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ABSTRACT

Drawing on convention and social identity theories, this paper explores how actors utilize conventions, linked to particular orders of worth, and identities to claim legitimacy and defend their judgements in processes of hot authentication. It does this through a qualitative study of Greek ethnic restaurants, considering both in-group (Greek restaurant owners and diners) and out-group (tourist and non-Greek) perspectives. We identify three orders of worth (market, domestic and inspirational) which embody contrasting notions of authenticity (pragmatic iconicity, ancestral indexicality and innovative iconicity, respectively). Each order of worth incorporates notions of legitimate and illegitimate actors in authentication processes. While hot authentication is a diffuse and participatory process, some actors nonetheless possess privileged positions.

Keywords: authenticity, quality convention theory, identity, tourism, ethnic restaurants, Greece

1. **INTRODUCTION**

Authenticity has long been regarded as an asset in tourism markets (Terzidou, Scarles, & Saunders, 2017). A substantial literature seeks to identify the multiple meanings of authenticity, distinguishing between objective, constructed, existential forms (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Wang, 1999). However, debates regarding the definition of authenticity have generated "more arguments than solutions" (Rickly & Vidon, 2018, p.2), with attention shifting from elucidating the multiple meanings of authenticity toward understanding the processes of authentication, how they facilitate the construction of objective and existential authenticity and the confirmation of worth (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Lamont, 2014; Lugosi, 2016; Rickly & Vidon, 2018).

Authentication concerns how authenticity is designated and the qualification of value (Lugosi, 2016). In their seminal article, Cohen and Cohen (2012) identify two modes of authentication – *cool* whereby an authorized person or institution based on scientific knowledge claims, expertise and proof declares an object, site, custom or role to be authentic, which contrasts with the informal, performative processes of *hot* authentication. Hot and cool authentication often occur in combination, with nobody exclusively in control (Lamont, 2014). Authentication is thus about power relations - how authenticity is used, who authenticates and justifies their involvement and "who wants or needs authenticity and why" (Rickly & Vidon, 2018, p.2). From their conceptual paper (Cohen & Cohen, 2012, p.1311) call for further work that addresses the intricacies of authentication, hoping that their framework "will open new avenues of empirical research" as "there remains a clear need for

future research that focuses on the nuanced social, political and cultural processes through which tourist attractions are authenticated". The paper addresses this call.

In understanding the intricacies of authentication processes, we argue social identity (Turner, 1982) and convention (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991; Thévenot, 2009) theories can aid understanding. Hot authentication is conducive to the experience of existential authenticity where the latter intrinsically involves intrapersonal and interpersonal dimensions (Wang, 1999). The interpersonal (e.g. family ties and *communitas*) recognizes desires for authenticity with others such as family oriented experiences, companionship and group bonds. However, while the literature to date recognizes the emergence of existential authenticity from encounters with people and places, little attention has been given to how individuals utilize self-conferred and imposed identities to assert legitimacy in processes of hot authentication. If participants bring their previous knowledge to the table when engaging in social processes of authentication (Gregorash, 2018), they also bring and utilize their identities. Social identity theory provides a framework for better understanding how in- and out-group membership distinctions may be constructed to privilege particular actors within processes of authentication.

Drawing on convention theory, we argue that individuals substantiate their legitimacy and judgements of authenticity, by referencing conventions, where the latter "draw on a variety of criteria of justice or 'worth' in order to lend normative sense to decisions and actions occurring in relation to management, production and consumption" (Gibbon, Bair, & Ponte, 2008, p.325). Conventions are thus both guides for action and frameworks to

legitimize actions regarding quality and authenticity. Within any production-consumption landscape, typically multiple orders of worth co-exist, each with their own conventions, criteria for evaluation and tests of worth (Thévenot, 2001). Studying how actors' reference conventions and related worlds of production, helps understand the processes by which individuals defend, establish and justify their judgments of authenticity. This is particularly important in the case of hot authentication and focuses attention on the repertoires of justification used by actors, addressing important questions regarding who authenticates and how they justify their judgements and positions to others (Rickly & Vidon, 2018).

To better understand processes of authentication, we consider the case of Greek ethnic restaurants, a form of culinary tourism for which authenticity is a salient consideration (Velissariou & Vasilaki, 2014). Data generated within this study were via semi-structured interviews with restaurateurs and consumers in both Greece and the UK. This design provided a framework for considering both in and out-group perspectives in an international context, capturing the interplay between varying orders of worth, processes of authentication associated with each and how in-group membership is defined to legitimate privileged positions. This approach allowed for capturing varying degrees of cultural closeness to Greece and Greek cuisine. The next section outlines the conceptual framework of cool and hot authentication and considers how social identity and convention theories can aid understanding of the processes through which authentication occurs. This, taken together with the empirical research, allows us to address the research question: how do actors claim legitimacy, and make and defend judgements of authenticity?

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Cool Authentication

Cool authentication is an explicit, typically formal performative act declaring objects, sites, persons as real or genuine. It usually depends on expertise / scientific knowledge and its legitimacy rests on the authenticating agent possessing a privileged position, so that others respect their judgements. However, this may not translate into universal acceptance; judgements of cool authentication may remain subject to criticism, controversy and defiance (Cohen & Cohen, 2012).

In relation to food, the EU's quality schemes for agricultural products and foodstuffs, which regulate the use of the Protected Designation of Origin and Protected Geographical Indication labels, embody cool authentication. Products bearing such labels have to meet conditions set out in a specification, the adherence to which is subject to surveillance by control bodies. Legislation defines designation requirements (European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, 2012). The quality schemes seek to protect registered, 'authentic' producers from misuse of the product name by copycat producers who by offering inferior, 'inauthentic' goods could undermine the product's reputation and market position. Several tourist initiatives seek to capitalize on protected geographical indications through, for example, the offer of wine tours and gastronomic holidays (Charters, Spielmann, & Babin, 2017; de la Torre, Arjona-Fuentes, & Amador-Hidalgo, 2017). In a restaurant context, some countries previously or currently enforce strict food laws regarding the authenticity and originality of foods served in ethnic restaurants (Leung, 2003).

Hot Authentication

Hot authentication is an "immanent, reiterative, information performative process of creating, preserving and reinforcing an object's, site's or event's authenticity" (Cohen & Cohen, 2012, p.1300). Hot authentication is emotionally loaded and based on belief rather than proof, with participant commitment an essential element. It is typically self-reinforcing, so that tourists' performative practices help produce and magnify the authenticity of the visited object or event (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Lamont, 2014). Veneration of hotly authenticated objects is frequently expressed materially in items as well as in written supplications left by visitors which further reinforce and augment a site's hot authentication (Lugosi, 2016; Mkono, 2013b).

