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TOURISM EXPERIENCES AND ANIMAL CONSUMPTION

CONTESTED VALUES, MORALITY AND ETHICS

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ROUTLEDGE



9 Fat duck as foie gras?

Axiological implications of tourist experiences

Elise Mognard

Introduction

Foie gras is a most disputed food. The controversy focuses on animal welfare and rights and mobilizes supporters, ethicists, stockbreeders, artisans, chefs, scientists, veterinarians, politicians, legislators, judges, lobbies, the media, citizens, and consumers. It addresses two broader social issues: the modern relations between animals and human beings and foie gras as an authentic cultural icon of local food heritage. Therefore, it provides a critical standpoint from which to study the production and reproduction of ethics in food modernity (Ascher, 2005; Beardsworth & Keil, 1997; Corbeau, 1992; Fischler, 1990, 2015; Poulain, 2002c, 2017; Warde, 2015).

Changes in food production can be observed at the macro and long-term levels by analyzing the food politics and socio-historical development of the foie gras controversy (Caro, 2009; DeSoucey, 2010, 2016; Duhart, 2009; Mognard, 2013) as well as the micro level by examining the pragmatism of the critique (Boltanski, 2011) and the building of moral acceptability (Heath & Meneley, 2010; Youatt, 2012). This study stands at the meso level, highlighting the way the 'tourist-eater' experiences contribute to the production and reproduction of food-related systems of values and as such, of ethics. Derived from theoretical studies aggregating both analyses of modernization and globalization (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1990; Robertson, 1995), the chapter's emphasis is on the 'experiential universe' (Giddens, 1990) of the 'eater.' In addition, the 'tourist experience' as an illustration of the experience of global modernity (Featherstone, Lash, & Robertson, 1995; Urry & Larsen, 2011) is explored. Indeed, 'tourist-eaters' in the *Périgord* (France) are potentially presented with a food, i.e., foie gras, which results from a highly controversial process, namely force-feeding.

Therefore, this study asks multiple questions. How do tourist experiences contribute to the production/reproduction of values and related social practices? What are the conditions under which one evaluates force-feeding based upon a set of values and then proceeds to either consume the product or not? The chapter will first provide an overview of the literature related to (1) the ambivalence of reactions to animal as food – and the management of the associated anxiety in 'food models,' (2) the key findings on the controversy related to foie gras and

force-feeding, and (3) a sociological perspective on 'tourist experiences.' Following the methodology, the findings will be presented: (1) the 'tourist experiences' in relation to foie gras and (2) the change of attitudes toward force-feeding during those experiences. Finally I briefly critically discuss the findings. This two-fold contribution will allow for a more in-depth, practical, and detailed analysis of the role of tourism in food education as well as consider – from a more theoretical perspective – the axiological implications of 'tourist experiences' in the shaping of animal ethics.

Literature review

Ambivalence of animals as food and the management of related anxiety in food models

In socio-anthropological food studies, the controversy raised by foie gras is analyzed as 'gastro-anomy' (Fischler, 1990), i.e., a lack of regulation of food-related anxiety.

Indeed, those studies have demonstrated that food triggers anxiety. "Food anxieties arise from the tensions or ambivalences between gustatory pleasure and displeasure, between health and illness, and between the continuation of life and death of the living organisms that are eaten by man (Beardsworth & Keil, 1992, Beardsworth, 1995). This life versus death ambivalence stems from the ethical conflict of killing living organisms and eating their flesh and organs as a means to preserve our own lives. Little concern is aroused when the organism is a plant, but it becomes significant when it comes to animal food, thus highlighting the ambivalence at work in human-animal relationships.

