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Typical products, technical innovation and organizational innovation

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ABSTRACT

This work analyzes the influence of process, product and organizational-type innovations on the maintenance of the special qualitative characteristics which define typical products and their prospects of competitiveness.

After a series of reflexions regarding the definition of a typical product, an analysis is made of the type of problems encountered by typical products in the development of innovations, not only in the production sector but also in the food chain with a special emphasis on the way that the typical product stands up to (either by disappearing or adapting itself) organizational innovations in modern retailing.

INTRODUCTION

In this study we uphold the same concept that we proposed in a previous paper in which, taking into account different studies on typicalness, we indicated that "in order for a product to be considered as being typical, it should be associated spatially with a geographical area and culturally with the latter's customs or modes, with a minimum permanence in time or history and should have particular qualitative characteristics which differentiate it from other products"[2].

Agricultural and livestock (non-transformed) products can be regarded as being typical, as are products obtained after a manufacturing process.

Typical products possess some specific features of quality which distinguish them from other products; initially, they are produced in a certain geographical area and, in general, are destined for the local market.

According to convention theory economists, the quality of a product is not exclusively defined by its physical characteristics but is a result of a convention in which not only do the producers participate but so do local consumers. By "convention" is meant a regularity

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of conduct accepted by all the members of a community as well as a "system which generates and transmits information" [6]. These considerations have given rise to the quality of a product being defined by conventionalists as a social construction. In the case of typical products, their consumption and valuation respond to a local-type convention; the inhabitants of the geographical area (producers and consumers) have contributed to establishing the specific characteristics of the product and of its consumption, although certain persons or bodies may have exercised more influence than others on the setting-up of the convention; these characteristics are accepted by members of the local community.

As well as being commercialized in local markets, at a certain point the product also begins to be commercialized in other markets with the aim of obtaining income for farmers, local manufacturers and other members of the community but in those markets it has to compete with similar products, either typical or generic, from other origins.

Competing is not easy since the production methods, by hand or partly by hand, can result in high costs compared to those of other similar products which may have been produced by modern methods.

In some cases, typical products do not have the ability to stand up to this competition and either cannot manage to enter other markets or are obliged to abandon them and go back to the local market. They may even disappear from the local market or lose their status in it as a result of the entry of other, more competitive products, either price-wise or for their adaptation to consumer trends.

Many cases can be cited in which these circumstances have occurred. For instance, the case of Cazalla de la Sierra, a town in the province of Seville, in which a dry *anis* (aniseed) is manufactured. The production of this alcoholic drink which gave a generic name to this type of product, "*cazalla*", has greatly reduced. There have been an abundance of similar cases where alcoholic or non-alcoholic drinks produced locally and with more or less typical characteristics have practically disappeared from the market because of competition from similar products manufactured and commercialized by large companies (liqueur from Ojen, rice from Calasparra).

Conversely, in other cases, the typical product manages to remain on the market thanks to being sold at a higher price than the competing generic products. This difference in price is obtained because buyers appreciate the special characteristics which distinguish the typical product from other products and are willing to pay more for it.

However, it is not easy to keep up this price difference especially taking into account the globalization of the market, the development of large multinational industrial companies and of large retailing chains of food products which facilitate the circulation of products from varied origins and promote some unification in consumer tastes and an increase in demand for mass-produced products. On this point, Cantarelli [3] refers to the slow reduction in real value prices of some typical Italian products which caused a slow, continuous erosion of their competing capacity in the home market.

Some recent analyses have indicated that a drop is being noted in the appraisal of these special characteristics by the consumer for whom the standardized products, offering them more guarantees, are gaining their preference. Moreover, if attention is paid to present consumer trends and guide lines, it can be said that standard products best satisfy a trend in demand towards products which are low in calories, fat and salt; conversely, typical products are best for fulfilling the demand for "natural" products [4].

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The disposition to pay this difference in price is often restricted to one segment of the market, either a large or reduced one, which recognizes these special characteristics (1). According to different studies, this recognition occurs with a greater intensity in countries in southern Europe than in countries in central or northern Europe.

A special case of segmentation is that of visitors to the area of production who acquire local products, food or otherwise, for their consumption, as a souvenir or for a present, although this is a possibly variable segment of the population. This case is especially important in marginal areas where so-called rural tourism is of greater or lesser importance although on many occasions the products offered to the visitor possess few typical characteristics and their only claim to typicalness is simply based on the fact that they are a local product.