In the context of food, an example of hot authentication would be tourists visiting Hamburg, searching for an authentic hamburger and writing reviews on TripAdvisor about their favorite *rundstück warm*, providing recommendations for future travelers. In this process, there are no formal criteria. Rather it is participatory and conducive to the personal experiences of existential authenticity where the latter is an activity-based approach (Rickly-Boyd, 2013; Wang, 1999). It reflects a need for shared experiences (Mkono, 2012; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006). Tourism can facilitate two forms of existential authenticity: *intra*-personal (connected with bodily feelings, like relaxation and sensual pleasures, and self-making) and *inter*-personal, relating to the search for authenticity of, and between, individuals (Wang, 1999). With regard to a restaurant, existential perspectives suggest that diners perceive them as authentic only if their desired emotions or experiences emerge from what they eat or see (Lu, Gursoy, & Lu, 2015). As tourists tend to believe not only what they taste but also what they see; ethnic costumes and the roles of cooks and waiters may inform judgements of the authenticity (Mkono, 2013a; Peterson, 2005).

A sense of *communitas* often characterizes the relationships between social actors when they engage in acts of hot authentication (Szmigin, Bengry-Howell, Morey, Griffin, & Riley, 2017). Social identity theory (Turner, 1982) can aid understanding of this sense of *communitas*. It argues that an individual's self-concept comprises both a personal (idiosyncratic characteristics - interests, abilities) and a social identity, related to group classifications (Mael & Ashforth, 1992). Individuals classify themselves and others into multiple social groups (such as by ethnicity, gender and age), enabling them to structure their social environment and locate a position within it. Social identification is the perceived belongingness to a particular group. Groups to which individuals perceive themselves as members (in-group) are meaningful typically only when others are excluded (out-group).

Legitimacy in Authentication Processes

In making judgements regarding the authenticity of objects, sites and persons, individuals implicitly or explicitly make claims regarding their own status as a legitimate actor and refer to frames (conventions) to support their judgements. Convention Theory provides a basis for understanding how actors frame the interpretation and understanding of specific issues, with conventions providing criteria by which to judge and justify actions (Climent-López, et al., 2014; Thévenot, 2001).

Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) identify multiple, archetypal orders of worth which can justify stances and actions, and specified three categories of conventions; namely i) market-industrial, ii) civic, and iii) domestic. In a particular order of worth, actors operate and

interconnect according to distinct principles for judging quality (Ponte, 2016; Storper & Salais, 1997). For instance, in the "industrial" world characterized by standardized, mass production, assessments of quality relate to the degree of reliability and efficiency manifested through codified standards and technical specifications. By contrast, in the "civic" realm, quality relates to contributions to societal welfare. The third "domestic" category describes quality based on tradition, where its verification depends on proximity, trust and repetition. Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) did not intent their typology to be exhaustive and subsequent studies identify alternative orders of worth in other domains (Ponte, 2016).

Convention theory is salient for understanding the politics of authentication as it brings into focus how social actors handle disagreement and invoke higher order principles to legitimate their claims. In this regard, actors are 'competent agents', with the ability to justify their judgements and draw on their power positions in order to build arguments based on tests of worth and to promote particular configurations of the social order. In relation to food, albeit not specifically applying convention theory, Johnston and Baumann (2007) document how gourmet food writers socially construct authenticity to provide distinction without overt snobbery by framing 'good' food in terms of geographical specificity, simplicity, personal connections and tradition. Writers then emphasize their superior knowledge or proximity to these elements e.g. the geographical origin of ingredients, personal connections with chefs and producers as well as in-group membership (e.g. Italian heritage) in order to justify their privileged position. Orders of worth thus represent a political grammar (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991), which provide discursive resources that actors utilize in justifying their judgements and roles within authentication processes.

Culinary Tourism and Consumer Judgments of Food Authenticity

The context of the study is culinary tourism, defined as "intentional, exploratory participation in the foodways of another" (Long, 2004, p.21). It is a participatory process located in specific production-consumption landscapes (L'Espoir Decosta & Andéhn, 2018), with cuisines distinguished by nationality (e.g. French, Japanese) or region (e.g. Tuscan). Cuisine is thus tied to ethnicity and identity. Where ethnicity is integral to the consumption experience, elements such as the producer's nationality and the origin of ingredients become more important in judgements of authenticity (Bryla, 2015) and marketing practice. For instance, consumption at source, travelling to the 'home' of particular dishes and ingredients, is often regarded as a means to authentic food consumption (Thurnell-Read, 2017). In a restaurant context, the ethnicity of staff, as well as the use of nationally stereotypical music and costumes may be deployed by restaurateurs as signals of authenticity (Jang, Ha, & Park, 2012; Kim & Jang, 2016). However, a consumer's interpretation of, and judgements regarding, these signals is likely to depend on their level of knowledge of a nation's cuisine (Gregorash, 2018) and their status as an in- or out-group member.

Consumers whether in or outside of the home typically do not make judgements of authenticity referencing formal criteria or certification. Rather heuristic processing is evident where consumers judge food authenticity based on product-related (ingredients, packaging), situational (place and nature of the retail outlet) and personal factors relating to previous experience (Autio, Collins, Wahlen, & Anttila, 2013; Tregear, Kuznesof, & Moxey, 1998). Several authors distinguish between indexical and iconic cues of authenticity (Grayson &

Martinec, 2004). Indexical cues contain a factual and spatial-temporal link with something else (Grayson & Martinec, 2004). This could be physical (e.g. a geographical indication) or psychic such as confidence, stemming from additional information. For instance, information about a chef's training may lead consumers to judge that they are "being true to their selves and/or cultural identity and not simply going through motions that are unrelated to their personality or heritage" (Grayson & Martinec, 2004, p.298). In contrast, iconic authenticity relates to the symbolic attributes of a good or service, which although non-verifiable, are congruent with consumer expectations of an authentic product (Ram, Bjork, & Weidenfeld, 2016).

3. METHODOLOGY

To explore the processes of authentication, how authenticity is perceived and experienced, the relationships between these concepts, and the personal and constructed meanings of quality and authenticity, we employed a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2011, 2014). This interpretive method enables an emic or subjective understanding of the worldview of participants (Charmaz, 2014). To achieve this emic understanding, the 'exchange intersection' of the restaurant service-scape was the focus of the research, because this represents the nexus between producers' constructed services and consumers' perceptual and experiential perspectives.

