see how people along the gastronomy chain came together regardless of their social position. Thus, farmers and other humble actors, who have been ignore for a long time, were invited to participate of the creative process. As a consequence, the situation of these actors have gained more exposure and today they are seen as a part of the gastronomy chain that should not be left behind. Theory related to RIS should be analyzed considering not only growth and productivity, but also the social impact in the territory. The social processes through which innovations are generated are worthy to be study because of its impact in inclusive development (Aguirre-Bastos & Weber, 2017). Policymakers in developing countries must combine economic competitiveness and inclusiveness under a common vision.

#### 6.5. Success factors moving forward

In this section, we will present the key points mentioned by the interviewees as fundamental for the stability of the gastronomic sector, and some aspects that appeared as possible obstacles. Policymaker and other leading actors from this industry should take into consideration these final remarks for the future of Peruvian gastronomy.

First, all actors should keep working together towards the same goal. The progress of the gastronomic sector in the last two decades confirms the importance of joining efforts and thinking collectively. For this, they have to be aware that the future of Peruvian gastronomy is beyond their individual interests. When we discussed the possible pathway for Peruvian Gastronomy with the interviewees, we perceived a slight conflict of interests between chefs and the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA). Chefs have a more idealistic view, which

prioritizes their passion for the creation of new offers in the culinary scene. Whereas, APEGA provides a rational understanding, highlighting the business side. As a consequence, some chefs and restaurant owners believe that the role of APEGA has turned too commercial and that it only favors some groups of the sector. This represents a risk of a potential rupture of the harmony inside the industry. Both sides have valid points and they need to learn to manage these differences.

Second, it is essential to remember that Peruvian ingredients and farmers, and the cultural context that surrounds them, are central pieces of the gastronomic movement. Culture nourishes Peruvian gastronomy, differentiating it from others. Occasionally, traditional cooking and actors from rural regions do not get the same attention as the new culinary offers created by famous Peruvian chefs who have been internationally awarded. However, we should not overlook the fact that traditional Peruvian cuisine remains a key source of inspiration for chefs. Moreover, it is necessary to ensure the sustainability of Peruvian products for both traditional and fusion cuisine.

Third, it is necessary to promote more research and development inside the sector. New technologies are needed along the production chain. Specially, in terms of food preservation and other health requirements. Furthermore, the workforce should seek for constant training in order to remain competitive in the region. This way, the workforce should search for new knowledge at the local and international level. People related to gastronomy should be aware of the culinary trends in other parts of the world.

Fourth, the progress of Peruvian gastronomy must be accompanied by better indicators of nutrition at the national level. Efforts toward this goal have already begun, and more actors are getting involved because of the high level of malnutrition in Peru. Most of them sustained that it is an irony to be considered world's leading culinary destination by the World Travel Awards, and to have a large amount of the population suffering by malnutrition.

Finally, actors need to think about the long term. In the case of the public sector, a change in the administration should not imply a setback. It is necessary to elaborate a long-term plan that can provide stability and continuity inside the gastronomic sector. In the case of the private sector, actors need to be aware that some investments will not reflect short-term revenues but that instead it is an investment for the future, which will have its returns. For example, in the case of research and development, or investing in training for the workforce.

## 6.6. Comparing the case to previous empirical work

After analyzing a creative industry in a developing country, it was interesting to see first-hand how some issues that were brought up in previous empirical work done by scholars analysing creative industries in the developed world were also relevant for this particular case. In this section, we will highlight these findings in order to reinforce some matters on the creative industry theory.

Although, we were able to identify many principles from previous empirical work that were also pertinent for the Peruvian case. We believe it is worth to mention the comparison with five illustrative case studies because of the relevance of some topics for the Peruvian case.

First, the work of Cooke (2011) investigating the rural-urban interaction and the way in which this interaction can help for regional development suits perfectly with the opportunities that the gastronomic sector in Peru offers. During the study, we were able to confirm the importance of the role of farmers and agriculture in nourishing the gastronomic sector. Although these actors were under appreciated for many years, recently, Peruvian chefs and other entities inside the industry have given more attention to the role of the rural world.

