



<https://doi.org/10.5154/r.ctasci.2025.07.007>

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Section: Socioeconomic Sciences

Marketing of goat meat produced in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca

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Article history:

Received: July 11, 2025

Accepted: April 27, 2026

Published online:

August 26, 2026

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Abstract

The objective of this study was to determine the marketing channels, at the local, state, and national levels, for goat meat produced in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca. The research was conducted in the state of Oaxaca and in Mexico City and Monterrey, from May to October 2024. The study included 65 barbacoa vendors, 90 restaurants, and 416 consumers selected through sampling for finite and infinite population. Three semi-structured questionnaires based on Kotler's 8 Ps were administered, covering general data, product demand, dish offerings, consumption patterns and motivations, price, and general marketing characteristics. The results suggest that barbacoa vendors are the primary consumers of goat meat. In the state market, 100 % of purchases are on the hoof animals, reflecting traditional direct marketing. Meanwhile, in the national market, 87 % of purchases are of carcasses, indicating a more formalized supply chain. Consumers show a strong preference for the barbecue sold at street markets and fairs (96 %) and the cabrito al pastor served in restaurants (100 %). Owners of specialty restaurants purchase goat meat as whole carcasses in cuts tailored to consumer needs. The most used marketing channel involves the primary producer, intermediary, barbacoa vendor, and final consumer. It is concluded that these marketing channels allow for the implementation of specific strategies targeting different types of consumers.

► **Keywords:** Barbacoa vendors, marketing channels, consumers, market, restaurants.

Introduction

Oaxaca accounts for 9.3 % of the goat meat produced in the country (Servicio de Información Agroalimentaria y Pesquera, 2023), representing a vital source of food security, economic sustenance, and social and cultural benefits for rural families. The goat trade in these areas is not formalized (Mazhangara et al., 2019), leading to inefficient marketing channels (Hernández-Bautista et al., 2022) with a high degree of intermediation (Luna, 2021), creating a marketing system that is unfavorable for primary producers.

The main destinations for goat meat are linked to existing gastronomic traditions in Mexico, where it is evident that consumers prefer barbacoa and birria (Hernández et al., 2018), which are offered at informal establishments located

along highways, in markets (Mondragón-Ancelmo et al., 2018), and in street markets. Therefore, the primary customers of primary producers are barbacoa vendors (Luna-Olea et al., 2019). In the most populated cities (Mexico City, Monterrey, Guadalajara, and Chihuahua), the availability of goat carcasses in mid-range and high-end restaurants is becoming increasingly common, these restaurants seek reliable suppliers who can guarantee a consistent supply and a standardized product with guaranteed quality (Santos-Lavalle et al., 2018).

In the Mixteca region of Oaxaca, goat farming dates back to the colonial times, and is fundamental to both the local economy and the culture of the indigenous and mestizo population (Mariscal-Méndez & Pérez-Sánchez, 2021). Currently, there are producers who have ventured into the production

Please cite this article as follows (APA 7): González-López, M., Ramón-Eslama, T. D., Hernández-Bautista, J., Teodulo Salinas-Rios, T., & Solís-Cortés, F. C. (2026). Marketing of goat meat produced in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca. *Current Topics in Agronomic Science*, 6. e25007. <https://doi.org/10.5154/r.ctasci.2025.07.007>

of high-value cuts of meat, targeting more demanding market segments with greater purchasing power. However, consumption is seriously affected by sales in the informal market and by limited access to retail outlets (Santoyo-Cortés & Martínez-González, 2021; Panea et al., 2011). The need to develop a market structure that improves consumption habits and stimulates the growth of goat production were the reason for conducting this market study to identify consumer preferences products in high demand.

This study was conducted under the hypothesis that accessing regional and national marketing channels can improve primary producers' income through higher sales volumes, thereby fostering fair trade among the different agents in the value chain. The objective was to identify, at the local, state, and national levels, the marketing channels for goat meat produced in the Mixteca Oaxaqueña region. The information generated will serve as a tool for producers to identify and access existing market niches for goat meat products.