The Greek restaurant service scape was selected as our empirical focus for the following reasons. First, tourism is of critical importance to the Greek economy and previous research establishes that local food specialties, cuisine and the perceived authenticity of these affect significantly tourists' choice of destination and satisfaction (Velissariou & Vasilaki,

2014). Second, internationally, there is a sizeable Greek diaspora operating in the restaurant sector enabling us to compare constructions of Greek cuisine within and outside Greece. Within the UK, by using Google Maps and TripAdvisor we identified circa 400 dedicated Greek restaurants but this is an underestimate as some Greek restaurateurs operate as Mediterranean or other style eateries (Chantiles, 1992). Apart from the Greek language, a sense of 'Greekness' is also maintained through other identity signifiers and practices like religion, food and ethnic networks (Evergeti, 2006; Orfanos, 2002). Third, the transmission of Greek culinary knowledge has typically been passed down through families, providing the possibility for multiple perspectives of 'authentic' cuisine and it was not until the 1920s that the first Greek cookbook was published (Jacob, 1991). Fourth, Greece has wider associations with the concept of a 'Mediterranean diet', most commonly ascribed to Cretans (Keys & Keys, 1975) but which is also shared with other olive oil producing nations around the Mediterranean Sea. This provides a contested space for the national misattribution of foods such as hummus, which non-Greeks often regard as a traditional Greek food, but Greeks ascribe to Arab states. Finally, Greek cuisine, language and culture were accessible to the research team via the first author who is fluent in both Greek and English.

A semi-structured interview guide was developed to explore the perceptions and meanings of authenticity relating to food served in Greek ethnic restaurants (Appendix 1). Interviews with restaurateurs first explored their background in the sector, and their history with, and perceptions of, the restaurant. Then restaurateurs were asked to talk the interviewer through their current menu, discussing the origin of recipes, ingredients and cooking methods. For specific dishes the interviewer asked "On your menu, you have X (e.g. *moussaka, kolokythokeftedes*), what makes an authentic *moussaka, kolokythokeftedes"* etc. Next,

interviews explored décor, music, and the selection of wine and other beverages, as well as the feedback from customers and how they judge the restaurant (Appendix 1). To encourage elaboration on the evaluation and management of authenticity and to facilitate comparative analysis of the concepts generated, the interviewer presented two sample Greek restaurant menus as an elicitation tool, which echoes Gregorash's (2018) use of photos to stimulate discussion of gastronomic experiences. One of these real but anonymized menus included contested items such as hummus and international foods such as burgers, while the other presented classic Greek dishes. This facilitated discussions regarding what makes an 'ideal' Greek restaurant and the underlying processes of authentication. The restaurateurs' interviews concluded with questions relating to their patrons and methods of communicating with them. The first author conducted all interviews, in either English or Greek according to the preference of the restaurateur. Most chose Greek, which helped develop a rapport and trust between the interviewer and restaurateur through a mutually shared understanding of Greece (particularly amongst restaurateurs in the UK) and resulted in candid and open conversations.

Data collection began with face-to-face in-depth interviews amongst a convenience sample of Greek restaurant owners and managers across the UK (Oxford, London, North East) and in Athens. Restaurateurs were identified by both TripAdvisor reports and snowballing. Using TripAdvisor, the first author made a list of high (above 4), medium (between 3 and 4) and low (below 3) customer-ranked Greek restaurants in the above-mentioned geographical areas. Restauranteurs from this list were approached and interviews arranged with those who agreed to participate. After the interviews, some restaurateurs introduced other industry acquaintances they considered willing to participate, and this snowball sampling aided participation; particularly as some restaurateurs were reluctant

initially to participate for fear of sharing information about their recipes and business. In total, eleven interviews with UK based Greek restaurant owner managers took place during July and August 2014 with a subsequent eight interviews held in Greece during November and December 2014 (see Appendix 2 for participant profile). To access maximum variation of restaurateurs in Greece, participants were sampled based on patronage by local customers and tourists, menu price points, location and social media recommendations. Sampling ceased in both countries when authenticity concepts derived from the analysis were substantiated within and/or across participants, indicating that concept saturation had been reached.

Following analysis of the Greek restauranteur data, customers of the same Greek restaurants and bloggers who had eaten at these restaurants were interviewed face-to-face in the UK and in Greece. Consumers who provided feedback on TripAdvisor were contacted through the platform and asked to participate. In other cases, interviews occurred with consumers who visited a selected restaurant and belonged to the social network of the first author. These consumers introduced other diners of the selected restaurants who were willing to participate in the research, thus extending the sample via snowballing. Semi-structured interviews with consumers (Appendix 3) explored their specific experiences with one of the selected restaurants. Then, the interviewer presented the same two, sample Greek restaurant 'elicitation' menus discussed with restaurateurs. The final questions sought interviewees' understanding of an ideal Greek restaurant and the marketing communications used to attract consumers. The diners were both tourists and locals and Appendix 3 profiles the 23 participants who were interviewed between January and June 2015.

Prior to each interview commencing, participants received a guide regarding the use of data (with guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality) with permission sought to record each

interview. Interviewees signed consent forms indicating their willingness to participate and for the interviews to be recorded. All interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and translated, with NVivo software used to facilitate data analysis.

Data analysis followed a three-stage process (Figure 1). Although the literature provided us with a theoretical sensitivity to authenticity and quality conventions, in particular the notion that there may be different types of Greek restaurants, there was no explanation in the literature of how the concepts of authenticity and quality may be linked. This lack of theoretical insight therefore, meant that we did not develop an *a priori* coding framework. Instead, the data analysis was both inductive and abductive, allowing the analysis to emerge from the data. Comparison of the findings (in terms of the new theoretical concepts) with the literature occurred when the data analysis was completed.

Insert Figure 1 about here

The first stage of data analysis began with 'open coding' the restaurateur data and focused on how they described authenticity, the physical and symbolic characteristics ascribed to authenticity and the degree to which they chose to transmit this into their 'restaurant offering'. This process was repeated by examining 'quality', how it was described, and the characteristics associated with it. This coding and the grouping of codes into categories, which occurred at the level of the individual restauranteur, was predominantly 'inductive'. However, the varying perceptions of the interviewees became apparent in, for example, the relative importance of the use of Greek ingredients. Thus, for some

restaurateurs, it was important to source as many ingredients as possible from Greece. For others, ingredient quality or cost took precedence over origin.