Anthropology of symbolical practices and of technological development acknowledges the existence of environmental constraints and of a space of freedom for collective and individual differentiation. Those approaches lay emphasis to the variability of domestication techniques and of the transformation processes converting living animals into food. Addressing the issue from those perspectives is essential to understanding what allows the construction of the edible status of an animal through domestication. Authors have explained this by changing the animal designation (Fabre-Vassas, 1993; Méchin, 1992; Milliet, 1995), by legitimating the killings, and/or by masking the animal origin of the food (Bastian, Loughnan, Haslam, & Radke, 2012; Kunst & Hohle, 2016; Vialles, 1994). According to Vialles (1994), people may become more able to face animals as food by establishing a disassociation between the two. This is built through levels of exposure to agriculture, animal breeding, and the process of transformation into food.

For food socio-anthropologists, these transformation processes of living animals into food are part of the 'culinary system' (Fischler, 1990) or the 'food model' (Poulain, 2007). These socio-technical systems contribute to the regulation of food anxiety aroused by the above-mentioned ambivalence between life and death (Beardsworth & Keil, 1997). More specifically, the 'food model' is

defined as a system of social relation, distribution, and consumption, up the set of rules that predetermine it offers a tool to analyze (decisions) while thinking about components (Poulain, 2007). (as being an outcome of a local Beardsworth & Keil, 1997; Caro 2017; Warde, 2015). For example regulated?

Nature vs. culture: the axiological

The controversy over foie gras is a system of social regulation. The on the dispute over foie gras "critical perspectives," and the facade to defend social distinction of foie gras production have that maintains social distinction of the contradiction exists in the foie gras debate and its very limited particular critical perspective isizing them as a means to sustain

The second approach is a system of social regulation. These studies do not consider the social construction of the (Caro, 2009; DeSoucey, 2011) interpretations mixing action and information on the interlinking dispute: patrimonialization to regulate eater-animal relations fear of seeing something valuable (2015). The critiques in respect to transformations in the relationship with nature (Poulain, 1994) and appropriation process: the significance of the controversy dispute highlights the transformations relations between economic more recent research (Caro Mognard, 2013), the early 2000s of the following values: one are being challenged on the other hand, production is supported

defined as a system of social representations and practices related to food production, distribution, and consumption. Thus, from the eater's viewpoint, it makes up the set of rules that predetermine food decisions; from the researcher's viewpoint it offers a tool to analyze independent socio-cultural dimensions of food (decisions) while thinking about their connections with biological and ecological components (Poulain, 2007). Current food-related anxiety can also be interpreted as being an outcome of a looser and reshaped social regulation (Ascher, 2005; Beardsworth & Keil, 1997; Corbeau, 1992; Fischler, 1990, 2015; Poulain, 2002c, 2017; Warde, 2015). For example, how are foie gras production and consumption regulated?

Nature vs. culture: the axiological debate about foie gras

The controversy over foie gras is a prime opportunity for scrutinizing the mechanisms of social regulation. Three types of interpretation emerge from the research on the dispute over foie gras. The first one falls within the sociological field of "critical perspectives," and the moral stand of animal welfare being seen as a facade to defend social distinction. The laws regulating animal welfare in the case of foie gras production have, for Kaufman (2008), a class-reinforcing function that maintains social distinction. This view provides an enlightening interpretation of the contradiction existing between the strong interest aroused by the foie gras debate and its very limited consumption in North America. However, this particular critical perspective oversimplifies the actors' motivations by characterizing them as a means to sustain supremacy through social distinction.

The second approach is a mix of food politics and socio-historical perspectives. These studies do not deny the players' capacity to be critical but explore the social construction of the dispute by scrutinizing the players' interaction (Caro, 2009; DeSoucey, 2010, 2016; Duhart, 2009; Mognard, 2013). These interpretations mixing action theory and a socio-historical perspective that provide information on the interlinking of two thematization processes of the foie gras dispute: patrimonialization on the one hand and the criticism of the forms which regulate eater-animal relationships on the other. Patrimonialization involves a fear of seeing something vanish in the process of globalization (Poulain, 1997a, 2015). The critiques in respect of animal welfare or rights are reflecting structural transformations in the relationship of contemporary eaters with animals and more widely nature (Poulain, 1997b, 2015). By paying attention to the interpretation and appropriation process achieved by the players, those researchers highlight the significance of the controversy, far beyond the case of foie gras. Indeed, this dispute highlights the transformations of governance and more specifically the relations between economics, politics, media, law, and science. According to this more recent research (Caro, 2009; DeSoucey, 2010, 2016; Duhart, 2009; Mognard, 2013), the early 2000s witnessed the gradual and interrelated reinforcement of the following values: on the one hand, foie gras production and consumption are being challenged on the grounds of ethics and respect for nature; on the other hand, production is supported for the sake of heritage and culture.

