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The role of geographical labelling in inserting extensive cattle systems into beef marketing channels. Evidence from three Spanish case studies

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Le rôle des indications géographiques dans le processus d'intégration des systèmes d'élevage bovin extensif dans les circuits de distribution. Trois études de cas en Espagne

Résumé – Le secteur de l'élevage bovin se trouve dans une phase d'adaptation aux exigences croissantes de la demande. Les consommateurs demandent des produits bien différenciés et de qualité constante, sur un marché qui commence à être dominé par la grande distribution. Dans ce contexte, les mécanismes de différenciation des produits poursuivent un double objectif : d'une part, coordonner la production et la commercialisation, d'autre part, faciliter l'accès des éleveurs aux circuits de distribution.

Les systèmes d'élevage extensif occupent une place particulière en Espagne en raison de leurs valeurs patrimoniales et environnementales, mais leurs structures et niveaux de rentabilité constituent des obstacles à leur adaptation aux nouvelles tendances du marché. Cette situation nécessite de faire appel à des instruments en mesure d'amener les producteurs à s'adapter à une plus grande différenciation de leurs produits et obtenir une valeur ajoutée plus importante. Ces instruments peuvent être soutenus par les institutions publiques ou par le secteur privé, grâce à des marques de qualité liées à une origine géographique. L'objectif est ici de caractériser ce processus d'adaptation des systèmes espagnols d'élevage extensif à travers trois études de cas, qui représentent trois types de localisation : zones de montagne du nord, du centre et du sud du pays. Un modèle logit, basé sur une enquête réalisée auprès des éleveurs, vise à identifier les variables qui influent le plus sur l'adhésion à une démarche commerciale s'appuyant sur une indication géographique. L'étude conclut que les trois systèmes analysés présentent d'importantes différences. Certains facteurs (cadre institutionnel, nature du marché régional...) expliquent ces différences et déterminent le degré d'adhésion des éleveurs à ces mécanismes de différenciation par l'origine.

Mots-clés : élevage bovin extensif, indications géographiques, développement rural, modèle logit

The role of geographical labelling in inserting extensive cattle systems into beef marketing channels. Evidence from three Spanish case studies

Summary – The beef cattle sector is adapting to increasing demand-side requirements. Customers are looking for a differentiated product of constant quality in a market that is beginning to be dominated by major distribution companies. In this background, mechanisms to differentiate production are being implemented to co-ordinate both production and marketing processes and integrate livestock farmers into the commercial system.

Extensive cattle systems carry an important weight in Spain because of their social and environmental values. However, their structure and level of profitability are obstacles to their adaptation to new market trends. This situation calls for instruments that are able to bring the farmer into this adaptation process and to add value to and differentiate products. These instruments can be promoted by institutions or by the private sector through quality labels based on the product's geographical origin. This paper aims to characterise the process of adaptation of Spanish extensive cattle systems through three case studies representing three kinds of extensive farming system located in the country's northern, central and southern mountain ranges. A logit model based on a survey of farmers was developed to identify which variables have a greater influence on the decision to participate in quality labels based on geographical origin. The study concludes that the three mechanisms, which are based on a brand linked to their geographical origin, present important differences. Some factors as the institutional or regional context explains these differences and determine the degree of acceptance of each one of these mechanisms between the livestock farmers.

Key-words : extensive beef cattle, geographical labelling, rural development, logit model

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EUROPEAN AGRICULTURAL policy has been immersed in a process of reform since 1992, motivated by international agricultural trade negotiations and budgetary pressures. This reform has led to a gradual reduction in the importance of the market regulation policy by reducing farm prices and deregulating trade. The 2003 reform, which decouples public support through a single farm payment, is the latest stage in this process. Generally, this payment represents a subsidy that is proportional to payments received in the past and is paid irrespective of whether or not production is continued, the only requirement being that the agricultural area be maintained in good condition. Payment decoupling encourages competitive farming by making farmers' decisions more dependent on the signals of the market. However, it also runs the risk of farming being abandoned in the less favoured regions, with the ensuing negative effects on the environment and rural development. Spanish extensive cattle farming is one example of this possibility.

In Spain, climatic constraints limit the availability of pastures and condition a livestock farming model based largely on the separation of the breeding from the fattening phases. Most meat is produced at intensive industrial fattening farms located in regions close to the centres of consumption and where the cost of feed supply is lower. These farms acquire animals for fattening from either dairy or breeding farms. The importance of breeding farms is patent if we take into account that only 35% of the total heads of cattle in Spain are dairy cows and the remainder, suckler cows, Spain being the only Community country where sucklers are more numerous than dairy cows (MAPA, 2003). The breeding farms are located in mountainous regions and "*debesas*" (extensive grazing land). They are free-range animals that are fed on natural pastures, although their diet sometimes has to be supplemented with feed. They occasionally finish the meat production cycle, finishing the calves, although they are smaller-sized farms than the industrial fattening farms in all cases. Being an extensive or less intensive system of production, with a weak dependence on outside factors, it has positive aspects from the viewpoint of both the sustainability of less favoured regions and the nature conservation. Indeed, in the Mediterranean countries, these livestock farming systems are located in the less favoured areas, where the adverse geographical conditions have led to some resistance to innovation and modernisation, thanks to which traditional practices have been kept up (Bignal and McCracken, 1996). The preservation of such systems and their associated practices are essential for conserving and sustaining these areas (Hellegers and Godeschlak, 1998). In short, these are systems of production, whose characteristics make them vulnerable in a scenario of market deregulation and subsidies cuts. Because of their contribution to the development of less favoured regions and their positive impact on the environment, however, they are a target for support within a policy to defend multifunctionality.

One possibility for paying for the provision of these public assets is by means of subsidies especially designed for these systems of production. Up until the 2003 CAP reform, the chief instrument of support for these cattle farms was the suckler cow premium. With its inclusion in the single farm payment and 100% decoupled support, there is some risk of this activity being abandoned (Bardají *et al.*, 2001). To prevent this, Spain has opted to apply partial decoupling of payments in this sector,

maintaining 100% of the suckler cow premium and 40% of the slaughter premium coupled to the activity, a decision that is designed to slow down the tendency to abandon extensive farming.

Additionally, the CAP reform has also breathed new life into the rural development policy, which is viewed as the basic instrument for increasing agricultural competitiveness, one of the priority lines of action. One possible course of action in this direction is to increase added value by improving the quality of production and farmer participation in food quality schemes, such as origin labelled products (Regulation (EC) n° 1698/2005). Support for the differentiation of production by means of such schemes, of recognised consequence for rural development, is also to be found within the actual 2003 reform and the common quality policy. Article 69 of Council Regulation (EC) n° 1782/2003, introducing the single farm payment, provides the possibility for member states to grant additional payments for activities that, among other criteria, are important for improving the quality of agricultural products. Likewise, the very preamble of Council Regulation (EC) n° 2081/1992, pillar of the Community quality policy, recognises that production with designations of origin plays an important role in the rural development of less favoured regions.