These insights led to the second stage of analysis, which was constant comparison between the restaurateurs and a consideration of the factors that differentiated them, particularly at the level of the category. This helped develop an understanding of the restaurateurs' relationship with Greece, their Greek identity and its expression through food. The final stage of the analysis involved the abductive process of identifying plausible abstract explanatory concepts that united each type of restaurant across a range of characteristics and then subjecting them to refutation within the data (Reichertz, 2007). For example, taking apragmatic approach to authenticity by meeting diners' expectations through the provision of mixed Greek and non-Greek cuisines in an environment with token Greek references such as *taverna*-style décor, was labelled 'pragmatic iconicity'. For restaurants where there was a translation of familial recipes, ingredients, décor and staff (typically family run first generation businesses) 'ancestral indexicality' provided a unifying conceptual explanation. Finally, for innovative restaurateurs where 'interpretation' of Greek icons or symbols was prevalent, 'innovative iconicity' was developed as an explanatory concept. This process of abduction helped identify distinct orders of worth and conventions. In this way, three types of Greek restaurant were identified and labelled with the explanatory titles of: 'market-oriented restaurants', 'domestic-oriented restaurants', and 'innovative-oriented restaurants'. The forms of authenticity thus became organizing principles, providing an explanation for the relationship between orders of worth and authentication processes. Analysis of consumer data began with open and focused coding of each transcript to understand perceptions and

experiences of authenticity. These characterizations were compared with the restaurant typology to understand the authenticity nexus; the findings of which are now reported.

4. FINDINGS

Domestic-oriented restaurants embody ancestral indexicality

Restaurateurs' personal connections to the recipes and dishes cooked by parents and grandparents and often recalled from childhood memories typify domestically oriented restaurants. These recipes and the cooking techniques seek to provide the diner with a taste experience reproducing those enjoyed by previous, Greek familial generations:

"... The [menu] *inspiration is from my great-grandmother and my taste memory. I don't believe in big deviations; I don't like modifications. I wish to follow; I wish to approach the original and not to modify it all from the beginning..."* (Male, restaurant owner).

The importance of family and social ties is expressed in the service ethos offered to customers, which was typically described as 'family like'. Greek-sourced ingredients, particularly herbs such as oregano and thyme, olives, olive oil and wine are crucial to the reproduction of household recipes. For restaurateurs in Greece, ingredients are seasonal and locally or regionally sourced. For UK based Greek restaurants, ingredients are typically imported and nationally sourced. Restaurateurs and Greek diners perceived Greek chefs as crucial to the production of traditional recipes and in the UK they are first or second generation Greeks. Greek staff also support social ties and enhance authenticity according to consumers:

"... the person who cooks and makes the recipes must certainly be Greek. Some ideas come through his DNA, if he knows to cook they just come out. A foreigner will create it differently..." (Male, restaurant owner).

"... Greek staff is necessary... If it wasn't a traditional restaurant then you could have a ginger head English you know?.. But it wouldn't persuade me [as authentic]..." (Male, Greek consumer).

Ancestral authenticity is linked to ethnicity with only members of the in-group (defined as Greeks) perceived as legitimate actors in processes of authentication. This extends to both the production of authentic meals and arbitration of authenticity. Such restaurateurs characterize non-Greeks as tourists, whose beliefs are largely irrelevant in terms of authentication. Thus, while hot authentication is a participatory process, the legitimacy of some actors is questioned or discounted. For such restaurateurs, a shared ethnic identity is a necessary precondition for legitimacy as an authenticating actor.

In the domestic sphere, authentication comes through an embodiment of ancestral indexicality. Restaurateurs within the domestic order of worth perceive that through the production of 'classic' Greek dishes, served in a taverna setting, they uphold pre-existing expectations and traditions, protecting and reproducing Greek identity. Restaurateurs conflate their own and Greek identity and regard the continuation of tradition as volitional and desirable. To promulgate ancestral authenticity, according to these restaurateurs, requires Greek parentage and family connections to the 'homeland':

"… how important we are as an institution to the Greek community in the UK… we are such a massive part of the community here. A lot of my friends, who are of course Greek, you know, they talk so highly about the place and that makes me so proud, to be part of something which is so great… It's the place that brings people together, it's where Greeks come to be together, to remind them of home (Male, restaurateur, UK).

For diasporan Greeks, a visit to domestically oriented restaurant is a social ritual - a performative act, reaffirming and perpetuating Greek identity. It is a form of hot authentication, characterized by a sense of community and shared emotional bonds. For Greeks dining in domestic-oriented restaurants outside of Greece, it involves a notion of physical co-presence, an awareness of a (national) identity which is not shared by 'outsiders' (e.g. tourists), a common focus of attention and a desire to create a particular mood. The mood to be generated is a feeling of belonging and nostalgia.

"… because if someone feels nostalgic about flavours that are from home... To go and have a chance to taste it, …to feel at home" (Male, Greek consumer, UK).

This is not the case for domestically oriented restaurants located within Greece, where a sense of national identity goes unquestioned and the need for reaffirmation less pronounced.

Innovative-oriented restaurants exemplify innovative iconicity.

Whereas restaurants characterized as having an ancestral indexicality are rooted in historical, social and familial ancestral ties, the restaurants with an innovative iconicity are forward-looking, and trend focused. They offer a contemporary approach to Greek cuisine through a culinary fusion of Greek with other Mediterranean influenced cuisines and a high level of aesthetics in their modern food and dining environment. A pride in Greek cuisine manifests itself in a desire to bring Greek cuisine to a wider audience through innovation:

"... the main thing that we wanted to do is step away slightly from the traditional "taverna" style... twisting the dishes into a more modern, more high-end cuisine... So, the whole concept of my restaurant is to, and this is my life mission, is to change the perception that people have of Greek food..." (Male, restaurant owner, Greece).

Innovative restaurants offer novel recipes and experiences, which go beyond the specific traditions of Greek cuisine and appeal to customers who are widely travelled and those without close links with Greek culture. These restaurants maintain the ethos of traditional Greek food preparation methods, such as slow-cooking techniques. However, restaurateurs select ingredients based on quality characteristics such as freshness, taste and seasonality rather than necessarily being exclusively of Greek origin.

"... we haven't decorated the building in a traditional Greek style, I think we try to move away from the taverna image that a lot of the UK has about Greek restaurants... Olive trees and....

We have olive trees on the terrace, but it's sort of moving away from that typically white washed walls... Greek lamb, for example, some of the best lamb in the world is right here, comes from Wales... just on our doorstep, so why would we buy things like that from Greece?" (Male, restaurateur, UK).

While the head chef is typically Greek, restaurateurs employ kitchen staff from multiple countries. Legitimacy as an actor in authentication processes depends primarily on culinary knowledge and skill. While restaurateurs in this group regard chefs raised in Greece as more likely to possess superior knowledge of Greek cooking techniques, ethnicity is neither an indicator nor barrier to innovation. Legitimacy as an actor in authentication processes, according to this order of worth depends on knowledge of Greek cuisine, cooking ability and creativity.