The third approach consists in capturing the foie gras debate as a situation of conflict and of critical production. Arguments are studied from a pragmatic analysis of the critique (Boltanski, 2011) in order to highlight the critical capacity of the players involved and the tenets of moral or critical approaches, such as the "Ethics of Care" according to Heath and Meneley (2010), as well as "Nature" for Youatt (2012). Those two contributions are valuable insofar as they provide new directions for addressing the moral issue of our relationships with animals. They place emphasis on the process through which the debate is being nurtured. Even if they do not focus on the normative judgment according to which some treatments are moral or immoral, they emphasize what is at work in the anthropozoological relations that build moral acceptability. And yet, these closely delineated analyses hardly report on the structures and variability of the patterns along which experiences are perceived by individuals. Hence, if we set aside the way values are supported and leave behind the construction processes of moral acceptability, how do we analyze the structures and the variations of commitment to a set of values? Should force-feeding be blamed as immoral or praised as culturally worthwhile, or should it be regarded as culturally reprehensible and at the same time morally acceptable? One may, as Goffman (1974) did, analyze how the features of both objects and contexts are likely to call upon various registers of values (Heinich, 1992). The next step is to analyze the social structures and the plurality of the perception patterns applied to the experience. This can then lead to a specific register of values in order to evaluate force-feeding.

Sociological views of tourist experiences

As mentioned above, foie gras is considered one of the tourism highlights in the *Périgord* (France). Based on the 'intermediate experience areas' theory from Winnicott (1971), the 'tourist experience' can be considered a 'transitional space' for the actualization of individual and collective identities. From this perspective, the 'touristic experience' consists in experimenting and innovating socially within a space and time partly free of social norms (Amirou, 2008). Recently, sociological conceptualizations of the 'tourist experience' have also highlighted the distinctiveness of tourism from everyday life and the plurality of tourist experiences (Cohen, 1979) taking into account the subjectivity and reflexivity of the individuals involved. Rather than opposing the modern developments on this topic, those post-modern contributions suggest some complementary extensions (Uriely, 2005).

As a continuation of the studies on the 'tourist-eater' (Bessière, Poulain, & Tibère, 2012, 2013), the ambition of this chapter is to look at the tourist food experience as being embedded in daily life and includes social structures. Tourism mobility allows the meeting not only of cultures but also of social positions. Grounded in the social distinction theory and concept of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984), this perspective shows that dispositions (in terms of abilities and resources acquired during the socialization process) are used to face food "otherness" during the experience (Chang, Kivela, & Mak, 2010; Chang et al., 2010; Everett,

2009, 2012; Germann Molz, 2009; Eves, & Chang, 2012).

Finally, this chapter complements the experience from a consumer studies perspective of the tourists to visit a food destination (Huang, 2016; Hjalager, 2004; 2015). From the theoretical standpoint, it aims to bridge social structures and the production/reproduction of food and the related practices of the

Methods

This contribution uses a mixed-method approach (Yin, 2006). The study aims to understand the experience uniquely. To that end, social structures and processes are acknowledged.

Qualitative methods

The qualitative approach is rooted in the idea to take onboard individual subjective experiences. It involves semi-structured interviews with participants involved in the production and consumption of foie gras. Eleven participant observations were carried out from July 2009 to August 2010. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants, from July to August 2010.