Materials and methods

Description of the study area

The study was conducted from May to October 2024. Barbacoa vendors located in local markets in the Mixteca and Central Valleys regions of Oaxaca were included, as barbacoa is the main gastronomic dish in that state. In Mexico City, both barbacoa vendors and restaurant owners were considered, as it is a market with high consumption expectations due to its large population. The city of Monterrey was included in the study because it is the main consumer of cabrito in the country (Cárdenas, 2017).

The restaurants considered in the study were classified into three types (gourmet, themed, and family-run), based on the dishes and service they offer (López et al., 2020; Canziani et al., 2016). Finally, consumers in the cities of Oaxaca, Mexico, and Monterrey were considered to assess not only their consumption but also their knowledge of goat meat products.

For the selection of barbacoa vendors and restaurants, information from the Statistical Directory of Economic Units (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2023) was used. For consumers, the Population and Housing Census (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2020) was used, with a preferred age range of 25 to 54 years, which statistically represents the driving force behind regular consumption in Mexico. To determine the sample size, the formula for finite populations was applied for barbacoa vendors and restaurants, and the infinite population formula for consumers, with a 95 % significance level and a maximum error of 5 % (Mucha-Hospinal et al., 2021). A sample size of 65 barbacoa vendors was obtained, of whom 12 were from Asunción Nochixtlán (local area), 13 from Ocotlán de Morelos, 15 from Tlacolula de Matamoros, 15 from Villa de Zaachila, 2 from Oaxaca de Juárez (Central Valleys), and 8 from Mexico City (national area). Additionally, 90 restaurant owners were included, 30 from the city of Oaxaca, 39 from Mexico City,

and 21 from the city of Monterrey. Regarding consumers, a total of 416 were interviewed, 100 in the state of Oaxaca, 209 in Mexico City, and 107 in the city of Monterrey.

Three types of semi-structured questionnaires were developed based on Philip Kotler's 8 Ps (product, price, place, promotion, people, process, presence, productivity) (Kotler, 2013), these were administered in person to barbacoa vendors, primarily in person to restaurant owners, and mostly (80 %) to consumers via digital means (Google Forms) and in person (20 %). The categories covered in each questionnaire are described below.

The questionnaire applied to barbacoa vendors was structured with the following sections: general data (gender, age, years of experience), sales information (type of establishment, type of barbacoa offered, price of processed product, number of kg sold/week, reasons for sale, preference of the following attributes: flavor, texture, amount of fat and quality of meat) and purchase information (place of purchase, acquisition of livestock on the hoof and/or carcasses, livestock on the hoof or carcass weight recorded in kilograms, purchase price of livestock on the hoof and/or carcasses, purchase frequency, number of animals acquired weekly, breed name, and place of slaughter).

The questionnaire applied to restaurant owners was structured into the following sections: general information (state, business name, and type of establishment; as well as name, gender and age of the owner), product demand (purchased products, place and method of acquisition, preferences regarding breed, physiological stage and presentation, purchase frequency, months of lowest and highest demand), product supply (type of dishes offered, prices, availability and frequency of sale), and logistics (purchase and sale criteria, payment methods and transportation).

The consumer survey was structured into the following sections: customer profile (state, gender, age, occupation, and income level), consumption (products consumed regularly, place of purchase, types of dishes purchased, purchase price, frequency, reasons for and occasions of consumption, and reasons for not preferring the product). Participants were asked to help disseminate the survey through digital media, mainly WhatsApp®.

Data obtained were entered in an Excel 2021 spreadsheet for sorting. Subsequently, they were exported to SAS 9.4 for statistical analysis. Basic descriptive statistics were obtained from the quantitative variables. The qualitative variables were subjected to an analysis of absolute and relative frequencies.

Results and discussion

Barbacoa vendors

Of all the establishments surveyed, 18.5 % are local level (LL), 69.2 % are in the Central Valleys region (CV), and 12.3 % at the national level (NL). Mondragón-Ancelmo (2018) found that, in the State of Mexico, 17 % of barbacoa vendors sell in local markets (streets, routes, and street markets), while 31 % sell

Table 1. Behaviour of the sociodemographic and marketing characteristics of barbacoa vendors, classified by market type.