In his article, Cooke (2011) raised the following three key questions referring to European territories:

“1. To what extent do rural in relation to urban economies display potential or actual development processes that enable them fully to engage with the challenges and imperatives of the knowledge economy [...]? 2. In what ways may such creative or innovative knowledges of the kind often associated with ideas of a ‘knowledge economy’ be captured value in an integrated and only moderately specialised way to capture value from rural-urban synergies that diversify the rural economic offer and enable a more robust interaction to occur with urban, metropolitan and overseas tourist demand? [...] 3. In what ways has policy (e.g. WTO, EU CAP & ‘Convergence’ Funds) assisted or hindered such processes of diversified rural development platform building by promotion of ‘placeless foodscapes’, what further reforms to policy may be envisaged to assist these processes and what policy lessons are to be learned from diverse experiences of rural diversification [...]?”(Cooke, 2011:4).

These questionings could also be extended to the Peruvian case in order for the authorities to take a more significant role on this respect. Rural regions in Peru represent a large part of the territory and as we have learned from some successful examples of the gastronomic sector, they are part of the context of the creative process. Promoting stronger linkages between the rural and the urban regions can foster economic development in both worlds. Additionally,



according to the results of our study, the participation of rural actors can help to inspire chefs during the creative process. Thus, gastronomy should be strongly linked to agriculture, and promote inter-sectoral development. Peruvian entities need to create a consciousness about the role of rural spaces in a larger scale, so all actors from the gastronomic sector will acknowledge the role of farmers and ingredients in the creative process, and consequently they will be more willing to pay a fair price for their work. As an example, one chef taking the lead in the valorization of the rural world is Virgilio Martinez. He has just opened a new restaurant located near the Inca ruin of Moray above Cusco, called "Mil". In this way, the chef wanted to take customers to experience, in situ, a culinary journey to the heart of the land, closer to the wisdom of traditional farmers and to the Peruvian cultural heritage.

Second, also associated to the rural-urban concepts, the work of Donald and Blay-Palmer (2006) also raised relevant issues that can be applied to the Peruvian case. After studying the 'creative-food' industry in the Greater Toronto Area, these authors proposed that supporting local, fresh, ethnic, and fusion cuisine offers an opportunity for a more socially inclusive and sustainable urban development model. As in the Canadian case, the gastronomic sector in Peru shows that beyond the benefits that this industry can offer to customers in culinary terms, it has an impact on cross-sectorial industries. Many intermediaries, suppliers, farmers and other economic actors are now more included thanks to the high performance of Peruvian gastronomy. First steps have been made to be more socially inclusive in the Peruvian case, however it is clear that more work can be done in this respect to amplify the benefits to a wider scope of the rural world.

Third, we can relate the Peruvian case with the work of Drake (2003), which sustains that locality can be a catalyst for individual creativity. The author discovered that location may provide inspiration in the creative process of craft metal work in England. Indeed, we found that interviewees from our study spontaneously mentioned that they felt influenced by their surroundings. They confirmed that being physically located in Peru has shaped the way they interpret gastronomy. In some cases, as the analysis showed, the cultural background in this territory acts as a privileged legacy that motivates them to promote Peruvian gastronomy.

Fourth, we can compare the role of Roskilde Festival in Denmark as leading element in a cultural innovation system (Hjalager, 2009) with the role of the culinary fair "Mistura" in Peru. The work of Hjalager (2009) investigated the mechanisms inside a Music Festival in Denmark promoting creative behaviour. In this illustrative case, it is interesting to see the analysis of

collaborations and networks inside this festival. In the same way, “Mistura” represents an open gathering which invites multidisciplinary actors to interact and share their knowledge.