Summarising the above, therefore, we find that Spanish extensive cattle farming systems are of high environmental and also social worth because they are sited in rural areas. However, their economic vulnerability and the trend towards decoupling support as imposed by the 2003 reform are a threat to the survival of these systems. In face of this threat, geographical labels can be seen as a chance to add value to the produce from these systems and, therefore, contribute to their maintenance. It is, therefore, worth analysing how these labels are developing and, especially, which factors and causes explain their success or failure in extensive systems.

It was in this framework that the research described in this paper was conducted. In particular, it aims to characterise the process of adding value to the meat produced by Spanish extensive cattle systems based on case studies of three different kinds of extensive systems located in the northern, central and southern mountain ranges of the country. The paper analyses the process of integrating farms into the differentiation instruments (labels) existing in each of the surveyed areas, analysing what factors explain farmers' decisions to participate. We also examine what bearing these factors have on the success of each mechanism and their potential as an instrument for rural development within the agricultural policy design process.

The methodology is based on econometric models (logit models) used to explain farmers' decisions on whether or not to participate in labelling schemes. Models have been specified for each case study. The results can be used to analyse what role geographical labels play in each case and what factors influence this role.

To this end, the paper is structured as follows. First, we discuss the role of geographical labels as product differentiation mechanisms and as a rural development tool. Then, three specific geographical labels are analysed by looking at three case studies of Spanish extensive systems. Additionally, for each case, we describe the main agro-climatic characteristics of each area, as well as the key requirements for

participation in the quality label. In the following section, we present the logit model applied to each case, highlighting the variables selected to explain the probability of farmers joining a differentiation mechanism for each area. Then, in the next one, we present and discuss model results, showing the main factors explaining the difference in performance of each geographical label in each area. The paper closes with the main findings from the comparative analysis carried out in this study.

Production differentiation mechanisms and geographical labels

Adaptation to an increasing demand for quality has led to a change, which, in the beef as in the remainder of the agrofood sector, has resulted in the differentiation of production and the adoption of quality schemes by means of vertical co-ordination mechanisms along the supply chain (Sans and Fontguyon, 1999; Fearné *et al.*, 2001; Atance *et al.*, 2004).

Through the adoption of quality schemes, production can be differentiated by means of individual or collective labelling. Company-promoted trademarks or brands are an example of individual labelling. Collective labelling includes collective brands with both protected and unprotected geographical indications. The economic grounds for their use are the same in both cases, that is, the existence of information asymmetries in the market and the role of individual or collective reputation in improving such asymmetries. However, individual and collective brands do differ as regards the role they play in protecting local products and in rural development (Rangnekar, 2004).

Council Regulation (EC) n° 2081/92 improves the recognition and legal protection of geographical indications in Europe through PDO/PGI (protected designation of origin/ protected geographical indication). Whereas PDOs are reserved for products whose quality is essentially related to the place of origin and all the phases of production, manufacturing and processing also have to be completed in the region of origin, only one of these three phases has to take place in this region for PGIs and the relation between origin-specific quality is also more flexible. In view of the special features of beef, the best-suited legal term for labelling-based protection of origin is PGI. Additionally, the use of real geographical names is generally not permitted in trademarks, unless it does not lead to consumer deception.

In this paper, we have selected three labels including geographical indications. They include two PGIs – “*Ternera de Navarra*” and “*Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama*” – and one collective brand – “COVAP” – belonging to the “*Valle de los Pedroches*” co-operative. Although this label is based on the individual reputation of a company, it plays an important role in rural development in its region of origin, because the company actually is a co-operative that is extensively deployed in a less favoured region.

On the consumption side, products with geographical indications meet the expectations of consumers in relation to the diversification of quality, assuring

product origin and social values like the environment, rural development, biodiversity and animal welfare (Sylvander, 2004). As opposed to mass agrofood production, products with geographical indication tend to be produced on a smaller scale and target market niches that are concentrated in shorter supply chains and improve the transmission of origin-based information to consumers (Marsden *et al.*, 2000; Ilbery and Kenafsey, 2000). A number of authors (Loureiro and McCluskey, 2000; Calvo Dopico, 2002; Bernues *et al.*, 2003; Roosen *et al.*, 2003; Davidson *et al.*, 2003) have analysed the bearing of origin on the social construction of quality and, therefore, the willingness to pay a higher price for beef. They all reflect the importance that consumers attach to origin as a quality attribute of beef.

Insofar as products with geographical indications increase added value and market power, they can have positive effects on local economies by generating competitive advantages and paying for local resources. Additionally, the conditions for development do not only stem from the institutionalisation of the “origin” resource, but also from the way in which strategies are built, where local actors play an important role to the extent that the effects on rural development are the result of strategies of co-operation and competition between actors (Belletti and Marescotti, 2002).

For this reason, other aspects, like the diffusion or extension of the economic effects, their acceptance, the level of participation of actors or strategy endogeneity, can be just as or more important for evaluating the role of geographical indications as instruments of rural development as the economic effects themselves (Belletti and Marescotti, 2002; Sylvander, 2004). In short, as with all local development strategies, the success of origin-based added value production policies depends not only on the availability of the resource and the right instrument, but also on the suitability of the strategy and how well it fits the specificity of each region. It should therefore be examined on the basis of a number of examples such as the three different case studies that are described below and whose performance, in terms of farmer participation, is modelled in the following section.

Three geographical labelling case studies on Spanish extensive systems

Selected case studies

To assess the role played by geographical labelling in supporting extensive systems, we have chosen three case studies that are representative of Spanish extensive cattle farming systems. The first system, Navarre, is located in the north of the country and represents extensive farming systems in Atlantic mountain areas. The Guadarrama Mountain Range (Madrid) is located in the central mountains and represents Spanish continental mountain farming systems. The Los Pedroches Valley (Andalusia), in the south, is a good example of extensive mountain grazing (“*debesas*”). The main characteristics of these systems are described below and summarised in table 1.

Table 1. Main agro-climatic characteristics of the case study areas

	<i>Navarra</i>	<i>Sierra de Guadarrama</i>	<i>Valle de los Pedroches</i>
Location in the Iberian Peninsula	North	Centre	South
Climate	Atlantic	Continental	Mediterranean
Farm size	small	medium	medium-large
Extensification	medium	medium-high	high
Productive orientation	cattle	cattle	cattle and pig

– *Navarre*: The climate in this area is characterised by high rainfall and cold winters. Cattle often have to be given supplements including grain and feed during the winter when they are kept in cowsheds, whereas natural pastures are abundant in summer. Farm size is medium to small, averaging 25 cows. Calves are usually fattened on the farm (breeding and fattening farms). Cattle farming is not combined with crop farming or other livestock activities, but many cattle farms in this system have been converted from dairy farms.