Variables	Local level	Central valleys	National level
Number of sample units	12.0	45.0	8.0
% Participation by gender			
Female	25.0	65.8	0.0
Male	75.0	34.2	100.0
Age, years	50.0	51.0	47.0
Experience, years	18.0	22.0	17.0
Marketing (Animal purchase)			
Average number of animals purchased weekly	4.0	5.0	4.0
Average live weight, kg	47.0	45.0	43.0
% acquisition of livestock on the hoof	100.0	100.0	13.0
% carcass acquisition	0.0	0.0	87.0
Average liveweight price, \$ (MXN)	3,000.0	3,000.0	0.0
Average carcass price, \$ (MXN)	0.0	0.0	3,500.0
Marketing (Sale of processed meat %)			
Product selling price, \$/kg (street market, own store, restaurants)	500.0	600.0	550.0
Product sales, kg/week	71.0	83.0	90.0

Source: Authors self-made.

in major cities. In Mexico, goat barbacoa has significant consumption and offers opportunities that drive the economic development of primary producers.

Table 1 shows the gender breakdown, which differs by area of influence. In the LL, 25 % are female and 75 % are male; in the CV, 65.8 % are female and 34.2 % are male. Mondragón-Ancelmo et al. (2018) found a similar result for the LL in the Estado de México and contrary to the CV market, this could be because in CV men engage in other activities to supplement their income, leaving the sale of barbacoa to the women. Regarding the NL, men are in charge of the business, while women provide support in customer service, childcare, or engage in other activities to contribute to the family income (Cameo & Cerón, 2019), this contrasts with the findings reported by García Aguirre et al. (2024) in the Estado de México, where women are in charge of the business in 37.5 % of cases.

Regarding age, in the LL region, barbacoa vendors are on average 50 years old and have 18 years of experience, which is similar in the CV region (51 and 22 years, respectively). In the NL, the averages drop to 47 years of age and 17 years of experience in this activity. These results are similar to those found by Mondragón-Ancelmo et al. (2018) in the Estado de México. Age and years of experience highlight the dedication and knowledge of those engaged in this activity, which could be a guarantee of quality and tradition for consumers.

Regarding goat processing, each barbacoa vendor in the LL and NL processes, on average, one head fewer per

week than those in the CV (Table 1). In the state of Puebla, each barbacoa vendor can process up to 50 goats per week (Luna-Olea et al., 2019). On the other hand, it is argued that when barbacoa vendors process one to three animals per week, they are considered retailers, as this is the case for those engaged in this activity in the CVs. The number of animals processed depends on market demand, flavor, and consumer acceptance.

As for average live weight, animals are purchased at 47 kg in the LL, 45 kg in the CV, and 23 kg in the NL market (Table 1), however, in the first two markets, goats are typically sold per head and on the hoof (100 %), with age of the livestock being the primary factor. The transaction scenario is similar to that established in livestock markets in the state of Puebla (Luna, 2021; Hernández et al., 2011), which contrasts with the results obtained by Val Arreola et al. (2011) in Michoacán, where the price is fixed per kilogram. In the NL market, the purchase of goats as carcasses represents 87 % of transactions when the sale is conducted directly with the producers. The meat used for barbacoa is generally from adult animals over one year old (Luna-Olea et al., 2019) and from animals considered as waste (Cuellar et al., 2012) within the herds.

Respect to the price of a goat, the average price in the LL and CV regions is \$3,000.00 MXN per head. In the NL region, the price rises to \$3,500.00 MXN per carcass. The price of live goats is similar to that reported by Onofre (2022) in the mountainous coastal region of Guerrero. Luna (2021) argues that in Puebla, live goat prices depend

on age, size, body mass, and sales conditions, especially for castrated males, which fetch higher prices (Onofre, 2022; Ortiz-Morales et al., 2021). The lack of a sales plan and the emergency situations faced by primary producers are exploited by the barbacoa vendors in the LL and CV regions, who control purchase prices, unlike in the NL region, where they control carcass prices.

In relation to the price of the processed product (barbacoa) per kilogram, the average price in the CV region is \$ 600.00 MXN. In the NL and LL regions, the price per kilogram of the sold product is 8 % and 17 % lower, respectively. These results differ from those reported by Hernández et al. (2018) in the Mixteca Poblana and by Mondragón-Ancelmo et al. (2018) in the Estado de México, who found a lower price than current prices. This behavior demonstrates that an increase in inflation affects the prices of livestock products due to a cascading increase in the cost of animals, ingredients, and other elements involved in preparing the dishes (Banco de México, 2025). It is known that goat barbecue commands a high price and may vary depending on the cooking method used; the baking process using maguey leaves increases the price for consumers.