Quantitative methods

The quantitative approach involves the analysis of social structures defined as the "social context" (Lounsbury, 2014, p. 23) and the conditions prompting their behavior. According to this approach, normative expectations and goals are analyzed through repeated individual actions and social systems.

The questionnaire encompassing the experience, e.g., before and during the tour, was conducted using the technique of translation from English into French to ensure the questionnaire was conducted in French. The questionnaire was conducted in the summer 2010 (July to October). The sample consists of 100 origins, a stratified random

2009, 2012; Germann Molz, 2007; Kim, Eves, & Scarles, 2009; Mak, Lumbers, Eves, & Chang, 2012).

Finally, this chapter complements the body of works focusing on tourist-eater experience from a consumer studies perspective by examining the motivations of the tourists to visit a food destination or to experiment with local food (Chen & Huang, 2016; Hjalager, 2004; Kim & Eves, 2012; Mak et al., 2017; Richards, 2015). From the theoretical standpoint, this approach is used as a conceptual tool to bridge social structures and individual subjectivity in the analysis of the production/reproduction of food models. This includes the system of social norms and the related practices of the 'tourist-eater.'

Methods

This contribution uses a mixed methods approach (Ivankova, Creswell, & Stick, 2006). The study aims to understand how individuals face their lived experiences uniquely. To that end, social structures as well as the subjectivity of lived experiences are acknowledged.

Qualitative methods

The qualitative approach is rooted in ethno-methodology and phenomenology that take onboard individual subjectivity and lived experiences. Eleven in-depth and semi-structured interviews have been conducted with socio-professional actors involved in the production and promotion of foie gras from April to August 2009. Eleven participant observations of foie gras-related agritourism activities were carried out from July 2009 to June 2010. Additionally, in-depth and semi-structured interviews were conducted with 'tourist-eaters' (39 European participants, from July to August 2009).

Quantitative methods

The quantitative approach included a questionnaire in order to objectify both the structures defined as the "society's influence on the individual" (Giddens & Sutton, 2014, p. 23) and the conscious, subconscious, or unconscious motivations prompting their behavior. According to Giddens (1990), structures are patterns of normative expectations and guidelines governing acceptable behavior; moreover, repeated individual actions contribute to the reproduction or alteration of social systems.

The questionnaire encompasses the tourist journey in its dynamic dimension, e.g., before and during the tourist experience (Jafari, 1988). The retro-translation technique was used to translate it – first from French into English, then from English into French to ensure the questions were meaningful (Temple, 1997). The questionnaire was conducted directly with tourists visiting the *Périgord* during summer 2010 (July to October). To allow comparisons between inter and intra origins, a stratified random sampling was designed with tourists from France,

Table 9.1 Characteristics of 'tourist-eaters' interviewees

<i>Alias</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Country of origin</i>
Angela	Female	45–50	Social worker	Italy
Antoine	Male	35–40	Director of accounting division	France
Bertrand	Male	60–65	Retired	France
Blandine	Female	35–40	Clerk	France
Camille	Female	25–30	Teacher	France
Carlo	Male	45–50	Deputy principal	Italy
Carmen	Female	35–40	Teacher	Spain
Clothilde	Female	30–35	Dentist	Belgium
Delphine	Female	30–35	Teacher	Belgium
Elena	Female	45–50	Teacher	Spain
Éric	Male	40–45	Teacher	France
Étienne	Male	50–55	Supermarket director	France
Florence	Female	25–30	Not available	France
Françoise	Female	50–55	Manager of flower shop	France
Gaël	Male	25–30	Not available	France
Gustavo	Male	35–40	Teacher	Spain
Hélène*	Female	55–60	Laborer	France
Jean-Paul	Male	55–60	Truck driver	France
Joëlle	Female	55–60	Not available	France
Julien	Male	25–30	Engineer	France
Mamie	Female	75–80	Retired	France
Marion*	Female	40–45	Local government officer	France
Maryse	Female	50–55	Cashier	France
Mathieu	Male	35–40	Employee	France
Michel	Male	50–55	Manager of flower shop	France
Miguel	Male	45–50	Local government officer	Spain
Monique	Female	50–55	Nurse	France
Nadine	Female	60–65	Teacher	France
Nathalie	Female	25–30	Not available	France
Nicole	Female	60–65	Retired	France
Paul	Male	60–65	Teacher	France
Pierre	Male	50–55	Truck driver	France
Rémi	Male	30–35	Dentist	Belgium
Robert	Male	50–55	Accountant	France
Sandrine	Female	35–40	Nurse	France
Stéphanie	Female	25–30	Banker	France
Thierry	Male	30–35	Teacher	Belgium
Thomas	Male	25–30	Engineer	France
Yves	Male	40–45	Social worker	France