In this order of worth, authentication occurs through the exemplification of innovative iconicity. Innovative restaurants regard deviations from 'classic' Greek dishes as strengthening rather than undermining their Greek identity, with the reimagining of domestic cuisine to be championed. Rather than accommodating existing non-Greek consumer tastes, restaurateurs perceive that adjustments stemming from chefs' and owners' creativity do not threaten their identity:

"The customer must be adapted to your authentic restaurant, not you to the customer" (Male restaurateur, UK).

For these restaurateurs, through innovation, the reputation of Greek cuisine can be enhanced. They reject the domestic order of worth's focus on ancestral indexicality regarding it as "old-fashioned" and inappropriate for the verification of their restaurant's authenticity as transcending existing culinary traditions and boundaries is integral to their order of worth. Rather in their case, claims to quality depend on a degree of 'rule breaking' - spanning conventional boundaries between cuisines to provide unique and novel experiences. In rejecting hot authentication grounded on ancestral indexicality, innovative restaurateurs exhibit a stronger sense of agency. Specifically, innovation and creativity in cooking generates personal pleasure and a sense of liberation. There is no feeling that a desire to provide novel experiences for consumers is insatiable, controlling or repressive.

Market-oriented restaurants embrace *pragmatic iconicity*

Market-oriented restaurants adopt a flexible, adaptable and pragmatic approach to providing a service offering that responds to consumer wants. Their customers are largely tourists and non-Greeks with menus containing foods from multiple ethnic origins, for example hummus or 'globalized' options such as burgers, sandwiches and paninis. Staff are likely to include Greek waiters and a Greek *taverna*-style décor to meet diners' expectations, but the inclusion of non-Greek foods is a response to market demand.

"... I slightly alter certain things so... to fit the market erm... my restaurant is let's say 95% Greek. The reason it's not 100% Greek is... over time, I have had to adapt dishes or had to adapt bits and pieces which are not necessarily Greek... If a customer requires... Not requires but asks, for example... tabbouleh... which is actually an Arabic salad, we make it, we make kilos of it but, is not Greek but, people like it so we put it on the menu. We have hummus,

which is not Greek, we have falafels... Trying to keep customers happy..." (Male, restaurant owner).

The geographical origin of ingredients and recipes, in pragmatically iconic Greek restaurants, is of minimal importance. Instead, there is an acknowledgement of customers' expected ingredients and flavor principles from foods that are sourced for convenience. This order of worth regards customer demand as the overriding principle, embracing pragmatic iconicity and justifying their approach on the need to serve customers profitably.

For market-oriented restaurants embracing pragmatic iconicity, customer desires are regarded as a control mechanism that leads to compromised authenticity. It is a discourse of accommodation, which classifies customers as tourists and non-Greeks. For the in-group (both Greek restaurateurs and diners), tourists denote the mass-market and non-Greeks. Restaurateurs regret perceived compromises in their menus but justify them as externally enforced. In this regard, restaurateurs regard themselves as lacking agency:

"... well 90% are tourists. There are also locals, but unfortunately the area is characterized as touristy, so others don't easily come... Whatever we were asked for, we tried to include it adding our style too but always trying to meet peoples' needs..." (Male, restaurant owner, Greece).

Consumer Judgments of Authenticity

In making judgements of authenticity, diners evaluated consumption objects (e.g. a restaurant's menu) against imagined archetypes. Overall assessments of a restaurant's authenticity reflected a comparison of experienced realities against expected ideals on multiple grounds. This held for both in-group patrons (Greeks) and tourists. Salient cues mirrored those identified by restaurateurs: the menu, ingredients and their origin, preparation methods as well as the ethnicity of the staff, décor and music. However, the salience of particular cues in processes of hot authentication varied between Greek diners and tourists. For the in-group, appraisals of authenticity related primarily to the menu and the offer of dishes perceived as uniquely and traditionally Greek (ancestral indexicality).

"The burgers and sandwich is something that is not part of a Greek restaurant and it's something that I wouldn't expect to find on a menu….Sorry, not impressed (Male, Greek consumer living in the UK).

Regarding the role of social identities in authentication processes, social proofing is apparent in evaluations, where the ethnicity of other patrons matters. For example, tourists judged a restaurant as authentic if its diners were predominantly Greek, thereby using the ethnicity of patrons as a cue for authentication, particularly when knowledge of the cuisine was limited.

"… I would hope there are other Greeks there because that tells me that's a good restaurant (laughter). Just like when you go for Chinese food, you look for Chinese people… (Female, American-Greek consumer).

For Greeks, the ethnicity of diners is important but on its own insufficient to establish authenticity. However, this is situation specific. For example, a Greek consumer may avoid restaurants in Greece with many tourists due to the culinary compromises this denotes, but would not extend the same evaluative criteria when eating in a Greek restaurant outside of Greece.

Tourists' notions of idealized archetypes were more elastic, with those less culturally proximal to Greece more accepting of pragmatic adjustments. Tourists focused less on the contents of the menu, where their knowledge of the cuisine was limited, paying greater attention to performative acts associated with Greece. For example, this included the smashing of plates, which is not a Greek tradition, but rather an event for tourists. Greek customers are aware that this event is not part of their culture; deeming it as denoting a 'tourist trap' and were dismissive:

"I started working at a Greek restaurant… it was the first job I found in England, was easy. I was a waiter there, I was dancing syrtaki and I was selling also plates to the British customers to smash them. Anyway... (laughter)…" (Male, Greek consumer).

Tourists who have visited Greece many times also regard this event as inauthentic, whereas consumers less proximal to Greece accept it as part of Greek culture. Typically, there is a playful consent to the staging amongst tourists:

"One of the things is the plate smashing. I don't know if it's actually a Greek thing but it is certainly one of the things I imagine to be Greek tradition" (Male, British tourist).

A lack of detailed knowledge of Greek cuisine, however, did not prevent tourists from making judgements regarding the authenticity of a restaurant; rather they relied on non-menu based cues (music, décor) and processed the presence of items known to be non-Greek on the menu as an indicator of inauthenticity. For example, the presence of burgers signaled inauthenticity to tourists even with a very incomplete knowledge of Greek cuisine.

The analysis thus reveals three distinct interpretations of ethnic authenticity within the restaurant sector: i) domestic-oriented, ii) innovative oriented and iii) market-oriented restaurants. Each embodies a different conceptualization of authenticity, which can be labelled: i) 'ancestral indexicality', ii) 'innovative iconicity' and iii) 'pragmatic iconicity' respectively. Table 1 summarizes the typology of our findings drawing on restaurateurs' and consumers' perspectives.