With respect to the average weekly sales volume of processed product, 71 kg per barbacoa vendor was recorded in the LL, while in the CV and NL the amount sold was 17 % and 27 % higher, respectively. These results are similar to those found by Mondragón-Ancelmo et al. (2018) in the Estado de México. It is evident that sales volume depends on factors such as quality, price, consumer habits, and demand. In all three market levels, this dish is primarily sold in plazas, street markets (Luna-Olea et al., 2019), and in private establishments where consumers tend to shop on weekends (González Espinosa et al., 2021). Due to its immediate consumption and cash sales, barbacoa generates significant working capital (Santoyo-Cortés & Martínez-González, 2021) and provides ample income for those engaged in this activity.

Consumers

Of the total number of people surveyed, 48.6 % are female and 51.4 % are male, which is similar to what was reported by Sánchez-Toledano (2022) in Mexico and contrary to those reported by Alcalde et al. (2023) in Spain. The inclusion of women in the surveys is very important, as it allows researchers to obtain information on consumption preferences and the barriers, they face in purchasing this type of meat.

Table 2 shows the proportion of women and men who have purchased goat meat at least once in their lifetime. On average, the percentage of men and women who have purchased goat meat is 84.8 %; the proportion of men is 90.2 %, and the proportion of women is 10.7 % lower compared to the male share. Considering the three areas under study, it is clear that in Oaxaca and Monterrey there

is no significant difference between men and women. In contrast, in Mexico City, the proportion of men is 24.9 % higher than that of women. Panea et al. (2011), in a study conducted in Spain, reported that 75 % of respondents (men and women) stated that they had consumed goat meat at some point. Women, especially housewives, tend to have knowledge about the household's food tastes and preferences (Agustina et al., 2021) and perceive goat meat as a healthy and nutritious option, likely to include it in their shopping and cooking recipes, which could increase the consumption of goat products.

About the average age of women and men who have ever purchased goat meat, it was observed that in the three study areas there is no significant difference in the average age between the two genders (Table 2), which is comparable to Spain (Alcalde et al., 2023; Mandolesi et al., 2020). Age, in addition to educational level, is one of the factors influencing goat meat consumption, which is primarily driven by young adults who associate it with a unique and nutritious flavor that provides health benefits and a better quality of life (Gawat et al., 2023).

In terms of the place of purchase of goat meat, on average, 32 % of consumers in Oaxaca and Mexico City buy the product directly from the primary producer. Mazhangara et al. (2019) note that goat meat is produced and consumed locally worldwide, and Mandolesi et al. (2020) mention that in Europe, consumers prefer to buy goat products directly from producers. In the Mixteca Poblana region, goat meat is sold in local markets (Hernández et al., 2018), allowing consumers to benefit from lower prices, particularly when primary producers participate directly, this demonstrates the benefits of short supply chains, which reduce costs and lower final food prices (Santos-Lavalle et al., 2018). This strengthens the local economy, improves producers' income, and promotes a more efficient value chain.

In terms of the purchase of goat meat by restaurants, the city of Monterrey leads the way, with 95.3 %; while restaurants in Mexico City and Oaxaca de Juárez had lower participation rates. Panea et al. (2011) report that in Spain, 10 % respondents stated they consumed goat meat exclusively in restaurants; however, Alcalde et al. (2023) found a higher percentage (64.2 %) in the same country. The gastronomic culture and product availability in high-consumption areas such as the Monterrey market (Cárdenas, 2017) allow for a greater supply of a wide variety of goat meat dishes and, consequently, a larger number of consumers (Erro Velásquez & Vittar, 2025). Conversely, the low participation percentages of restaurants in Mexico City and Oaxaca may be due to the fact that the product is less popular in the culinary field, coupled with the availability and consumers' lack of knowledge about the product (Teixeira et al., 2020).

In Mexico City and Oaxaca, a high percentage of consumers have purchased goat meat at sales points such as street markets and fairs (Luna, 2021), unlike in Monterrey.

Table 2. Behavior of consumer spending patterns, classified by area of study region.