– *Guadarrama Mountain Range*: This area has a continental mountain climate, with cold, wet winters and hot, dry summers. Cattle require large feed supplements in both winter (when they must be kept in sheds) and summer (since pastures often dry out and are barely productive from August). Farms average 60 cows (medium size) and livestock densities are low. However, there are some localised problems of over-intensification in the summer. There is a similar proportion of breeding, and breeding and fattening farms in the area.

– *Los Pedroches Valley*: In a Mediterranean and mountain climate, with mild, wet winters and hot, dry summers, cattle are not kept in sheds. They do, however, require feed supplements in summer. Farm size is medium to large (50-100 cows), livestock densities are low, but over-intensification is extreme in the flattest areas. Farms are either breeding or fattening farms (breeding and fattening farms are an exception). Cattle farming is frequently combined with pig farming. At farms that combine pig and cattle farming, pigs used to be the main activity.

Geographical labelling in the case study areas

The “*Ternera de Navarra*” and “*Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama*” PGIs have been developed at the initiative of their respective regional governments. 705 farms have joined the Navarre scheme, accounting for 57% of all farms in the region. In Guadarrama, 120 farms participate in the PGI. This accounts for 11% of all farms in the area.

The “*Ternera de Navarra*” and “*Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama*” models could be considered to be quite close. In both cases, production is located not far from urban areas, where the maintenance of livestock farming is considered to be strategic for the preservation of rural communities and the environment. Atomisation and low profitability make it extremely difficult for farms in these areas to promote

individual mechanisms to increase added value from livestock farming activities. The institutional response from public agencies has been to support PGI geographical labels.

However, the development of the PGIs differs from one case to the other. The co-operative movement is well rooted in Navarre, where many cattle farmers are members of a co-operative. The existence of the co-operative allows supply concentration and better marketing, improving the producers' position along supply chains. Since the existence of a label furthers these advantages, the co-operative has promoted the PGI jointly with the regional government. Thus, farmers' membership of the PGI scheme subsequently improves their position within marketing channels through the promotional activities carried out by both the regional government and the co-operative.

On the other hand, there is no 'associative spirit' among Guadarrama farmers, and it is up to the regional administration alone to inform farmers about the PGI, mainly through the work of the five rural agricultural offices, one in each of the sub-areas of the total area covered by the PGI. Scheme membership therefore has to be qualified as more spontaneous than in the case of Navarre, leading to a number of problems with matching supply (breeding farms) and demand for calves (breeding and fattening and fattening farms).

Additionally, the co-operative-based horizontal integration also explains some of the marketing differences between "*Tenera de Navarra*" and "*Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama*". "*Tenera de Navarra*" is better integrated into marketing channels as the co-operative within the Navarre PGI actively assumes marketing responsibilities, negotiating with supermarkets and other retail chains. This results in farmers who are members of the PGI scheme receiving higher prices for their products.

In the case of "*Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama*", marketing is still an individual activity, usually leading to sales to local butchers' located in rural areas. Due to atomisation, only the larger fattening farms (most of them outside the PGI) can supply supermarkets. So, "*Tenera de Navarra*" can be easily found in supermarkets, while "*Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama*" cannot. Consequently, this PGI must be considered to be a step behind "*Tenera de Navarra*" in the process aimed at inserting extensive systems into modern marketing channels.

Finally, the "*Valle de Los Pedroches*" geographical label is not a PGI, but can be classed as a geographical private brand: 'COVAP'. It is a collective label promoted by the "*Valle de los Pedroches*" co-operative, one of the country's largest co-operatives with 9 500 members operating in the beef (210 of them), sheep, pork and dairy sectors. Its influence currently covers not only the Los Pedroches Valley, but also extends to the adjoining provinces of Badajoz and Ciudad Real. Thanks to its experience and commercial reputation, this co-operative has been able to promote the brand as a certified quality label. As such, it benefits from a special "A" for Andalusia logo, awarded by the regional government as a means of promoting quality certification by an external body. The co-operative was formed in 1959 and has been an important factor for development in the region, especially in Los Pedroches.

Table 2 below shows the main requirements of the three analysed geographical labels. The main difference is the requirement as to calves' origin. "*Ternera de Navarra*" and "*Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama*", as PGIs, demand that calves are actually born in the region. This is a sizeable obstacle for the integration of large fattening farms. The external control of production differs from the collective brand to the PGIs. Only COVAP uses the services of an accredited external certifying company CERTICAR. For both "*Ternera de Navarra*" and "*Carne de Guadarrama*", it is the public administration responsible for such matters that conducts the cattle feed and health controls. The private brand places some conditions on the payment of products and a commitment to exclusivity of calf sales.

Table 2. Main requirements of the three analysed labels

Requirement	" <i>Ternera de Navarra</i> " PGI	" <i>Sierra de Guadarrama</i> " PGI	"COVAP" Quality Brand
Age of the animals	yes	yes	yes
Weight of the animals	yes	yes	yes
Natural feed	yes	yes	yes
Autochthonous origin of the calf	yes	yes	no
External control of production process	no	no	yes
Payment condition: price and time	no	no	yes
Need for investment	no	no	no
Exclusivity agreement	no	no	no

Methodology

To achieve the goals set for this research, a questionnaire was designed that was to be put to farmers from the three areas for completion through direct interviews. This also enabled the assessment of specific qualitative factors in each area.

A total of 229 questionnaires were filled in across all three areas, as specified in table 3.

Table 3. Random survey distribution between member or non-member farms

	Member	Non-member	Total
Navarre	58	15	73
S. Guadarrama	55	47	102
V. Pedroches	25	29	54
Total	138	91	229

Additionally, a number of interviews were conducted with sector experts from both production and industry, as well as people holding positions of responsibility in the administration of each of the areas under study for the purpose of gaining an insight into the problems of the sector from different viewpoints.

Based on this information, a questionnaire was designed with the aim of finding out what variables or factors account for farmers' decisions on whether or not to join a mechanism like this. The goal here was to be able to analyse the causes explaining mechanism success or failure, looking at the extent to which the causes are common or specific to each of the analysed areas. Table 4 shows the selected variables, some of which are continuous and others discrete. Table 4 also lists the coding used to interpret the responses to the survey question concerning the respective variable. The questionnaire was divided into four parts.