Note: * Verbatim included in these paper findings

the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands as the main countries of origin of tourists in the *Périgord* (BVA, 2008). Questionnaires were self-administered and the respondents recruited at sites within the region. One of the prerequisites for participation was fitting into the criteria of origin and length of stay; 662 observations were collected: 38.7 percent of respondents came from Great Britain and Ireland (256 people), 24.9 percent from the Netherlands (165 people), and 36.5 percent from France (241 people).

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The range of attitudes – defined as the stabilized stance of an individual prior to the emergence of a system of values – toward force-feeding was identified from the socio-historical analysis of the literature on the controversy over force-feeding. Two registers of values – a ‘natural’ and a ‘cultural’ one – were identified (Mognard, 2013). In the current study, respondents were requested to rank their attitudes on two continuums (6 points differential semantic scales). The continuum for the ‘natural’ axiological register of force-feeding read as follows: “It’s natural: geese and ducks naturally are big eaters vs. it is pushing things beyond natural limits” and the continuum for the ‘cultural’ axiological register of force-feeding was as follows: “It is a cruel practice inflicted upon geese and ducks vs. it is a traditional heritage to be preserved.” Because the interviews demonstrated that some people may not have any opinion, a “no opinion” option was added. Finally, the respondents reported the attitudes they had developed about force-feeding before and during their tourist experiences, and assessment of change pre- and post-farm visit is based on their comparison.

In addition to the usual socio-demographic variables and based on works from Vialles (1994), two variables referring to the capacity of people to face animals as food. Dissociation between the living animal and food is assessed by asking “Whenever you eat meat, do you associate it with the living animal it comes from?” Additionally, occupation of one or more of the family members in the profession of agriculture indicates likely exposure to breeding animals and/or their transformation into food, and hence the capacity to imagine the living animal as food. Both are used for elaboration of bivariate analysis.

Statistical analyses were performed using SPSS (version 20.0). The relations between the changes in attitudes toward force-feeding and socio-demographic and eating patterns were assessed using the Pearson chi-square test (Clemence, Doise, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2014; Healey, 2011; Samuel & Okey, 2015). Based on conventions, the statistical significance is set at $P \leq 0.05$ (Cohen, 1988). Analysis of standardized residuals was used as the post-hoc test (Sharpe, 2015).

Limitations

Based on sampling methods, the main limitation of the study is its generalizability either to the touristic population of the *Périgord* or to the selected countries of origin of the tourists, namely Great Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, and France, as the main countries of origin of tourists in the *Périgord* (BVA, 2008). Indeed, tourism as spatial mobility is raising epistemological and methodological issues (Büscher, Urry, & Witchger, 2010). Replication of the research with representative samples would allow the validation of the conclusions.

Findings

Findings of the study are presented in two main parts. First, this study presents the ways in which ‘tourist-eaters’ experience foie gras during their stay in the *Périgord*. Secondly, the important conditions of the change of attitudes toward force-feeding during those experiences are discussed.