Variables	Oaxaca	Mexico city	Monterrey city
Number of sample units	100.0	209.0	107.0
% Proportion of consumers who have purchased goat meat, by gender			
Female	87.3	51.1	100.0
Male	94.6	76.0	100.0
Average age	37.0	36.0	38.0
% Place of purchase of goat meat			
Producer	43.0	21.0	0.0
Restaurants	5.0	16.3	95.3
Street markets, fairs	52.0	62.7	4.7
% Consumption patterns			
Barbacoa	93.0	100.0	0.0
Roast, stew, mole de caderas	7.0	0.0	0.0
Cabrito al pastor, in sauce, fritada de cabrito (fried)	0.0	0.0	100.0
% Reasons for consumption			
Taste	73.4	60.4	0.9
Texture	1.1	1.4	2.8
Tradition	3.2	3.6	89.7
Variety in meals	22.3	34.5	6.5

Source: Authors' self-made.

These markets and fairs serve as direct marketing channels (Hernández et al., 2018), allowing primary producers greater price control, higher profit margins, and a direct relationship with consumers—factors that contribute to strengthening the local economy. However, these types of markets have limitations in safety and hygiene that affect product quality, which could explain the low percentage of participation in Monterrey, where consumer preference for meat products with the TIF seal is high.

In terms of consumption patterns, on average, 96.5 % of consumers in Oaxaca and Mexico City prefer goat meat prepared as barbacoa. This traditional Mexican dish (Teixeira et al., 2020) is consumed at social events such as weddings, mayordomía celebrations, baptisms, and religious ceremonies (Onofre, 2022), and mainly on weekends (Estévez-Moreno & Miranda-de la Lama, 2022). In Oaxaca and Mexico City, goat gastronomy lacks a formal market structure and has inefficient distribution channels (Hernández-Bautista et al., 2022), this is reflected in the lower demand for dishes such as stews, roasts, and the traditional mole de caderas, which is prepared only once a year (Ortiz-Morales et al., 2021; Hernández et al., 2018). In the city of Monterrey, there is a high demand for goat meat in different preparations; such as al pastor, in sauce, grilled, and fried, among others (Cárdenas, 2017). However, the price per kilogram is higher, compared to other types of meat, making it impractical for daily consumption given the area and income level of the population (Alcalde et al., 2023).

With regard to reasons for consumption, in Oaxaca and Mexico City, taste is the primary factor. Mandolesi et al. (2020) note that in Europe, the most important consumption motivation is unique flavor, which aligns with the findings of this study. In demanding markets such as Monterrey, goat meat is traditionally consumed according to TIF certification standards (Santoyo-Cortés & Martínez-González, 2021), so characteristics such as flavor, tenderness, texture, color, and low fat content are intrinsic to its quality and safety for the consumer. In Oaxaca and Mexico City, a below average percentage of respondents stated that consumption is intended to add variety to meals, in this sense, consumption habits and cultural factors, such as consumers' culinary backgrounds, influence product acceptance, particularly among young people, for whom price is not a decisive factor in their purchasing decision (Mandolesi et al., 2020).

Restaurants

Of the total number of restaurant owners interviewed, 33.4 % belong to the gourmet category, 43.3 % to the family style, and 23.3 % to the themed category. As points of sale, gourmet restaurants are high-end (Santos-Lavalle et al., 2018), similar to what was found in the city of Monterrey. Goat meat is consumed in different cultures, where the participation of themed and family style restaurants is important for its dissemination, promotion, and sale, as noted by Alcalde et al. (2023), without delving into the restaurant category.

Table 3. Behavior of restaurant marketing characteristics, classified into three types.

Variables	Gourmet	Familiar	Thematic
Number of sample units	30.0	39.0	21.0
% that have purchased goat meat	30.0	35.9	52.4
% that have purchase goat cuts	76.7	79.5	85.7
Purchase and sale criteria %			
Contract/pre-contract	60.0	69.2	81.0
Verbal agreement	23.3	20.5	14.2
Prepayment	16.7	10.3	4.8
Dishes offered (%)			
Barbacoa	33.3	0.0	0.0
Birria	0.0	11.1	0.0
Mole de caderas, stew, roasted ribs	0.0	11.2	0.0
Cabrito al pastor, fried cabrito, cabrito in sauce	66.7	77.7	100.0

Source: Authors' self-made.