Finally, during the study we were able to identify the importance of intermediaries and other organizations stimulating interactive learning, a condition closely connected to innovation. Information gathered conducting the interviews showed that interaction with intermediaries provided insightful information about seasonal ingredients, or in some cases about unusual ingredients that were getting trendy. Moreover, interactions with members of food associations were also mentioned for their role in injecting knowledge to the gastronomic sector. Precisely, the work of Rantisi (2014) refers to the role of intermediaries (private, public or non-profit organizations) assuming a lead role in pipeline construction when an industry lacks the presence of large firms, and the small and medium sized firms (SME's) cannot assume this role because of their limited resources. Thus, the author examined the role of a trade association intermediary, the Fur Council of Canada, stimulating the flow of knowledge through the creation of stronger ‘local pipelines’ between the fashion and fur industries. Similarly, we can link these ideas with the role assumed by the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA) facilitating the interaction between farmers and chefs. Cross-industry exchange initiatives between agriculture and gastronomy should be more favored for the flow of knowledge.

## 7. Conclusion

We learned from theory that creative industries constitute a good alternative for economic, social and cultural development. Moreover, considering that the main input is creativity, and that creativity can be present in any part of the world, experts on the matter sustain that these industries can be found both in developed and developing countries. However, most of the empirical knowledge available refers to case studies investigating creative industries in the developed world. There is a scarce number of illustrative case studies documenting empirical research in developing countries because of the difficulty of accessing local data in these regions. Nevertheless, these territories are also part of this increasingly integrated world, and more academic content built on these countries is needed.

For this reason, we found necessary to add empirical knowledge to the literature by investigating the driving forces and mechanisms that mediate the conditions for the mobilisation of creativity in a creative industry in a developing country. Understanding the mobilisation of creativity is highly relevant because it ensures the stability and flourishing of the sector in any creative industry. This in turn can be translated to regional development.

In order to accomplish this objective, we used the concepts of regional innovation systems (RIS) as theoretical framework. No previous work had been done applying the RIS approach to the gastronomic sector in a developing country. So we wanted to fill this gap by going to the field and conducting a qualitative study with the main actors inside a creative industry.

In specific, we centered our study on the gastronomic sector in Peru. The results showed that the selected case met all the characteristics of a creative industry and confirmed the positive outcomes proposed by theory in the economic, social and cultural aspect. Moreover, after conducting a qualitative study between actively involved actors of the gastronomic sector, we were able to discuss the elements and mechanisms that foster creativity according to the RIS theory. Indeed, using the RIS as a tool to assess the case was highly useful.

We found that actors have different levels of commitment. The private sector has taken the lead in this aspect, and that they had a key role for the booming of Peruvian gastronomy. Particularly, the work of Gaston Acurio has been remarkable. Moreover, the role of institutions are not as strong as theory suggests. Here we have to consider that institutions from developing countries deal with corruption, and a lack of stability and continuity.

Regarding the mechanisms that stimulate creativity inside the sector, we were able to prove that theory on RIS is also pertinent for the developing country analyzed. We proved that the four mechanisms suggested by theory to spur creativity, were also present in the gastronomic sector in Peru. We found that the friendly and close relationship between some chefs and other actors has created a favorable environment for interactive learning. Food fairs and other gastronomic events contribute considerably to the exchange of ideas inside the sector. Knowledge production includes tacit knowledge and codified knowledge. In the first case, many manual tasks are better learned in the field, and in the second case, books of Peruvian gastronomy and other written material have helped adding new knowledge to the industry. Furthermore, social embeddedness is also present in the Peruvian case. Cultural context and other social relations explain, to a large extent, the success of Peruvian gastronomy. We were able to confirm that all actors have a sense of belonging and they feel part of a community. Finally, proximity has facilitated interaction between actors, and especially with farmers. By visiting the producers and the land where ingredients grow, chefs have obtained relevant knowledge which is later expressed in their culinary offer.