Another market for these products also sometimes cited is that of emigrants who wish to go on consuming products from their home areas but it is not likely that these markets have any sufficient dimension or permanence.

One last situation includes those typical products which succeed in competing with generic products of large industrial companies, not only because of their quality specifications but also for their prices and organization.

(1) This would be the case in those products called by Salais and Storper [11] "dediés", a concept which is applied by Allaire and Sylvander [1] to typical products

In some cases it is because the typical product has gone over to being produced by large firms which compete in the market with the same strategies as the manufacturing companies of generic products; a clear example of this is that of the wine of Jerez in Spain (Xéres-Sherry) which, to a great extent, is produced by large national or multinational companies.

Some of these companies are able, as part of their diversification or expansion techniques, to acquire small declining companies of typical products which, for size and professionalization reasons, have not been able to adapt themselves to the requirements of the present day market. That has been the case of a wine company in Jerez which has recently entered via this route into the production of distilled products in Cazalla (the product mentioned previously in this paper) and which it is hoped will revitalize the sector in this region; however, this company has announced that it will concentrate its energies not on the most emblematic product, *anis* or *cazalla*, but on another local product, not so well known but with better prospects on the present day market, cherry liqueur.

In other cases, production continues to be in the hands of small and medium-sized firms but these are concentrated territorially in the so-called industrial districts, widely studied in Italy and taken into consideration by different investigators for the case of agrifood products; one of the cases most researched is that of Parmigiano-Reggiano cheese [5][7]. In Spain, this could correspond to the "district" of Jijona in the Province of Alicante, devoted to the production of *turrón* (soft honey nougat) or those of Estepa and Alcaudete in Andalusia with the production of Christmas sweetmeats and which Ruíz Avilés [10] has analyzed within the concept of "local developments".

On other occasions, manufacturers of typical products manage to be competitive or at least to keep going for reasons which are various and difficult to generalize. For instance, certain wines from the south of Spain (like the *costa* from the Alpujarra), much appreciated by the locals but not by other consumers, have kept up a regular custom made up of emigrants to nearby coastal areas who continue to be regular visitors to their home towns

where they acquire the product on a semi-bulk basis by buying it directly from the wine merchants; in the case cited of *costa*, an innovational project of a wine cooperative with a modification in the methods, type and homogeneity of the wine and marketing tactics to attract markets has failed and an attempt is being made to regain the initial product and its clientèle [9].

In spite of competitiveness problems, there are many initiatives destined both to potentiate the typical products already known and commercialized and to introduce new typical products.

On a European Union level, it is worth mentioning the approval in 1992, at France's request, of regulations 2081 and 2082 relative to appellations of origin and geographical indications and to the certification of specific characteristics.

In Spain the regulation of the appellations of origin and specific characteristics is now the responsibility of the regions (coordinated at State level) and it is worth pointing out that the initiatives of a great many of them, together with official appellations, at State level, have introduced other signs of quality on a regional basis. In 1996, the number of appellations approved nationally were 112 (appellations "of origin" and "specific"), whilst there were also 58 appellations approved regionally (called "appellations "of quality") [8].

There have been other initiatives carried out by lesser political bodies, economic communities, associations or private firms. Thus, in the past few years various appellations of origin have been approved for beef when the origin of this product had never been taken into consideration by consumers as it had almost always been regarded as being a generic product (2).

(2) Except for some exceptional situations such as for milk veal or white veal from Castilla which was traditionally sold in Madrid as a very specific product coming from the nearby provinces of Segovia and Avila and was slaughtered in the municipal abbatoir in Madrid

2. COMPETITIVENESS AND INNOVATION

In order for typical products to be maintained in national, and even local, markets they are obliged to be competitive especially with regard to large companies. For that reason, firms producing typical products have to evolve in order to be aware of the latest demands of the final and intermediate (retailers) consumers, cost increases, strategies of firms in competition with them, and other market variables.

One of the activities to be reckoned with by typical product producers for acquiring competitiveness is the importance of adopting an innovation policy which is imperative in order for them to withstand the aforementioned evolution, although this would apparently be opposed to the idea of maintaining the typicalness of their products.