Table 1 about here

5. DISCUSSION

Recent research in tourism switches from a focus on defining authenticity towards understanding how it is used, who authenticates and what authenticity does (Lugosi, 2016; Rickly & Vidon, 2018; Zhou, Zhang, Zhang, & Ma, 2015). Cohen and Cohen (2012) conceptualize two distinct but often intersecting modes of authentication (cool and hot) and call for further research that considers the social, political and cultural processes through which tourist attractions are authenticated. The paper demonstrates the applicability of the two modes of authentication and how authentication occurs in the case of Greek ethnic restaurants (Table 1). In so doing, social identity and convention theories inform the explanation of authentication processes. Convention theory (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991) provides a framework for understanding how actors claim legitimacy and defend their judgements. Actors implicitly or explicitly refer to frames (conventions) that provide criteria by which to judge and justify actions. Specifically, actors invoke orders of worth – systematic and coherent principles for evaluation that provide parameters for legitimacy tests (Patriotta, Gond, & Schultz, 2011).

In the case of Greek ethnic restaurants, there is an absence of cool authentication. There are currently no certification schemes in either the UK or Greece designating what constitutes a Greek ethnic restaurant. This is common to most culinary tourism where there are few formal criteria and authorized actors but in contrast to the International Association of the Italian Restaurants (Girardelli, 2004) which specifies the requirements for an Italian restaurant to be characterised as authentic. Neither restaurateurs nor diners referred to

certification or accreditation practices but rather relied on heuristic reasoning, using particular markers as cues on which to make or justify judgements of authenticity and quality.

Hot authentication is socially produced in different ways depending on the associated order of worth. For example, authenticity can be constructed in a pragmatic, 'market driven' mode; in a 'domestic' manner corresponding to a nostalgic desire for a more traditional experience; or in an innovative way where the value proposition is both iconic and novel for the customer. For ancestral indexicality, in-group consumers expect tradition, nostalgia, belongingness and familiarity. The authenticity cues which evoke these attributes are grounded in indexical factors such as the use of ingredients from Greece, Greek staff including chefs and patronage by Greek diners. For restaurants with an innovative iconicity, the value proposition is novelty, innovation and creativity linked to culinary expertise. In both cases, diners experience a restaurateur determined ontology of cuisine that contrasts with the pragmatic iconicity of market-oriented restaurants in which authenticity is determined by the market and the experiential demands of consumers.

In the case of domestic oriented restaurants, the promulgation of ancestral authenticity requires Greek parentage and family connections to the 'homeland'. Only Greeks are, in this order of worth, legitimate judges of authenticity. In the case of innovative restaurants, legitimacy depends on expertise in Greek cuisine, superior cooking abilities, where the latter includes knowledge of other cuisines, and aesthetics. The arbitrators of authenticity in this order of worth are fellow chefs and "educated" patrons. In contrast, for market-oriented

restaurants, customer sovereignty prevails so that adjustments to accommodate their taste preferences are regarded as legitimate.

Restaurateurs in both Greece and the UK used similar authenticity cues to construct and project their interpretation of 'Greek hospitality'. These cues relate to the menu (recipes, ingredients and their origin), but also the clientele and the restaurant environment such as the staff and décor. As noted by Gregorash (2018) the construction of authenticity in all cases thus involved far more than the focus of Abarca (2004) on the cook and cooking process. However, the emphasis on particular cues varied across restaurateurs reflecting distinct orders of worth with differing legitimacy tests.

In understanding authentication processes, Cohen and Cohen (2012) call for attention to be paid to dynamics. Consequently, it is useful to discuss why in-group members (Greek restaurateurs and diners) sanction deviations from ancestral indexicality in the case of innovative but not pragmatic iconicity. Three factors are evident, labelled: *compatibility* with the ethos underlying ancestral indexicality, *ascribed in-group agency* and preservation of *symbolic hierarchies that privilege the taste regime*. Firstly, in-group members deem inspirational adaptations as acceptable because they retain aspects perceived as compatible with positive elements of ancestral indexicality (e.g. slow cooking, ingredients with superior organoleptic qualities associated with Greek cuisine). Innovation thus occurs in what Maciel and Wallendorf (2017) label "a zone of proximal development" where novelty is not too distant from the traditional characteristics of Greek cuisine. In contrast, pragmatic, market-oriented adaptations involve the incorporation of alien elements (e.g. burgers, hummus) regarded as incompatible with the principles underpinning ancestral indexicality. Secondly,

chefs with superior knowledge of Greek cuisine are the primary drivers of inspirational adaptations, framed as expressions of expert creativity. In contrast, in-group members characterize market-oriented adaptations as externally driven by tourists and non-Greeks. In such adaptations, in-group members *ascribe agency* to out-groups. Thirdly, those with a Greek identity consider inspirational adaptations as not disturbing symbolic hierarchies, which privilege Greek cuisine as a taste regime. Such modifications retain and enhance cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Divergently, restaurateurs within the domestic and innovative oriented realms regard market-oriented modifications as a flawed marketing strategy to convert cultural to economic capital as it sacrifices the unique assets that provide for differentiation in the market place.

Bourdieu (1984) argues that disavowal of economic interest is a form of position-taking within a field of cultural production which reflects a calculated, economic self-interest. Domestic-oriented restaurants present themselves as perpetuating family and national traditions and innovative restaurants see their mission as updating Greek cuisine while advancing culinary art. For domestically oriented restaurants, the quality of a meal comes from upholding tradition and for innovative restaurants through high-end cooking abilities, rare and precious ingredients, creativity and aesthetics, which reflect personal expression. These orders of worth thus embody two modes of disinterestedness to the pursuit of profitability (Johnston & Baumann, 2007) which underpin their claims for authenticity. While restaurateurs in both these orders of worth, do not present profitability as their primary objective, interestingly they dismiss market-oriented restaurants, not on culinary grounds but as a flawed marketing strategy which undermines the ability to exploit cultural assets. Specifically, pragmatic authenticity increases the risk of placelessness and a lack of identity

(L'Espoir Decosta & Andéhn, 2018). Integral to a marketing strategy for maintaining and exploiting authenticity related to culinary tourism is thus to signal that profitability is of secondary importance.

6. CONCLUSION

Recent research calls for greater attention to processes of authentication (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Lamont, 2014; Lugosi, 2016; Rickly & Vidon, 2018; Szmigin, et al., 2017). In response to this, drawing on social identity and convention theories and consumers' and restaurateurs' perspectives in the case of Greek ethnic restaurants, this paper considers how actors claim legitimacy, make and defend judgements of authenticity. It demonstrates that authentication operates in relation to conventions, which provide both guides to action and frameworks for legitimizing judgments of quality and authenticity. In the context of Greek ethnic restaurants, authentication occurs through either embodying ancestral indexicality by domestic–oriented restaurants, the exemplification of innovative iconicity by innovation-oriented restaurants or embracing pragmatic iconicity in the case of market-oriented restaurants.