Table 4. Summary of explanatory variables used in the logit models

<i>Farmer variables</i>	
Age:	continuous variable expressing farmer's age
Education:	1: no qualifications or primary education; 2: secondary or higher education
Employment:	1: full-time; 2: part-time
Succession:	0: no guaranteed succession; 1: guaranteed succession
<i>Farm variables</i>	
Type:	1: breeding and fattening; 0: breeding or fattening
Size:	continuous variable expressing number of cows
Density:	continuous variable (livestock units/acreage)
Area:	0: not near to the area of PGI influence; 1: near to the area of PGI influence
Leased land:	0: no; 1: yes
<i>Management variables</i>	
Investment:	0: none; 1: < 6000 €; 2: 6000-18000 €; 3: 18000-30000 €; 4: > 30000 €
Financial:	1: own capital; 2: loan capital
Marketing:	1: sale to the major distribution channels; 2: sale to butchers; 3: sale to a co-operative; 4: sale to retailer; 5: sale to slaughterhouses; 6: sale to fattening farms
<i>Farmers' preferences variables</i>	
Prices:	1: preference for a good price; 2: preference for sure price
Sales:	1: preference for assuring sales by exclusivity agreement; 2: preference for diversifying sales
Quality:	1: perceiving quality as a means of protection against market crises; 2: perceiving quality as guarantee to consumers

In the first part, the aim was to characterise the farmer by gathering information concerning age, education, employment in farming, as well as the existence of succession to the farm leading to the possibility of farming continuing.

The second part focused on the variables characterising farm structure: type, size and livestock density. Additionally, another variable “area” was added for the Guadarrama Mountain Range region, the aim of which was to capture a greater willingness to join in some areas of the region under examination depending on the

extent of the above-mentioned work of promotion and dissemination. Similarly, the “leased land” variable was added in the Pedroches Valley to account for the influence of land lease, very widespread in the district, on the willingness to join the COVAP co-operative.

Thirdly, a battery of questions was added that were designed to capture the influence of factors linked to farm management decisions, such as investments made and investment financing. The “marketing” variable is used in an attempt to capture what importance the distribution channel has on the development of the analysed mechanisms either by means of channels that have no intermediary (involving a direct relationship between the producer and the retailer or the consumer or direct farm sales by post or over the internet) or through local restaurants, district butchers or special-purpose facilities within hypermarkets.

The fourth part of the questionnaire was designed to ascertain the farmers’ attitude towards decision-making strategies, attempting to capture their position with respect to decisions made in the process of marketing meat and thus establishing whether there is a difference between farmers who do and do not adopt quality differentiation mechanisms. This block was composed of three questions generating the **farmers’ preferences variables** included in the model (table 4). One concerned a preference for a high or sure, albeit lower price, aimed at accounting for the influence of risk aversion. The second dealt with the preference for exclusive and guaranteed sale or diversified sale, which, apart from risk aversion, accounts for the importance of traditional or stable marketing channels. Finally, a question concerning the subjective appraisal of the quality differentiation mechanisms in each area was added, considering whether they are seen as an instrument for achieving a better positioning of their product in situations of market crisis or whether they are conceived as an instrument that can transmit clear information about product features to consumers.

Quantitative comparative analyses of the three case studies have been conducted using logit models. The logit model explains the conditional distribution of a discrete binary variable $R \in (0,1)$ given a probit-type continuous variable.

This methodology was selected because it is better suited to the goals set in this research, as a binomial type decision or dependent variable can be tied to a set of factors or independent variables (Greene, 1998). Bayesian networks are another type model for statistical inference that could be useful for the analysis pursued by this paper. Bayesian inference allows the inference system to construct its own potential system of meaning upon the data. This model can be used to test new theories or hypotheses, but it is only useful if this prior knowledge (hypothesis) is reliable (Niedermayer, 1998). The logit model is often appealing, because it does not make the unrealistic assumption of irrelevant alternatives being independent (Imai and Van Dyk, 2005).

The value of the dependent variable Y_j is 1 when a given decision is made and 0 otherwise. Supposing that the matrix of independent variables X_{ij} represents the characteristics that we want to use to explain the probability of making a given

decision, the specification of the model (assuming a logistic distribution¹ for the error term) is formulated as follows:

$$\Pr(Y_j = 1/X_{ij}) = \frac{e^{X_{ij}\beta}}{1 + e^{X_{ij}\beta}}$$

where β is the vector of coefficients to be estimated. The value of each coefficient expresses the effect of a change in the independent variable to which it is associated in the utility index.

In this case, the logit models analyse the influence of qualitative and quantitative variables on the decision of whether or not to participate in geographical labelling schemes. The models can establish relations between specific farm characteristics and their probability of joining labelling schemes.

Results

Table 5 shows the means of the variables examined for the member and non-member farmers in each of the areas under study based on the coding of the values of the variables as expressed in table 4. These outcomes are supplemented with the analysis of the results of the logit model developed in this paper.

Table 6 summarises the model results, indicating the significance level for each of the explanatory variables. The percentage of correct predictions ranges from 77% to 89%, suggesting a good model fit.

From these results and from the interviews held in each of the areas, a number of points can be made with respect to the analysed variables.

Characteristics of farmers

Some of the facts found are common to all three areas and others are more specific to each area, although in no case are the differences significant enough to explain the influence of these variables on a greater willingness to adopt any of these differentiation mechanisms. COVAP and “*Tenera de Navarra*” member farmers are found to be less well educated and work part-time in farming. However, the farmers belonging to “*Carne de Guadarrama*” are older, better educated and employed full-time in farming. On the other hand, the existence of succession on the farm is significant as a factor motivating participation in the cases of COVAP and “*Carne de Guadarrama*”.

“Employment in the activity” appears to be a variable that is more specific to each area. In “*Tenera de Navarra*” and COVAP (although the differences are not

¹ It would be a probit model if the distribution were assumed to be normal. In most applications, there are few differences between the results achieved by either specification (Greene, 1998). This applies in our case, too, for which reason we present the results of the logit model only.

statistically significant in the latter case), the members have a greater tendency to part-time employment. This can be explained by the importance of breeding farms among members in these two regions, on which farmers are normally employed part-time and which, not being involved in the fattening activity, have no incentives to join. In “*Ternera de Navarra*”, the causes of non-full-time employment of member farmers can also be put down to the services provided by the co-operative, in terms of marketing and its involvement in the provision support for the PGI.