Three types of innovation are usually considered:

- process innovation
- product innovation
- organizational innovation

In the following section an analysis will be made of the problems involved in these three types of innovation as related to typical products and their competitiveness, bearing in mind that mixed-type innovations are often found or those which while having a certain character

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in one element of the system chain, are inductive of others with a different character in other links.

The reflexions made are illustrated by examples related to typical Spanish products, and especially to Andalusia where an empirical investigation is in progress.

3. PROCESS INNOVATIONS

One of the most important effects of a process innovation is that produced in costs, a variable which is traditionally considered as being closely related to productivity.

But process innovations are also concerned with quality, another highly important variable in competitiveness, especially in the case of typical products.

The object of carrying out a process innovation might be to exercise an influence on the two variables (cost and quality) or on one of them, although in the latter case this might have a positive or negative influence on the other. A characteristic example of this is the case of the innovation introduced in the past few years in Spain in the obtaining of olive oil which consisted of replacing the traditional "3-phase" procedure in which are obtained the oil (oily phase), the *orujo* or refuse (solid phase) and the *alpechin* or residue (liquid phase) by the so-called 2-phase procedure in which in one phase olive oil is obtained and in the other a mixture of *orujo* and *alpechin*. This process has been introduced as a result of pressures exercised by defenders of the environment against contamination caused by *alpechin*. Olive oil could be regarded in some cases as being a generic product without any differentiation in its origin but it is clear that olive oils from certain sources have specific characteristics which have earned them their distinction in the market and have set up a basis for various Appellations of Origin. The adoption of the new manufacturing process is therefore of great importance as regards its relation to the maintaining of these specific characteristics.

During the past few years, for wine, the fermentation process of grape juice in stainless steel containers instead of the traditional ones has been introduced. The new system permits a control of the temperature, and thus of the whole fermentation process, because it prevents the occurrence of deficiencies due to anomalous temperatures in some phase of the process. It is now necessary to make a study to see, in the case of wines with Appellation of Origin, if the new system improves or worsens the quality of the product and, above all, if it modifies any of the specific characteristics. Results up to now have been positive.

Cured *serrano* ham is another typical product in which curing is traditionally carried out on premises with few variations in temperature and located in high areas. At present, some firms have adopted the use of premises with controlled temperatures; it is obvious that with this facility there is a better control of the curing process as it prevents any temperature fluctuations which may be detrimental to it. But, as in the previous examples, it would be of importance to find out if this causes any modifications in the quality of the product.

We can only limit ourselves to pointing out the importance of the type of cattle feeding in the characteristics of the quality of cheese so that any innovation in their food may have important effects. This subject has been studied by researchers in France and Italy but less so in Spain.

4. PRODUCT INNOVATIONS

Product innovations are closely related to the market technique concerning "new products", a technique which at present is applied very frequently and even continuously by firms whose focus is on marketing. The launching of new products becomes necessary when "old" products are coming to the end of their natural life for various reasons: technical progress, the evolution of consumer tastes and new products from competitors. Within a new product technique there is a wide range which goes from a small change in the product, of its packaging, of its presentation, etc., to putting a totally new product on the market.

Typical products possess certain physical characteristics which have been established by tradition and, as has been previously indicated, they are a result of a convention accepted by manufacturers and consumers and, therefore, the application of a new product strategy may make them lose their typicalness. In the case of a regulation with written conditions, this might seriously restrict new product strategies.

Small innovations which have been referred to previously do not create important problems. The following are some cases of these.

The innovation may refer to a change from the packaging used previously to a new one. However, its packaging may be a major aspect of the typicalness of the product so that the latter may be greatly affected by this change.

The sale of a product in loose form has been replaced or complemented in many cases by its sale already packaged ; this is the case, for example, of certain wines produced in small areas.

For *vin ordinaire*, the glass bottle has been replaced in some cases by plastic or cardboard containers but for wine with an Appellation of Origin the use of these containers has not been introduced. However, in some Spanish Appellation wines, some firms have replaced the original 3/4-liter bottle used for quality wine by a 1-liter one frequently used for *vin ordinaire*. This indubitably represents a loss of image by the product and, therefore, a certain loss of its typicalness.