While hot authentication is a participatory process conducive to the personal experiences of existential authenticity (Lugosi, 2016; Rickly & Vidon, 2018; Vidon, Rickly, & Knudsen, 2018), some actors possess and defend privileged positions. Such positions vary by order of worth. For instance, in the domestic realm, Greek ancestry is regarded as essential, but insufficient for innovation-oriented restaurants, where boundary spanning culinary knowledge and skills are perceived as necessary for making judgements of worth. The paper thus extends research on authentication processes by highlighting how in- and out-

groups may be constructed based on social and ethnic identities and utilized to defend positions and judgements of quality and authenticity.

Previous research recognizes that consumers utilize cues, compared against idealized archetypes, to judge the authenticity and quality of foods and restaurants (Gregorash, 2018; Jang, et al., 2012). Relevant cues include the menu, music, origin of ingredients, ethnicity of staff and décor (Lu, et al., 2015). The paper extends this by considering how the salience of particular cues varies between tourists and non-tourists. Specifically, where tourists' knowledge of the cuisine was limited, they pay greater attention to performative acts, the presence of known non-Greek items on a menu (e.g. burgers) and non-menu-based cues such as décor. Consequently, tourists often make strong judgements of authenticity even without detailed knowledge of the subject (country's cuisine). Further research, using experimental methods, could confirm how the salience of particular cues of authenticity varies between tourists and non-tourists without necessarily affecting the strength of judgements.

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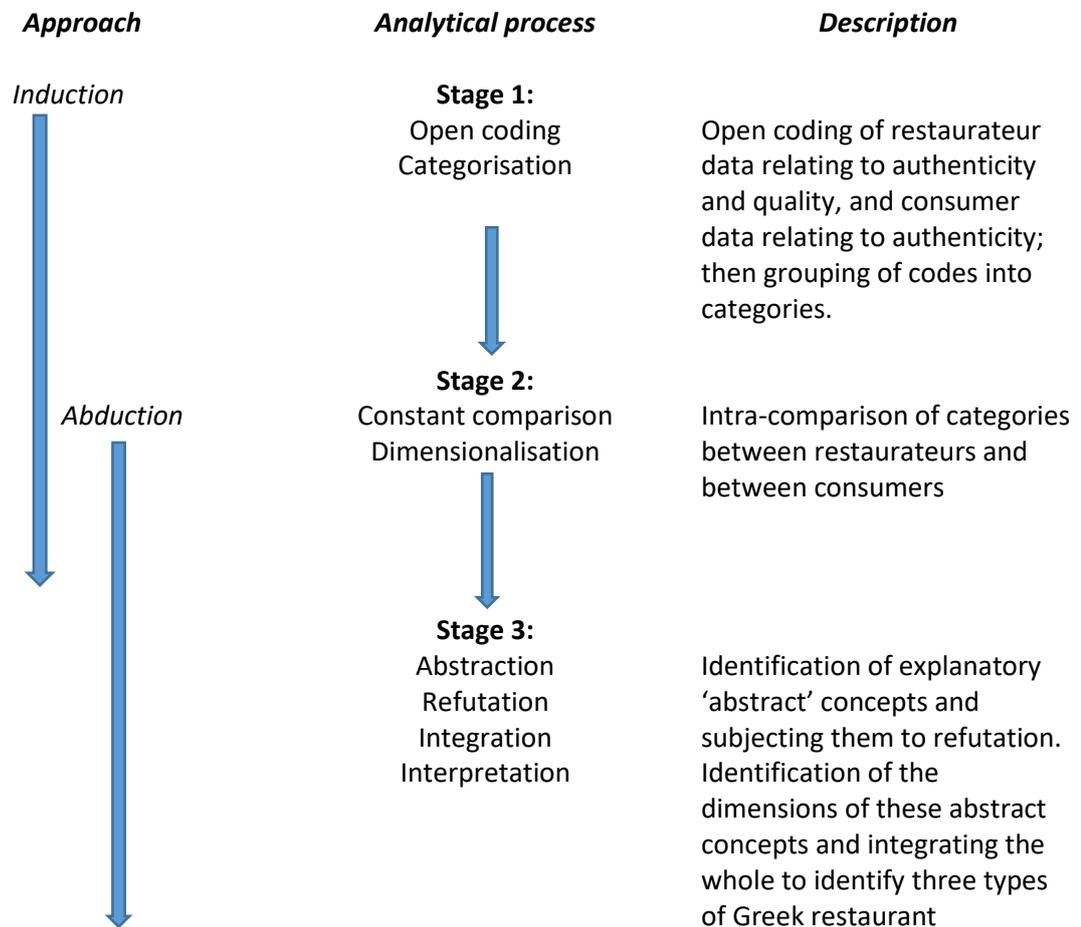Mkono, M. (2013b). Hot and cool authentication: a netnographic illustration. *Annals of Tourism Research, 41*, 215-218.

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Table 1: Conventions, orders of worth and authenticity

Quality Convention	Market-oriented restaurant	Domestic-oriented restaurant	Innovative-oriented restaurant
Form of Authenticity	Pragmatic iconicity	Ancestral indexicality	Innovative iconicity
Restaurateur's (relationship with) Greek identity	Flexible and pragmatic, determined by target diners' wants	Proudly Greek, rooted in familial tradition with ancestral recipes and cooking techniques faithfully reproduced	Proudly Greek, bringing the 'essence' of Greek cuisine to a new audience in innovative ways
Temporal focus of cuisine	Present	Past	Future
Menu construction	Multiple origins, globalised; meets diners' existing expectations and taste preferences	Staple, Greek household recipes, menu is a construction of previous generations	Fusion cuisine, construction resides with the chef
Ingredient focus	Greek and non-Greek	Predominantly Greek in origin	High quality (flavour), Greek and non-Greek
Chef	Greek or non-Greek	Greek	Predominately Greek
Staff	Mixed	Greek	Greek or non-Greeks knowledgeable about food
Decor	Greek taverna style	Greek taverna style	Modern with Greek styling

Figure 1: Data Analysis Process

Approach	*Analytical process*	*Description*
Induction	**Stage 1:** Open coding Categorisation	Open coding of restaurateur data relating to authenticity and quality, and consumer data relating to authenticity; then grouping of codes into categories.
Abduction	**Stage 2:** Constant comparison Dimensionalisation	Intra-comparison of categories between restaurateurs and between consumers
	Stage 3: Abstraction Refutation Integration Interpretation	Identification of explanatory 'abstract' concepts and subjecting them to refutation. Identification of the dimensions of these abstract concepts and integrating the whole to identify three types of Greek restaurant

Appendix 1: Semi-Structured Interview Guides

    a) **Guide for interviews with ethnic restaurant managers/owners, with prompts**

Introduction
Maybe we could begin, by discussing how you came to be in the restaurant business and managing this specific restaurant?
How would you describe your restaurant? Who is it for?
Would you see the restaurant as Mediterranean, Greek, Cretan, or something else? Why? What makes it so?