Moreover, in a more general perspective, this research allowed us to understand the meaning of a creative industry in a developing country. We can conclude that these industries are an attractive alternative for wealth generation in developing countries, which are used to depend on low value-added, commodity based industries (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008). Currently the economic market worldwide is reshaping, and intangible assets like creativity are more sought. As the Peruvian case showed, the gastronomic sector has stimulated job generation, local consumption and positive spillovers to other sectors of the economy like tourism and agriculture. However, when we compare this case to others from the developed world, there is a big gap in the policy framework. Although the Peruvian government has taken some initiatives in this respect, and these have already contribute to the development of the gastronomic sector, more policies are need it to support this industry. Empirical cases documented in developed countries (Cooke, 2011; Lazeretti et al., 2010; A. Lee & Wall, 2014) showed the relevance of policy making to support creative industries. So in order to exploit the place-specific attributes (geography, cooking traditions, culture, etc.) that make Peruvian gastronomy so unique, the government has to create an appropriate policy framework. If not, the development of the sector is in risk (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008). These policies should include regulation for all the actors involved in the economic chain. Since a very representative part of the industry is informal, regulations take special importance. Moreover, as the findings showed, social interaction spurs creativity. So, institutions should also

promoted more encounters between the different actors of the sectors. Otherwise, this learning spaces will be limited to those organized by the private sector, but that could prioritize individual interests.

### 7.1. Theoretical and practical contribution

Theory from creative industries surged in the developed world, but after studying the gastronomic sector in Peru, we have proved that these industries can be present in developing countries and that they meet the same characteristics, and contribute with the economic and social development of the country. Additionally, after analyzing the gastronomic sector, we believe that this industry should be added in the existing models that classify creative industries.

Moreover, we have demonstrated that theory about regional innovation systems can be used to analyze a creative industry in a developing country. After the analysis, the results showed some similarities and differences from theory. In general, we can sustain that our study shows that there is a difficulty of ascribing scales to innovation systems. For the Peruvian case, we identified some elements that were present in a regional scale, but most referred to a sectoral scope. In line with this, we can refer to it as sectoral innovation system (Malerba, 2005). Furthermore, currently there is not much theory about the process of how a RIS is formed. The gastronomic sector in Peru shows some signs of an innovation system, however, there are some elements that are not as strong as theory suggest they should be in order to ensure that the innovative compound can be maintained and grow. Here, we can attribute this to two possible reasons. First, the innovation system is in an initial phase in Peru and with time other elements will get stronger, and second, the elements of the innovation system will present some differences in the case of developing countries due to weaker institutions, and its economic context.

Besides the theoretical findings, this study also provided practical contributions for people interested in taking advantage of the gastronomic sector in Peru, and for policymakers who would like to foster its development. First, it is highly important that all actors think collectively and overcome their individual interests. They need to point to the same goal and manage their differences. Second, in order to create a competitive advantage, and differentiate Peruvian gastronomy from other culinary offers, actors must spur creativity getting inspired by their cultural context, specifically by Peruvian ingredients and farmers who

know the history behind these ingredients. Third, more research and development is needed. There is a big opportunity to bring new technologies to the industry. Besides, more national programmes stimulating innovation can be launched. Finally, it is essential that both, the private and public sector adopt long term objectives. This will provide continuity and stability to the development of the gastronomic sector.

## 7.2. Limits of the study

We carefully carried out each stage of the study in order to ensure its reliability and validity. However, it is important to mention a few of its limitation. However, this does not discard the strength of the results, but it is useful for the reader to take them into consideration.

Although the scope of the study included a variety of actors of the industry, this research is limited to the view of eleven actively involved participants of the gastronomic sector. Time and other limited resources would not allow a larger scale of interviewees. Without these constraints, more representatives from the gastronomic sector could be included in a future study, and perhaps some new conclusions could appear.

Moreover, results of this study cannot be transferred to other developing countries. Although, we might find similarities in the way in which creative industries behave in these territories, it is necessary to conduct a new study analyzing creative industries in other developing countries to be able to formulate more general conclusions.

Another limitation of the study was the amount of data available about Peruvian Gastronomy. Since this is a recent phenomenon, there are not many sources that can be used to contrast information. Moreover, most of the available data has been elaborated by Peruvian authors, which can be biased.