Table 5. Mean of the variables for member and non-member farms

Variables	“ <i>Ternera de Navarra</i> ” PGI		“ <i>Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama</i> ” PGI		“COVAP” Quality Brand	
	Non-member	Member	Non-member	Member	Non-member	Member
Age	48.33	47.93	47	45.68	50.64	54.44
Education	2.27	2.17	1.32	1.48	3.48	3.00
Employment	1.20	1.37	1.45	1.21	1.72	1.58
Succession	0.40	0.39	0.92	0.85	0.36	0.24
Type	2.64	2.59	2.01	2.61	1.96	1.21
Size	16.86	42.82	52.58	80.72	142.6	89.7
Density	6.00	55.8	137.03	238.68	420.06	285.86
Area	–	–	2.1	1.7	–	–
Leased land	–	–	–	–	0.28	0.41
Price	1.78	1.70	1.63	1.89	1.72	1.71
Sales	1.5	1.15	1.46	1.40	1.48	1.21
Quality	1.33	1.52	1.33	1.32	1.70	1.71
Investment	1.4	1.83	1.18	1.78	2.52	2.64
Financial	1.24	1.37	0.28	0.32	1.24	1.39
Marketing	2.3	2	3.6	2.6	4.8	3.94

Farm characteristics

Both the PGI “*Ternera de Navarra*” and “*Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama*” member farms are larger than the non-member farms in both areas, there being a greater proportion in both cases of farms that finish the meat production cycle.

A specific aspect of the “*Carne de Sierra de Guadarrama*” region, accounted for by the “area” variable, is the unequal area distribution of the PGI member farms. This is higher in the area where the PGI Regulatory Board as well as a local action group very much involved in the strategy of support for this production added value mechanism are located.

On the other hand, the standard COVAP member farm is a slightly smaller than average breeding farm for the district. Furthermore, associated farms often have a greater tendency to make use of leased pasture as a result of smaller farm size. The characteristics of this region and of the differentiation scheme means that it is the

more marginal farms that join and make use of a common fattening farm as a system for finishing the cycle. This is an indication of the importance of encouraging such schemes in less favoured regions.

Table 6. Level of significance for each explanatory variable for the three PGIs (t-value in brackets)

	<i>"Ternera de Navarra"</i> PGI	<i>"Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama"</i> PGI	<i>"COVAP"</i> Quality Brand
Age	-0.0719 (-1.0545)	0.0221 (0.2506)	0.0366 (0.8179)
Education	-0.5125 (-0.3673)	0.6987* (1.3289)	-0.5803* (-1.2247)
Employment	2.5769** (2.1710)	-0.1142 (0.1350)	0.2542 (0.2759)
Succession	3.7444** (2.3378)	-0.2832 (-0.4960)	-1.5654* (1.2127)
Type	2.6750** (2.0400)	0.5275* (1.0632)	-1.5822*** (-1.9926)
Size	2.5990*** (2.5135)	0.0084** (1.6631)	-0.0057 (0.3403)
Density ^a	—	-1.8465** (2.4126)	—
Area ^a	—	-2.6762*** (-4.3244)	—
Leased land ^a	—	—	1.9596** (1.5660)
Price	0.34961 (0.39224)	2.1770*** (2.2777)	-0.6924 (-0.5770)
Sales	-0.60506 (-0.6078)	-1.0977* (-1.4438)	0.5863 (0.6036)
Quality	0.8652 (1.5171)*	-0.3719 (-0.5125)	0.6869 (-0.6738)
Investment	-0.1813 (-0.3760)	-0.0586 (-0.2192)	-0.0946 (-0.2199)
Financing	-0.0114 (-0.1283)	0.4402 (0.3816)	0.8156 (0.8347)
Marketing	-1.2342*** (-2.5004)	1.2294* (1.3872)	0.2030 (0.5955)
% of correct predictions	89.04	82.6	77.2

*, **, ***: Significant at a confidence level of 10%, 5% and 1% respectively

^a: Variables not available for the other two areas (not included in their filed surveys)

These results show that the PGI is an instrument used to add value to production by farms that combine the two phases, breeding and fattening, either on breeding and finishing farms or by fattening animals acquired from other farms in the area as well as their own calves. Albeit not large, these farms are greater in size than the average for each area, which leaves the more marginal farms, many of which only have suckler cows and do no fattening at all, out of the process of integration. In the case of COVAP, on the other hand, it is mostly the below-average sized breeding farms that join the co-operative which provides the community fattening farm and the possibility of marketing under a common quality brand.

Management strategies

The inclusion of variables related to investment and its financing aimed to account for the influence of business dynamism on the willingness to join a quality scheme. However, no significant differences were observed among the member and non-member farms in any of the areas.

Furthermore, the aim of the “marketing” variable was to account for the importance of the marketing channel on the probability of membership of such mechanisms. The higher the value of the variable, the longer the channel and the further removed the producer is from the final consumer. In “*Tenera de Navarra*”, the differences found between PGI members and non-members are significant, reflecting how PGI non-members predominate in the shorter circuits. Although the significance of the variable is lower for “*Carne de Sierra de Guadarrama*”, the meaning of the result is the opposite. Indeed, member farmers have a greater tendency to sell their production in circuits closer to the farmer. No significant differences are observed for the “*Valle de Pedroches*” as short circuits are not very widespread in the area, then very few farmers have really alternative buyers available. So, this variable plays a quite significant role explaining farmers’ insertion in those geographical areas where exist marketing alternatives ².

The hypothesis established as a result of the analysis of this variable is that origin-based differentiation strategies, like PGIs, will be more effective to the extent that the transmission of information to consumers, as well as control by producers and retailers, is more direct. However, the importance of the direct relation between producers and retailers (short circuit) in rural areas, based on tradition and trust, makes the use of this instrument unnecessary.

Strategies based on farmers’ preferences

As regards farmers’ risk aversion reflected in sale price, the results show that there is risk aversion in all areas, with insignificant differences between members and non-members, save for “*Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama*”. In this area, the non-member farmers prefer a good price to a sure price, as opposed to members whose behaviour is the contrary, which is evidence of greater risk aversion. Nevertheless, this result appears to tie in with the presence in non-members group of a significant number of breeding farms, which are not usually members. These farms usually sell cattle at the best price, because sales are assured in this case owing to the shortage of calves in the region.

With respect to the “sales” variable, the differences in the responses between members and non-members are not significant except in the case of “*Carne de la*

² This could be probably, as one of the paper’s referees has pointed, due to the fact that this variable partially captures the own preference of the farmer among “individual” or “collective” strategies (through participating in co-operatives) and the possible existence of differences in the perception of quality of the different agents along the marketing chain. In any case, further developments of the model could try to test these.

Sierra de Guadarrama". In this case, the non-members prefer to diversify sales, which again reflects a bigger proportion of breeding farms not involved in fattening in this group.

Finally, the "quality" variable aimed to capture the influence that the "mad cow" disease crisis had had on the farmers' response to joining such schemes, which could be considered as a defence mechanism. Only in the case of Navarre was the difference obtained in the response significant and refuted the above hypothesis. The "*Ternera de Navarra*" PGI member farmers view it as an instrument capable of guaranteeing clear and reliable information on the quality of the product they sell, whereas PGI non-members see it as nothing more than an instrument of protection against the crisis.