Exploring Identity and Authenticity Aspects
Please talk through your restaurant's current menu.
How would you describe your menu? According to your opinion, is your menu original Mediterranean, Greek, Cretian or something else?
Did you choose the restaurant's menu?
Describe the process of how you choose a menu.
From where are your recipes?
On your menu, you have X [e.g. moussaka, Dolmades, kolokythokeftedes]. What makes an authentic moussaka, Dolmades etc.
What ingredients are you using? Origin? Origin of wines and rationale.
How would you describe the décor?
What type of music do you play in your restaurant?
How do customers judge the restaurant? What are the comments that you hear? Probing: quality, authenticity, price.
Do those from the Mediterranean/Greece judge it differently?
What is the link between you and the restaurant's identity?
What food/recipes do you cook at home?
Do you contribute to a particular culture? Probe: how and why.

Elicitation Technique
Please read the menus of two restaurants. For each, explore:
What comes to mind?
What type of restaurant do you perceive it to be? Why is this?
What would you expect to experience?

Consumer and marketing aspects
What type of people eat at the restaurant? Probe: locals, tourists, foodies.
What makes a restaurant touristic (price, location, etc…)?
Did you have any restaurant as a "role model" when you started?
What compromises, if any, do you have to make?
Do you offer any special deals? How do you communicate them?
How do you interact with your existing customers? How do you get any feedback?
How do you attract new customers?
What social media, if any, are you using? Why?
What are your plans for the next five years?

b) Guide for customers of Greek ethnic restaurants with prompts

Introduction
To begin with, please tell me a little about yourself. Prompts: background, where grew up, career etc.

Exploring Identity and Authenticity Aspects
I would like to begin by exploring your experiences of restaurant X. When you think of restaurant X what comes to mind?
Do you conceive the restaurant as Greek?
If yes, what makes it Greek? If no, why do you not consider it to be a Greek restaurant? Probes: menu, origin of ingredients, ethnicity of owner/chef etc.
The last time you visited restaurant X, what were your experiences?
How did you choose from the menu?
Who also eats in this restaurant? Probes: locals, tourists, Greeks, foodies.

Elicitation Technique
Please read the menus of two restaurants. For each, explore:
What comes to mind?
What type of restaurant do you perceive it to be? Why is this?
What would you expect to experience?

Marketing and Promotional Aspects
How did you first come to go to restaurant X? Potential probes: word of mouth (by whom?), awards, social media.
Who influences you in terms of choice of restaurant?
Did you inform other people that you had been to restaurant X? Why? How?
Did you give the restaurant feedback? If so in what form (personal, social media etc.) and why?
What makes an ideal Greek restaurant?
How important are restaurant special deals? How do you know about them?

Closing
Thank you for all that valuable information and your time, is there anything else you would like to add before we end?

Appendix 2: Profile of restaurateurs

Gender	Ethnicity	Profile
Female	Greek	Lives in Greece. As a child, she spent some years in Crete, where she was raised by her grandfather.
Female	Greek	Lived in the UK for 10 years. Born in Greece and came to the UK for studies at the age of 22.
Female	Greek	Lived in Greece (Athens) since she was born. Runs a restaurant in the centre of Athens for 15 years.
Male	Greek	Lived in the UK for 25 years. Born in Greece and came to the UK for work at the age of 32.
Male	Greek	Lives in Greece. From Crete, where he spent all summer as a child.
Male	Greek	Lives in Greece. His father and grandfather had the restaurant, which he has owned for 15 years now.
Male	Greek	Working at the restaurant as a waiter since a teenager. Five years ago took over the restaurant with his wife.
Male	Greek	Lives in Greece. His father and grandfather had a restaurant next to the one that he has owned for 8 years.
Male	Greek	Lived in the UK for more than 20 years. Came when he was 18 to study and then started the restaurant with his father.
Male	British-Cypriot	Lived in the UK since he was born. Third generation of a Greek Cypriot family.
Male	Greek	Lives in Greece. From rural Greece, where produces wine.
Male	Greek	Living in the UK for 4 years. Initially came to study and then opened a restaurant.
Male	Greek	Came to UK to study then returned home to work. Due to financial crisis, returned to work in UK catering sector.
Male	Greek - Lebanese	Used to live in rural Greece and worked in an Athenian restaurant for 3 years.
Male	English-Greek	Lives in the UK He is 2nd generation Greek.
Male	Australian-Greek	Previously managed Greek ethnic restaurants and café in Australia.
Male	English	Lives in the UK. Used to live in Greece (from childhood until late 30s).
Male	British-French	Lived in the UK since birth.
Male	Greek	Lives in Greece. Manager of a restaurant in a hotel.

Appendix 3: Profile of Diners (Tourists and Greeks)

Gender	Ethnicity	Profile	Maintains a food blog
Female	Greek	27 years old. Works in Greece in market research. Spent 1 year in the UK for her Masters	
Female	British	42 years old. Finance officer	
Male	British	30 years old. Administrator. He lives in UK but he has also lived in Japan	
Male	Greek	26 years old. University Lecturer	
Female	Greek	40 years old. University lecturer. Previously lived in the USA	
Male	Italian	30 years old. Works in digital advertising.	Yes
Female	Italian	31 years old. Works in advertising.	Yes
Male	Greek	27 years old. Finance analyst	
Male	Greek	25 years old. Real estate agent	
Female	American – Greek	42 years old. Works for UN. She was raised in the USA, currently living in Switzerland	
Female	British	36 years old. University lecturer	
Female	Greek Cypriot	25 years old. Architect	
Male	British	35 years old. University lecturer, married with a daughter	
Male	Greek	25 years old. Working in the finance and marketing sectors	
Male	British	27 years old. Works in social services	
Female	Greek	26 years old. Works for IBM. She spent 1 year in the UK for her Masters	
Female	Greek Cypriot	24 years old. Marketing manager	
Male	Greek	25 years old. Software engineer.	
Male	Greek	39 years old. Musician. Studying in the UK and working as a waiter	
Female	British	27 years old. Father is half Armenian. Lived in England her whole life. Editor in a publishing company	
Male	British	24 years old. Estate agent	
Female	British-Pakistani	28 years old. Works for a large IT firm. Runs a food blog reviewing restaurants in London	Yes
Male	Greek	43 years old. Orthopaedic surgeon. Lived in the UK for 25 years. He visits Greece every year	

END OF MANUSCRIPT