## 7.3. Avenue for future research

During the elaboration of this thesis, new routes of study appeared as possible options for further research. Here, we will highlight three.

First, a comparative analysis with other creative industries of developing countries could be done. This would allow to identify similarities and differences, and to scheme which aspects can be transferred to other developing countries.

Additionally, based on the results of this study, we believe it would be useful to investigate the process that the regional innovation system follows to become one. This could bring more clarity to determine if a RIS is at an initial stage.

Finally, it would be interesting to test if the success of Peruvian restaurants can be spread to other countries. Peruvian restaurants and other businesses related to gastronomy could be internationalized. Indeed, some Peruvian restaurants have already taken this step and there is evidence that they are doing well abroad. So, it would be worth it to research the internationalization process for businesses of this sector.

# Appendix 1

## Interview Guide: Semi-structured

### **Section I: Terms and confidentiality of the study**

- Introduce the purpose of the study
- State the confidentiality of the information
- Ask for permission to record the interview

### **Section II: General and specific objectives of the study**

#### **I. Background of the interviewee**

- What activity do you do inside the gastronomic sector?
- When did you enter to the gastronomic sector?
- How did you get involved in the gastronomic sector?
- What motivated you to continue in this sector?
- How would you describe the evolution of Peruvian gastronomy in the last 5 years?
- What do you think is critical for the success of your business/organization?

#### **II. Creativity in the gastronomic sector**

- How do you understand and define creativity in the gastronomic context?
- Do you think that creativity and innovation are important in your business/organization? Why?
- Can you think of any example in which creativity has helped you improve any aspect of your business/organization?
- How the creativity compound is kept alive in your case? Can you think in any case in which creativity was enhanced thanks to the interaction with other actors of the sector? If so, please explain.
- What do you think could be an obstacle for the flow of creativity in gastronomy?

#### **III. Role of the actors**

- What is your main role in the gastronomy community?
- Do you interact with other actors of the gastronomic community? Can you name them? Which one do you have the closest relationship? What for?
- Can you think in any collaborative initiative in which you are involved with other actors from the gastronomic community?
- Who is the main actor you collaborate with?
- What is the purpose of that collaborative relationship? What is the benefit?

#### **IV. Internal mechanisms**

##### Interactive learning

- From where do you think creativity in gastronomy comes? Is there any factor that you could identify as a facilitator for increasing the creative compound in your business/organization?
- What enhances the creativity compound in the gastronomic community?
- Can you think of any initiative that helped your business/ organization be more creative?



- How the different actors collaborate and cooperate in order to have access to inspiration or new ideas?
  - What kind of initiatives, in this respect, can you identify?
- Knowledge production
- What kind of information or knowledge could be relevant for the success of your business/organization? (For example: trends in food, recipes, new technologies for the kitchen, trends in restaurants design, etc) – *know-what, know-why, know-who, know-how*.
  - How do you have access to this kind of information relevant to your business/organization? What external sources do you use?
  - How this information can be share with other people involved in the gastronomic community? Does it require a face to face interaction? If not, how do you exchange information/knowledge?
  - How do you benefit from the information shared by other actors of the community?
  - What kind of relationships foster the flow of this kind of information? (formal, informal, trust)

Proximity

- How geographic proximity facilitate the interactions with other actors?
- Do you think geographic proximity with other actors of the community helps you be more efficient in your business? Speaking in terms of speed of communication, costs to exchange and communicate new information relevant for your business.
- How being part of the Peruvian gastronomic community helps you interact with the other actors?