Latterly, a plastic and cardboard container has been introduced (bag-in-box) thus improving the conservation of the product with respect to other containers used previously, with a capacity of 5 liters, for sale to consumers; this container has been rejected by many regular consumers of this wine because it breaks with the tradition of presenting it in glass containers (*garrafa* or demijohn) or in a wooden cask. There are also 16-liter bag-in-box containers which replace the classic containers of 16 liters (*arroba*) but these containers are for bars, cafés or other establishments so that they do not have any effect on the product's typicalness except when they are on view in the establishment and customers are served directly from the cardboard container; some consumers also reject this type of container as it loses its typicalness compared to other traditional containers made of glass or wood.

Quince jelly is produced in various Spanish regions and Puente Genil in Andalusia is one of the best known. Traditionally, it is presented in relatively large slabs (quarter kilo, half kilo, etc.) Some years ago now, some manufacturers launched a new presentation on the market in "portions", similar to those of processed cheese. However, the product can still said to be a typical one.

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The *sobrasada* of Majorca is a typical delicatessen sausage product from the Balearic islands with some well-defined characteristics; like all these products it is made and cured in pigs' bladders and is commercialized in this way but recently one firm launched a *sobrasada* on the market in plastic tubs. Although this presentation is used in some cases for ordinary sausage products, in this case it has caused a notable detriment to the typicalness of the product.

But aside from innovations in the presentation of a product, those which affect the basic product to a greater or lesser degree should be mentioned. As an example of small innovations in the basic product we could mention some new presentations of Christmas sweetmeats from Estepa (*polvorones* and *mantecados*) and even the addition of new ingredients like chocolate or lemon. In Jijona, too, in the past few years, variations have been incorporated in the traditional *turrón*. In both cases, however, the typical and traditional characteristics of the product can be said to have been maintained.

However, some manufacturers of a typical product try to apply new product techniques in order to obtain an increase in sales or to stop them from declining; but these are new products which have important variations with respect to traditional products. One type of tactic is that based on products which are new but are produced with the same raw material used for the traditional product. This is the case, for example, of some producers of full-bodied Andalusian white wines (Jérez-Xeres, Montilla-Moriles, Condado de Huelva) who, faced with a saturation in demand for these types of wines, which are mostly consumed as an apéritif or with desserts, have opted to launch a white wine on the market which goes with the whole meal. The new products had nothing to do with the old ones and were not included in the regulations for the respective Appellations of Origin but after a few years of production the regulations have been modified so that the new wines have begun to be protected by their respective Appellations of Origin.

A similar case is that of the area known as the Valle del Jerte in Extremadura from which the major part of the Spanish production of cherries comes. These have obtained the approval of the corresponding Appellation of Origin, although it is a moot point as to whether they contain the specific characteristics which permit their differentiation from the generic product. Always on the basis of a need for a diversification of the local product, some years ago cherry liqueur began to be manufactured and its Appellation of Origin was also approved even though it had no tradition in the area.

Furthermore, totally new products made with local raw materials frequently appear and are being offered to satisfy those segments of the market mentioned previously which have a high regard for natural products. These products, such as *licor de bellotas* (acorn liqueur), *licor de avellanas* (hazelnut liqueur) and *licor de menta* (crème de menthe), etc., have no traditional basis in any market. These products are usually the result of an isolated action on the part of one firm.

One especially important point in so-called product innovations is the manufacture by large firms of products which were previously limited to cottage industries in a specific region and which had the clear characteristics of being typical products. A clash of interests may occur between the large firm, which is attempting to appropriate a certain quota of the market, and the traditional local manufacturing industries which are in fear of being phased out of it. This was the case in the launching by a large company of a dairy product, *cuajada* (cottage cheese), made by small firms and with no Appellation of Origin and, consequently, no regulations. This gave rise to a conflict which was originated by pressures from the

large company to obtain the establishment of technical exigencies which the small firms could not fulfill. Recently, the same company has acted again by launching "*queso de Burgos*" on the market. This is a fresh cheese which up to now had been produced by small and medium-sized firms and which did not have any appellation of origin either.

5. ORGANIZATIONAL INNOVATIONS

Although when talking about innovations this usually refers to technological innovations in the product or the process, it should be pointed out that organizational-type innovations have been seen to be of great importance in the evolution of the economy and of firms. They have indubitably had this importance in the past but were not so obvious then as at the present time. Novel organizational tactics were already regarded as being innovations by Schumpeter.