Conclusions

Extensive cattle systems carry an important weight in Spain because of their social and environmental values. However, their low profitability and the changes to the CAP put their survival at risk. This situation can be counteracted by the use of instruments designed to bring farmers into a process of adaptation by adding value to and differentiating their products. These instruments may be promoted by public institutions or by the private sector through quality labels based on the products' geographical origin. In this paper we have analysed the role of these instruments as illustrated by three case studies conducted in Spain. For this purpose, we analysed the process of integration of extensive cattle farms into origin-based differentiated quality mechanisms to determine the influence of certain variables on the success of applying such mechanisms as instruments of rural development. The comparative analysis of the performance of three different geographical quality labels has revealed which the key factors encouraging farmer membership of these mechanisms are. Taking a comparative approach, the relevance of off-farm variables, related to both institutional and especially marketing issues, for explaining participation in geographical labelling schemes should be pointed out. These variables explain how farms with similar characteristics, located in areas such as Navarre and Madrid (not too far apart, as discussed above), differ as to their decision to join geographical labelling schemes. These off-farm variables are closely connected to the role of regional governments, the level of regional economic development and the marketing trends in the region. On the other hand, the actual development of each label and the above-mentioned external variables have a decisive impact on how successful and effective the mechanism is in achieving the ultimate goal of integrating extensive systems into marketing chains.

One preliminary consequence of this analysis is that the importance of factors specific to each area makes it necessary to tailor the application of these added value production instruments regionally to achieve greater effectiveness. These results are in line with the findings of other researchers, suggesting that it is how the process is established and the strategies are designed and not the institutionalisation of the "origin" resource that establishes the development conditions. Therefore the quality policy needs to be supplemented with appropriate public accompanying policies designed at the local level specifically for each area (Sylvander, 2004).

From the comparison of the use of different instruments for the same purpose, like PGIs, which are European public and collective brands, and a private collective brand, neither of the two schemes can be said to be better. On the contrary, they may turn out to be complementary on occasions. The problems found regarding breeding farms are relevant in this respect. Such farms are likely to find it difficult to keep going in view of the current production and support scheme, because they do not finish the meat production cycle and, therefore, have no incentives to join a PGI scheme. The *COVAP* experience has turned out to be very interesting, because it materialises as a way of integrating this type of small-sized marginal farms into differentiated quality mechanisms and improving the added value of production by means of common fattening and marketing. Additionally, the results of this paper show that PGIs are suitable in the case of relatively large farms where farmers are employed part time in the activity. These farmers find these instruments to be a way of improving the process of added value and marketing of their production.

Another prominent point is the importance of co-operatives as factors driving the added value of production processes. Their existence and involvement in the process is one of the factors that explain the greater relative success of the experiences of “*Termera de Navarra*” and *COVAP*. In both cases, the co-operative has a high capacity for managing the product collectively, taking the role of economic leader by improving the co-ordination of the supply chain, a success factor in the integration of origin-labelled products (Barjolle and Sylvander, 2000).

Finally, the results also point to the importance of marketing-related aspects for explaining the success of these initiatives. The role of PGIs in driving relations of trust among different supply chain actors explains a greater success in terms of producer participation. This applies when the product is sold mostly outside the area of production for a product like beef, where proximity improves knowledge of the conditions of production. This raises some question marks about the role of traditional or short marketing channels and the role of other actors in the chain, like retailers, in the operation of the PGI. In such cases, it would be interesting to look for market niches suited for the potential production of a given PGI. This aspect should be addressed in future research.

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COMPTE RENDU DE LECTURE

FAUSTINE RÉGNIER, L'exotisme culinaire. Essai sur les saveurs de l'Autre

Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2004, 264 p.

Dans cet ouvrage érudit, Faustine Régnier, sociologue à l'Institut national de la recherche agronomique (INRA), démontre comment les cuisines françaises et allemandes intègrent des ingrédients, des tours de main ou des plats dits « exotiques ». L'ouvrage, rigoureux, vise à « dépasser la méthode de l'échantillonnage ». La base de travail est un corpus de 9 758 recettes, tirées de la presse féminine et publiées entre les années 1930 et 2000 pour une analyse « que l'on a voulue la plus précise possible » (p. 15). Le recours à des logiciels de traitement des données (ex. Hyperbase) rend compte de cet esprit de systématique qui anime l'auteure, mais participe aussi au caractère assez abstrait de l'ouvrage. Il est richement documenté et cela lui confère un côté didactique très appréciable. La bibliographie offre ainsi un beau panorama de la littérature en sciences sociales sur l'alimentation. Les annexes précisant la méthodologie seront très appréciées, ainsi qu'au sein du texte lui-même, les points sur des sujets précis (le rapport à l'Afrique noire, par exemple).

L'exotique, c'est ce qui vient de « l'ailleurs », de l'étranger – si l'on s'en tient au sens étymologique du terme –, mais pas de n'importe quel « ailleurs »... Selon le sens commun, c'est l'étranger à l'Occident (des pays lointains, chauds le plus fréquemment), nous explique l'auteure. L'exotique est le plus souvent surprenant, volontiers mystérieux et parfois inquiétant. La plupart du temps adjectif, parfois substantif, le mot « exotique » est ancien. « Exotisme », lui, n'est apparu qu'au XIX^e siècle (Bourde, 1991) pour désigner un phénomène qui l'a largement précédé : le goût de l'ailleurs, l'attrait de l'étrange. Dans son ouvrage, Faustine Régnier a pris le parti d'interroger cette relation « positive à l'Autre », peu étudiée par les spécialistes des relations interethniques et des migrations internationales en France. Force est de constater la crispation des recherches sociologiques et anthropologiques autour des « problèmes sociaux »¹ que poserait la présence de « l'Autre » en France, aussi faut-il saluer cette démarche.

Contre une prétendue uniformisation de la planète, Faustine Régnier, prenant le contre-pied de Marc Augé dans son *Anthropologie des mondes contemporains*, paru en 1994 chez Flammarion, tente de montrer non seulement que l'exotisme en général (et culinaire en particulier) persiste aujourd'hui, mais qu'il renvoie sociologiquement au traitement différentiel de l'altérité. Pour ce faire, l'exotisme culinaire est abordé ici comme un « fait

¹ Répondant en cela à une « demande sociale ».

social total », selon l'expression consacrée de Marcel Mauss. Comme pour n'importe quel autre fait social, elle démontre méthodiquement que les éléments constituant l'exotisme, pour être pertinents, doivent être historicisés, et aussi comparés (ici, entre la France et l'Allemagne, une perspective comparative du proche, suffisamment rare pour être remarquée), ceci afin de mettre en évidence leur plasticité.