Social embeddedness

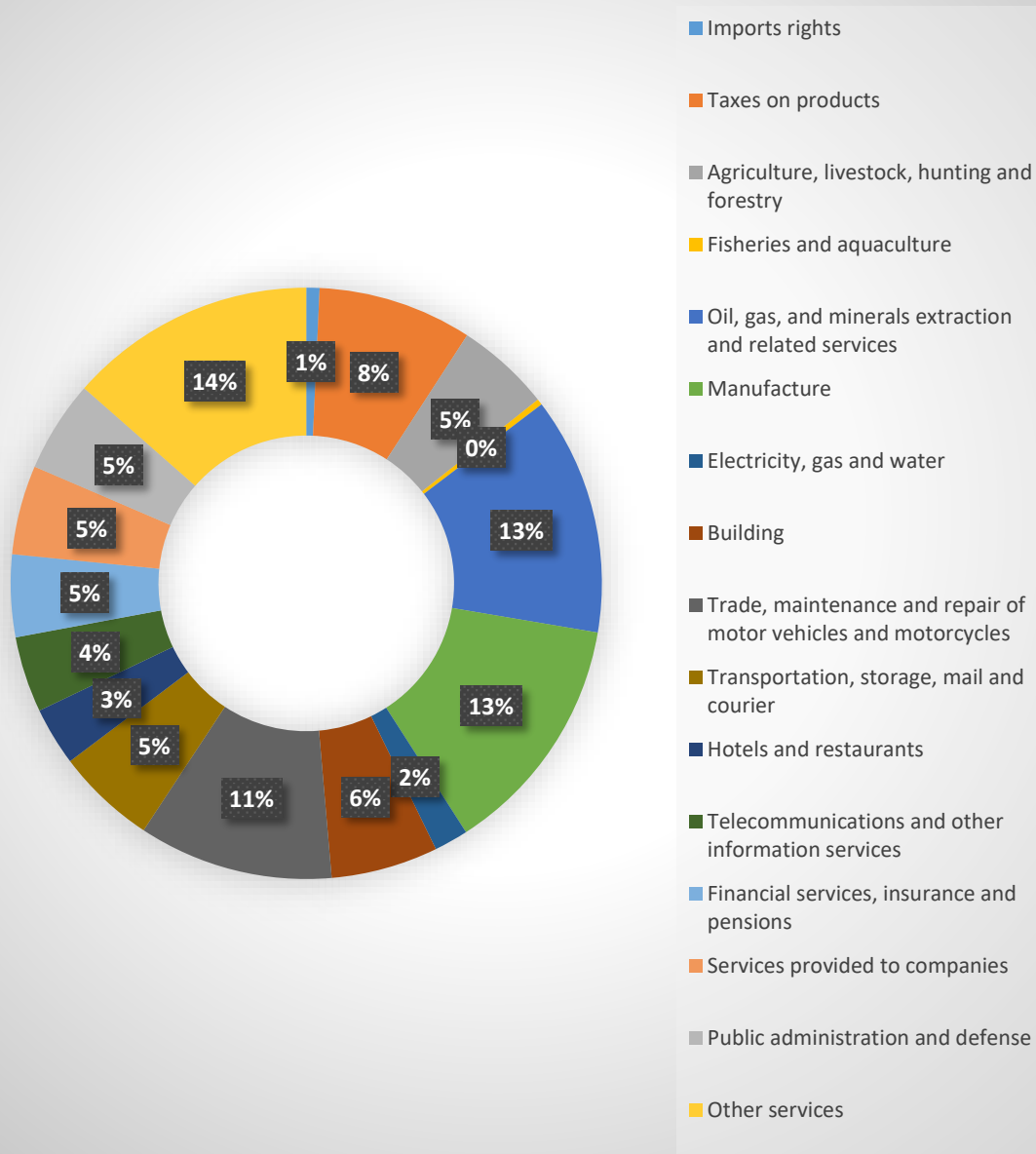
- Do you think that the actor of Peruvian gastronomy share the same social and cultural values?
- How would you describe the personal relations to initiate new collaboration between the actors?
- How do you think the gastronomic community and its actors have contributed to the evolution of the industry?

**V. Final remarks**

- According to you, what is the key for success in the Peruvian gastronomic sector?
- According to you, what are the obstacles for the development of Peruvian gastronomy?

## Appendix 2

### Composition of the Gross National Product of Peru 2016/E



Source: INEI (2016)

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