Table 3 shows the proportion of restaurant owners who have purchased goat meat. Thematic restaurant owners account for the highest percentage. Family style is second, followed by gourmet restaurants. This pattern was reported by Luna (2021) in Puebla, where few restaurants purchased goat meat, a consistent finding with this study. Among the reasons affecting the low participation of restaurants in the cities of Oaxaca and Mexico, are those described by Ferro-Moreno (2013), who, without specifying the classification of restaurants (food establishments), found in Argentina that the main causes are: the product's highly seasonal nature, the cooking point that cannot be delayed, and, the most important reason, its unavailability at the designated point of purchase.

Regarding the purchase of high-value cuts by restaurant owners, over 75 % of them reported having purchased goat meat in form of cuts at least once (Table 3). The acquisition of premium cuts is an underdeveloped market for the restaurant industry (Hernández et al., 2018), however, they are becoming increasingly common on the menus of mid-range and high-end restaurants (Erro Velásquez & Vittar, 2025). One issue to be addressed is ensuring the quality and consistency of standardized, young animals from primarily indoor systems, in addition to ensuring proper cold chain management (Gawat et al., 2023; Santoyo-Cortés & Martínez-González, 2021).

As for the purchasing criteria among restaurant owners, on average 70 % prefer to have a contract or pre-contract with their suppliers, 19.3 % make verbal agreements for the purchase of goat meat, and 10.6 % follow an advance payment system (Table 3). In a study conducted with goat producers in Guanajuato, Santos-Lavalle et al. (2018) found that gourmet markets (restaurants) sign contracts that define key aspects of the commercial relationship, such as price, product volume, supply frequency, penalties for non-

compliance, and invoicing, which most primary producers cannot fulfill. Verbal agreements for product procurement in the restaurant industry are not very common; however, this practice facilitates purchase planning and adaptation to product demands with auxiliary suppliers, without the need for advance payments, this typically occurs when large quantities of product are requested or when there are special agreements, such as a contract or pre-contract.

Concerning the types of dishes offered in restaurants, on average, 50 % of restaurants offer different types of dishes on their menus, contrary to what was reported by Panea et al. (2011) in the Spanish market. A diverse menu offers options for different tastes and preferences, allowing customers to find something that appeals to them and meets their needs (González Espinosa et al., 2021).

33.3 % of gourmet restaurants offer goat barbacoa. Cárdenas (2017) found restaurants in Monterrey that offer this dish in more sophisticated styles. However, over the past ten years, it has become an expensive dish with high prices (Estévez-Moreno & Miranda-de la Lama, 2022). Family style restaurants offer products such as birria (11.1 %), roasted ribs, and mole de caderas (11.2 %) on their menus. Birria is made with post-weaning and adult animals that would otherwise be discarded, and is served on weekends at restaurants. Currently, consuming dishes like grilled ribs or mole de caderas is difficult and expensive. Despite high demand, food establishments choose not to include this product on their menus because their customers are unwilling to pay the price (Hernández et al., 2018).

It was found that all three types of restaurants offer goat meat: (66.7 %) gourmet, (77.7 %) family style, and (100 %) themed restaurants, all located in central and northern Mexico. These high percentage rates coincide with the findings reported by Alcalde et al. (2023), who noted that