Quelle est l'histoire de l'exotisme culinaire ? Nous aurions souhaité ici que soient mises plus en évidence, à l'aide des travaux référencés d'historiens de l'alimentation, les combinaisons entre l'histoire de l'alimentation, l'évolution de l'agroalimentaire, l'essor actuel du bio ou encore l'arrivée d'un label halal (est-il exotique ?). Ce qui aurait inscrit l'exotisme dans l'histoire sociale longue des changements dans un domaine souvent perçu comme extrêmement conservateur. Toutefois, Faustine Régnier entame une réflexion historique en interrogeant le lien entre l'exotisme culinaire, les croisades, les « Grandes Découvertes » et la colonisation, « facteur de proximité commerciale et symbolique » (p. 57). Ce lien varie entre « une » Allemagne à l'histoire coloniale courte et « une » France aux possessions coloniales nombreuses... L'idée de « nation », selon qu'il s'agit du contexte allemand, très régionaliste d'après Nöbert Elias et animé par la notion de *Volkskund* et de *Kultur*, ou de la conception française, très centralisée, aura pour la question qui nous intéresse toute son importance. Aux petites cours régionales associées à une bourgeoisie allemande peu encline à imiter l'aristocratie s'oppose la formation d'une grande cour à la française où bourgeois et nobles rivalisent à travers une gastronomie permettant la distinction. Contrairement à la cuisine allemande, plus tournée vers la rusticité et la simplicité, le sentiment d'excellence qui anime la cuisine française suppose de se nourrir des cuisines étrangères. À travers la cuisine, Faustine Régnier conduit le lecteur ou la lectrice à découvrir la notion complexe de « civilisation », perçue de manière différente d'une rive à l'autre du Rhin.

Afin de dépasser le constat de l'intégration, de longue date, d'éléments étrangers dans la cuisine française, on aurait souhaité que la notion de « civilisation » désignant en France l'accomplissement idéal de l'humanité ait été davantage approfondie. Cette notion, associée à celle de « grande cuisine » française, présuppose un jugement de valeur qui fixe *et* le sens unique de l'évolution des sociétés (le progrès en général et culinaire en particulier) *et* le but vers lequel elles doivent toutes se diriger. Finalement, l'intégration d'ingrédients étrangers n'est là que pour améliorer l'unique grande cuisine, la française, modèle à atteindre. Ces adaptations ne sont pas conçues comme des trahisons (p. 105) : une comparaison avec le rapport à la langue et à l'accent pourrait ouvrir des pistes interprétatives intéressantes. De même, s'interroger sur la logique sous-jacente dans la notion de *Kultur* en Allemagne aurait permis de révéler le jeu social qui bâtit la supposée supériorité de certaines cuisines. En effet, le principe de *Kultur*, largement associé au régionalisme, en Allemagne, n'a rien pu contre les hiérarchies sociales qui construisent la supériorité sociale de certaines cuisines (à l'échelle du monde). Ainsi, à l'instar de toute société, la culture lettrée ouverte à l'universel jouit de plus de considération que les cultures dites « populaires ».

Pour que la cuisine étrangère pénètre fondamentalement la cuisine allemande, nous indique Faustine Régnier, il faudra attendre la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Après une longue période de famine, l'Allemagne est traversée d'une « pulsion boulimique » (p. 76) et animée du désir de ne pas rester en marge de la communauté internationale, ce qui se ressent sur les pratiques alimentaires. Autre élément déterminant dans le processus

de construction sociale de l'exotisme, l'immigration. Là encore, les deux pays divergent. L'immigration, récente pour l'Allemagne et ancienne pour la France, joue un rôle décisif sur l'ouverture à l'Autre : ce phénomène participe du métissage alimentaire, ainsi que l'auteure l'analyse à propos de la restauration rapide tenue par les Turcs en Allemagne. Mais ce n'est pas, comme elle le démontre en parlant d'excès de proximité (p. 67) ou de la situation sociale de l'immigré (p. 69), un facteur de diffusion affirmé de l'exotisme alimentaire. On peut relever l'analyse stimulante de l'auteure lorsqu'elle se réfère à Max Weber qui, dans *Économie et société* (1922), montre comment la proximité migrants/autochtones n'est pas source d'attrait lorsqu'elle rime avec précarité. À la nécessaire image prestigieuse, indispensable à l'adoption des cuisines, s'ajoutent d'autres facteurs entravant la diffusion de l'exotisme alimentaire. L'auteure nous laisse ainsi supposer que l'adoption et le rejet de la cuisine de l'Autre mettent en oeuvre un jeu de hiérarchies sociales. Des références aux recherches de l'anthropologue Gérard Althabe, par exemple, ou des sociologues Jocelyne Streiff-Fenart et Philippe Poutignat auraient pu mieux mettre en évidence comment ne pas manger comme l'Autre permet, dans l'imaginaire, de se distancier de lui et de se placer au-dessus de lui sur l'échelle sociale. La « xénophobie alimentaire » n'est qu'un des éléments mis en place par ceux qui se sentent, en période de précarisation, concurrencés par l'arrivée massive des migrants.

Annie Hubert (2000) a montré que le couscous est en France le plat le plus cuisiné dans les cantines, mais également lors d'invitations formelles... C'est ce que confirment les travaux de Chantal Crenn : une même cuisine familiale marocaine peut selon le lieu ou le moment être considérée comme « grande » ou rustique, misérable. Dans un château de Saint-Emilion, un couscous préparé par une ouvrière agricole marocaine dont le mari tient un chich kebab fait référence, pour les convives, aux Mille et une nuits, à l'Orient : si l'on suit Faustine Régner, on dira qu'il s'agit de « la valence positive de l'exotisme ». Dans ce cas, la question de la précarité de cette cuisinière-ouvrière agricole sera passée sous silence. Pourtant, il s'agit de la même « immigrée » dont le chich-kebab, selon l'auteure, n'est pas producteur d'exotisme. Qu'est-ce à dire ? Que la production de la différence est très complexe et qu'elle peut varier selon le contexte et la situation, ce que les sources mobilisées permettent mal de révéler. Les convives du château ne sont pas nécessairement tous racistes *versus* admiratifs. Par ailleurs, ainsi que le montre Annie Hubert (2000), le couscous est loin d'être pour les Marocains du vignoble, comme pour ladite « communauté maghrébine » plus généralement, un plat emblématique tandis que le tagine l'est. Alors, le couscous devenu français serait finalement moins exotique que le *Kig ha Farzh* (littéralement viande et farzh), plat consommé dans le Léon, en Bretagne ? Il aurait pu être intéressant d'approfondir la place des plats régionaux par rapport aux plats exotiques. Insister sur ces points aurait permis non seulement de relativiser le schéma admiration/racisme (définition du concept, pp. 8 et 9) et de travailler les stéréotypes, que leur valence soit positive ou négative, mais plus encore de questionner l'idée de l'exotisme comme une ouverture vers l'Autre (« *dans l'exotisme culinaire, il s'agit de consommer des cuisines mal connues* », p. 17).