For the case in hand, that of typical products, it is of interest to take into consideration, on one hand, the possibility of the application of innovations by producers and other institutions involved and, on the other, innovations applied by other sectors of the agrifood system, which might affect the competitiveness of typical products.

To begin with the latter, there have been numerous organizational innovations introduced in the past few years and they are still being introduced; an increase in the concentration of industrial sectors, the development of large retailing chains, bar codes and electronic data exchange between industries and retailing chains, the development of production under contract, subcontracting and partnership; the creation of company networks; the retailing chains's own brands; ISO 9000 norms and certificates of quality, merchandising activities, etc.

Regarding the organizational innovations to be applied by producers of typical products, these are designed, as in other types of organization, to be competitive with other rival products and, logically, should take into account the aforementioned phenomena which are occurring in the rest of the agrifood system.

One way to face up to this changing situation would be for the typical products to be produced by large industrial companies which could apply the same techniques as the other industrial companies and could have a basis for negotiation with the large retailing chains. In these cases there is a danger that the need to apply aggressive methods might make the product lose its characteristics of typicalness. As has been mentioned previously, Jerez wine, as well as its brandy, has come to be produced mainly by large firms, some multinational, but up until now it would seem that both products have retained their characteristics of typicalness. This could be explained by the fact that until a short time ago they were family firms in which tradition and *know-how* were important to the owners. The change-over to production in large companies entails a risk for typical products in view of the lack of tradition of the new managers unless the institutions, either the visible or invisible ones, manage to succeed in maintaining a convention of quality.

The case analyzed is a very special one as there are very few typical products whose production can be handed over to large companies.

When typical products are manufactured by small and medium-sized firms, one of the techniques accepted and promoted by public organizations has been the officially protected qualification which guarantees exclusivity in the use of the name, the approval of a

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regulation and the creation of a Regulatory Council which is in charge of their compliance with that regulation. This is not sufficient to ensure competitiveness although it is impossible to give single solutions to attend to the great diversity of problems.

The simplest way to organize production and merchandising may consist of selling the product in the local market or to visitors to the area. In the other extreme, there may exist a common merchandising organization which is capable of negotiating with the large chains and standing up to the exigencies of retail chain brands, payment terms and conditions, electronic data transmission, participation in promotions and discounts, etc. With respect to the latter, some representatives of the Andalusian production sector have expressed their difficulties in maintaining a differentiated quality when prices are subject to continual reductions because of the advance of "hard discount". On an intermediate plane, the growth of specialized establishments or delicatessen is a theoretical outlet for the sale and appraisal of these products but this is at the moment limited to a segment of a reduced market and is not feasible for many of the products.

In some cases, there may be an organization of an agroindustrial district-type, based on small and medium-sized firms located in a certain area which have established relations with each other permitting them to reduced transaction costs and to benefit from external economies. But this solution would be restricted to specific areas where there are institutions which ensure a special way of working, no generalization being possible.

In other cases, solutions can be found which are highly varied but suited to the mentality of the people who have to put them in action.

One organizational activity which is lacking in the commercial structures of typical products in Spain (but not so much in other countries) is informed and trained prescribers. The innovating activities of public relations as a promotional variable very little used by small and medium-sized firms except on a local basis. Among these, there is a notable lack of information and formation policies on typical products in hotel schools combined with the low opinion held by society of hotel/bar trade staff. On a short term, the need to begin to see these employees as "customer informers" rather than "order receivers" is fundamental for the maintenance and revitalization of the consumption of local products.

If we focus on the influence that innovations in food distribution might have on local or typical products, as a starting point we could point out the fact that the so-called "large retailing" requires a certain responsibility on the part of suppliers which, and very especially if they are typical products, they have had some difficulty in assuming. Some elements of hindrance of local products and of their typicalness are:

- The difficulty of guaranteeing supplies, obliging retailers to turn to diverse and distant suppliers to cover seasonality.

- Logistics based on centralized purchase platforms which puts production out of consumer reach, notably prejudicing local productions (for instance, a decline has been observed in the purchasing by hypermarkets from producers and central market wholesalers in the areas in which they are located).

- The demands of long-distance transport and of a certain temporary duration of the product until it arrives at the shelf space which has made many varieties of traditional, fresh, very perishable products hardly viable (as an example we can cite the *marmande* tomato, a traditional local product rejected for wide distribution due to its scant resistance to transport and handling (although in fact this product is not a wholly typical one in our estimation)).