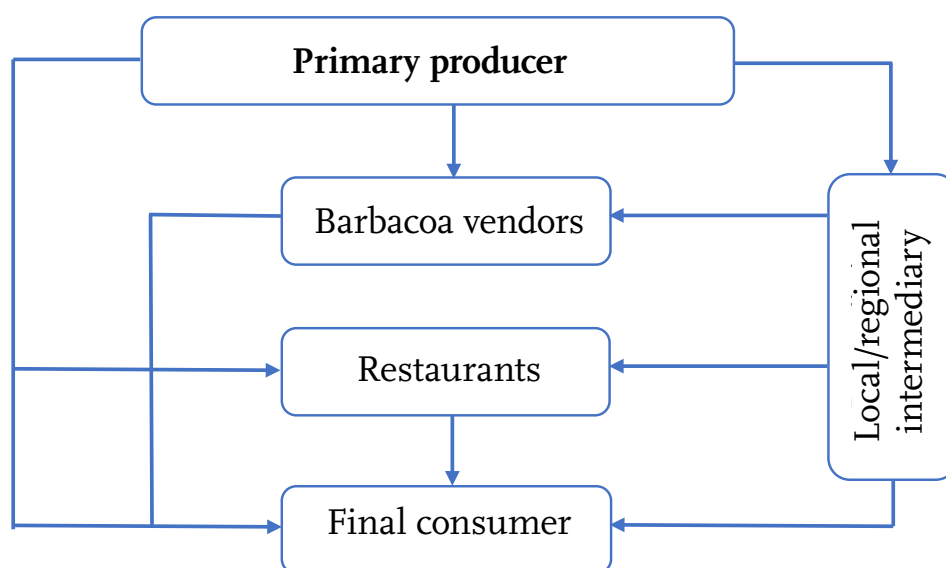


Figure 1. Actors in the goat marketing channels in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca.

Source: Adapted from Santoyo-Cortés & Martínez-González (2021) and Rebollar et al. (2007).

restaurants are the most common place to consume this product in Spain. It is argued that goat meat achieves higher market value through the sale of processed products such as cabrito al pastor (Luna, 2021), oven-roasted goat, and al ataud (goat cooked in a pit oven), which are prepared using a cooking method that evokes sensory attributes such as flavor, tenderness, juiciness, and fat content, which can only be obtained from suckling goats up to 40 days old (Cárdenas, 2017). Furthermore, its nutritional characteristics and low fat content have positioned it as a food that contributes to improved health (Mazhangara et al., 2019; Mondragón-Ancelmo et al., 2018) and quality of life for consumers. Goat meat is a very important economic driver for rural communities, the increase in its production and demand contributes to the development of primary activities and value chains.

Three marketing channels were identified (Figure 1). The first corresponds to the links of primary producer, intermediary, barbacoa vendor, and final consumer. The second consists of the primary producer, intermediary, restaurant owner, and final consumer. The third includes only the primary producer and the final consumer.

In the first channel, the primary producer does not incur transportation costs to move the product, whether on the hoof or carcass; however, they do not participate in price setting and have no direct contact with the final consumer. This contributes to a lack of understanding of consumer preferences and needs; leaving them at the mercy of the local or regional intermediary. In this marketing channel there is the alternative of producers processing and selling the product directly to the barbacoa vendor (Santoyo-Cortés & Martínez-González, 2021); undoubtedly, this scheme allows the primary producer to obtain a better

benefit–cost ratio per animal. However, this is not implemented because the intermediary fulfills logistical, financial, and volume functions that the individual producer cannot handle.

In the second channel, there are two marketing alternatives. In the first, the intermediary acquires on the hoof animals from the primary producer, processes them, and earns profits, mainly from the transportation and delivery of the processed product to restaurant owners and consumers (Mondragón-Ancelmo et al., 2018; Erro Velásquez & Vittar, 2025). The other alternative is for the primary producer to market directly to restaurant owners or the end consumer (Luna-Olea et al., 2019). This latter approach allows the producer to obtain a higher profit margin on premium cuts or whole carcasses. Furthermore, it allows the producer to influence the product's price. Restaurants' demand for TIF certified meat with a consistent supply represents a barrier for small-scale primary producers.

The third channel is known as Short Marketing Circuits (SMCs). The primary producer markets directly to the final consumer and participates in setting the product price (Rebollar et al., 2007; Mondragón-Ancelmo et al., 2018; Erro Velásquez & Vittar, 2025). In this model, the primary producer understands the consumer's preferences and needs, improving supply and increasing demand. There is no intermediary intervention.

Conclusions

In the Mixteca and Central Valleys regions of Oaxaca, as well as in Mexico City, the consumption of barbacoa is predominant. In Monterrey, there is a strong preference for cabrito al pastor. Consumer habits and cultural factors

influence product acceptance. The involvement of restaurant owners is important for the dissemination, promotion, and sale of goat meat. Primary producers have three options for marketing their animals. The first channel is the most widely used; however, short marketing circuits are a model that contributes to food sovereignty, strengthens the local economy, improves producers' income, and promotes a more efficient value chain. It is important to create public policies that promote the development of productive infrastructure, including formalized slaughterhouses and collection centers that help reduce dependence on intermediaries.

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