La référence à Dominique Schnapper est intéressante du fait de ses recherches sur les formes historiques et contemporaines de la pensée différentialiste, dans l'ouvrage *La relation à l'autre. Au cœur de la pensée sociologique*, paru en 1998 chez Gallimard. Mais on aurait souhaité que Faustine Régner se distancie de cette auteure et de sa vision, pour le moins

réductrice, de la culture maghrébine quand elle parle de « noyau dur » de la culture, soit d'une « irréductible différence de la culture maghrébine », comme s'il n'y avait dans ce cas aucun processus d'acculturation culinaire possible. Si l'on comprend la vertu heuristique du concept de « juste distance », mise à profit par F. Régnier, on peut aussi, du point de vue concret et singulier de « l'Autre », la relativiser avec Michel de Certeau (1994, p. 218) : il revient, selon lui, à chacun des immigrés « de choisir, pour son compte, le trajet qu'il entend emprunter, entre sa culture d'origine et la culture d'accueil, en déterminant pour lui-même le lieu symbolique où il veut s'installer : à plus ou moins grande distance de l'une et de l'autre, en conservant plus ou moins de traits d'origine, en imitant plus ou moins nos manières et nos choix ». De même, on peut déplorer que l'auteure reste trop souvent dans une vision monolithique dans l'utilisation des concepts. Ainsi en est-il de son usage univoque de « la règle d'Hérodote » pour justifier la nécessaire familiarisation des plats, aux dépens de la règle d'Homère qui a alimenté le « mythe du bon sauvage », dans lequel l'ailleurs devient une sorte de renversement de son propre monde sans vraie connaissance de l'Autre.

L'absence de « l'humain », « de ce que pensent et font les gens », dans l'enquête ici très abstraite (malgré le recours bienvenu aux études de terrain quand elles existent, par exemple, pour la consommation des kebabs en Allemagne), ne permet pas d'appréhender la complexité de la réalité sociale. L'auteure prend elle-même la mesure des limites de ses sources avec l'exemple du couscous, plat qu'elle nous dit très répandu dans la population française, mais pas du tout dans les recettes qu'elle analyse (note 4 p. 69). Elle a choisi de mettre l'accent sur une perspective « macro », mais elle aurait pu montrer comment un même ingrédient peut être considéré comme étrange ou familier selon le contexte, le moment, les personnes en présence, etc., apportant une réflexion approfondie sur ce qu'est la différence culinaire qui n'existe pas en soi. On aurait ainsi aimé en apprendre plus sur les normes culinaires françaises et allemandes et sur la construction sociale de la « bonne distance ». Cela aurait permis aussi d'éclairer « l'appropriation sociale de l'altérité {qui} se révèle tout à la fois une réduction et une reconnaissance de la différence ».

Relativement aux sources, on songe à l'invitation de Michel De Certeau (1990, édition présentée par Luce Giard) à tenir compte des conditions de réception de la lecture par des usagers supposés voués à la passivité et à la discipline : « *La présence et la circulation d'une représentation n'indique nullement ce qu'elle est pour ses utilisateurs. Il faut encore utiliser sa manipulation par les pratiquants qui n'en sont pas les fabricateurs* ». Peut-on être sûr que « ces revues qui s'adressent aux femmes, à celles qui en priorité cuisinent » (p. 10) – sachant qu'actuellement encore la responsabilité culinaire incombe de toute façon massivement aux femmes – sont réellement utilisées ainsi ? Peut-on être sûr que les fiches détachables proposées par certains magazines (p. 14) le sont réellement ? Car, pour Jacques Barrau (1983, p. 347), « *la simple lecture de toute cette littérature {culinaire} tiendrait donc lieu de la dégustation des délices culinaires qu'elle évoque, comme ces flacons d'épices ornant ces cuisines modernes où l'on ne fait que réchauffer des mets de traiteur ou des plats cuisinés en conserve. Cette littérature ne serait qu'une dérisoire compensation de l'ennui culinaire et alimentaire du temps* ». L'auteure elle-même en est consciente qui distingue « les types idéaux », que représentent ses sources, de la « réalité » (p. 90), mais on aurait trouvé intéressant que ce point soit mieux explicité, en suivant Jack Goody (1984, p. 349) pour qui « l'étude du culturel ne doit pas exclure le social ».

Le travail de Faustine Régnier interroge ainsi le choix des emblèmes culinaires présents dans les revues. Quels sont-ils, comment ont-ils été choisis ? Comment les recettes ont-

elles été recueillies, sélectionnées, fabriquées ? C'est ce à quoi répondrait, par exemple, une rencontre avec les rédacteurs de ces revues. Nous manquent encore d'autres éléments concrets tels que la part des recettes exotiques par rapport aux recettes endogènes dans ces revues, leur contexte d'utilisation, l'usage et la manipulation/appropriation qui en sont faits : ainsi au Danemark où Anne-Elène Delavigne a travaillé, les plats exotiques sont réservés aux invitations formelles extra-familiales, car les plats quotidiens les plus ordinaires sont considérés comme relevant de l'intime et se mangent entre soi. L'auteure laisse entendre, avec l'étude sur la saisonnalité des recettes, qu'en Allemagne l'exotisme serait plus « quotidien » qu'en France – ce qui conforte les données recueillies sur le contexte du recours à l'exotisme au Danemark. De même pour ce qui est du tourisme, dont le lien avec l'exotisme culinaire est plus affirmé en Allemagne qu'en France, nous dit-elle, constatant que « *les pays les plus touristiques ont fourni les exotismes les plus importants* » (p. 75). Il faudrait explorer, au titre des raisons de cette présence banalisée de l'exotisme dans les pays du nord de l'Europe, un conservatisme alimentaire moindre qu'en France dû au statut différencié de la gastronomie dans ces deux pays.

Cet ouvrage, par toutes les questions stimulantes qu'il pose au lecteur, montre l'importance d'analyser une cuisine dans sa contextualisation, au sens de Goody (l'ensemble des modalités de production, de préparation et de consommation des aliments). Cela permet de « *comprendre la signification des modes de préparation des aliments pour les personnes concernées* » (Goody, 1984, pp. 14-15), ce point de vue émique qui intéresse les anthropologues.

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