- The need to maintain short-term homogeneity in the shelf space which is very difficult to obtain with the traditional production methods.

Under these conditions, retailers may opt to diversify their supplies by acting on a short term basis or to plan them by setting themselves up as transmitters and instruments of organizational innovations in production.

In Spain, certain national chains and some multinationals (which, in passing, are trying to efface the negative connotation that this entails vis-à-vis the consumer) are carrying out actions within the second of the options cited, i.e.:

-Purchase programming by means of contracts guaranteeing supplies with fixed qualities. These contracts can be made with producer associations like the one recently signed between a firm belonging to a large hypermarket chain and the Association of Producers of Retinto meat (*Retinto* is an autochthonous breed of beef cattle in Spain) according to which, in exchange for its exclusive distribution and with established quality conditions, the retailing company maintains a high, stable purchase volume of this traditional product and supplies organizational know-how to its producers. (For this type of contract, which is also coming into effect for other traditional products, the Spanish government recently awarded the *Foods of Spain Prize* to this firm for its promotion of traditional Spanish agrifood products).

-Orientation towards a varietal reconversion, making an attempt to adapt products to the said logistic demands (seasonality, transport, stability of characteristics) and to the changes in the tastes and conduct of consumers. It has been argued that these changes in consumption conduct (even in rural areas) are not followed at the same pace by producers, who thus lose advantages in competitiveness. Retailing also serves here as a transmitter of its own demands and those of consumption, encouraging the producers' technical innovations (organizational innovations inducing innovations in the product and/or process). This is the type of activity that might be put the typicalness of a product in jeopardy.

-Differentiation in the negotiation of purchases and sales by the person at the head of each section of the establishment. Thus, in charge of the shelf space there is a product manager, but the supplies are handled by an expert who can deal with the producers in their own language and be a more efficient transmission link in both directions. These measures attempt to ensure that the retailer has a better knowledge of the characteristics of the products together with a greater reliability of product selection on the shelf.

But the manufacturers also have to rise to the situation, perhaps by differentiating and segmenting, i.e., maintaining among their range of products those which preserve certain traditional characteristics and a similarly traditional, or at least specialized, organization and sales network, together with other products adapted to mass or more generic consumption. The actual implementation of a differentiated segmentation technique is already an innovation in many firms. At any rate, and as we have seen, some organizational-type innovations do not necessarily affect typicalness and they can even ensure its continuation.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Manufacturers of typical products are having some difficulties at the moment given the evolution of the agrifood system which is characterized by an increase in protagonism of the large retailing chains and because of the need to apply techniques enabling them to stand up to this new situation. One way could be to adopt innovations to improve their competitiveness.

Firstly, manufacturers of typical products have great difficulties in applying important innovations to new products since this may signify the loss of their nature of being a typical product.

In this sense, the regulations ("*cahiers des charges*") defending the characteristics of the typical product, generally restrict any innovations in the product (in this study reference has been made as to how in some cases some non traditional products **have** been included) and also limit many process innovations which means that some limitations to competitiveness are being established. It will be difficult to solve this problem by means of a single solution.

A typical product which manages to keep its prices higher than those of rival products can follow traditional tactics, with simple variations to improve presentation, provided that its manufacturers succeed in paying adequately for the resources used.

If price differences cannot be maintained or are reduced, as would appear to be happening in some Mediterranean countries, and the structures are such that it is not possible to produce without losses, firms must make important decisions, like creating new products, in order to be able to compete. However, with these strategies the product's typical nature could be lost and with it the possibility of obtaining specificity incomes derived from its very characteristics. Perhaps other marketing techniques could solve the problem without a loss of typicalness.

An alternative tactic for keeping up the product's competitiveness would be that of adopting adequate organizational innovations but neither in this case is it possible to give one solution only since it would depend in each case on local institutions.

With regard to this alternative, a reflexion should be made with respect to the future in relation to degrees of typicalness: logistic-type innovations impose certain characteristics on the product which cannot be satisfied by many traditional products.; those which contribute a **genuine typicalness** may, by means of this specificity, overcome those problems by being, at least partly, adapted. The difference between the cases of the *marmande* tomato and the *retinto* meat are a good illustration of this extreme.

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