Country of origin

	Italy
ing division	France
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Tourist experiences in relation to foie gras

Only 7 percent of the respondents declared that they had not had any experience related to foie gras since their arrival in the *Périgord* region. Most of the respondents (87 percent) had the opportunity to “come across” the foodstuff in a shop or at the marketplace, which supports the assumption that the fieldwork area is a kind of “Foie gras Disneyland” (DeSoucey, 2010), with significant commercial and cultural activities revolving around this iconic product. Indeed, most of the shops (as many as 45) in the Vieux Sarlat are partly or totally dedicated to foie gras, according to one of our interviewees, a foie gras producer. In the surroundings, at least one stall in every producer-market or weekly open-air market is related to fat duck products and foie gras. From the tourist standpoint, looking at foie gras does not connote involvement or shape your identity as a ‘tourist-eater.’ For almost half of the respondents (47 percent), seeing foie gras was the only activity mentioned related to foie gras. However, the high proportion of the participants who came across the product is an evidence of its high symbolical significance in the territory.

Fourteen percent of the respondents have eaten foie gras with friends or relatives living in the area and 39 percent have consumed it at a restaurant, table d’hôte, or farmhouse inn. Taking into account that some respondents did both, 43 percent of them have eaten foie gras. These practices are far more engaging, since they imply incorporating the product into the body, in other words crossing the frontier of the self (Fischler, 1988, 1990). This high percentage may be accounted for by the ritual of appropriation of the territory (Bell & Valentine, 1997; Morin, 1962). Finally, 12 percent of the respondents visited a farm producing foie gras, some of which included a force-feeding demonstration.

Change of force-feeding attitudes

Regarding force-feeding, the study determined that 9 percent of tourists assess it as a more ‘natural’ practice, while 6 percent of them see it as “forcing nature.” The remainder of participants (85 percent) did not change their attitudes (which are mainly toward an evaluation of force-feeding as a practice “forcing nature”). This small change in attitudes partly contradicts the idea that ‘tourist-eater’ experience consists in experimenting and innovating socially within a space and time partly free of social norms (Amirou, 2008). This may be related to the reflexivity of ‘tourist-eaters’ when it comes to their perception of the lack of authenticity of this “acting” for tourism purposes (Amirou, 2007; Olsen, 2002). In addition, it stresses the importance of the context and the structure given through prior food models.

Attitude toward ‘naturalness’ of force-feeding

First, it is to be noticed that there is no significant statistical relation between socio-cultural determinants and the changes in attitudes toward force-feeding as being ‘natural.’ This indicates that the change of this attitude does not depend on

social structures, and suggests ing new social regulations.

When looking at these tour the consumption of foie gras c and considering force-feeding ences on the attitude changes on the ‘tourist-eaters’ socializ demonstrates the attitude char on the capability of ‘eaters’ to tuct ($\chi^2(2, N = 322) = 7.45, p =$ agriculture ($\chi^2(2, N = 192) = 1$ ate the living animal from the stay tends to influence them ($N = 322) = 7.47, p = 0.02^{**}$). activate a specific capability, tionship between animals and

Table 9.2 Relationships between and socio-demograph

Variable
Socio-demographic Variables
Country of residence
Urbanization level of current
Education level
Socio-economic position
Gender
Age group
Tourist Experience Variables
Consumption of foie gras du
Partial Tables
No dissociation between li
animal product
Dissociation between livin
product
Partial Tables
Having relative(s) working
Not having relative worki
Participation in a farm visit
Partial Tables
No dissociation between li
animal product
Dissociation between livin
product
Partial Tables
Having relative(s) workin
Not having relative worki

Notes: * $p < 0.05$. ** $0.01 < p < 0$

social structures, and suggests that the agency of eaters could play a role in creating new social regulations.

When looking at these tourism activities, association can be observed between the consumption of foie gras during the stay ($\chi^2(2, N = 594) = 10.69, p = 0.00***$) and considering force-feeding as more natural. The influence of tourism experiences on the attitude changes regarding the 'naturalness' of force-feeding depends on the 'tourist-eaters' socialization and abilities. There is a partial correlation that demonstrates the attitude changes toward the 'naturalness' of force-feeding depend on the capability of 'eaters' to dissociate the living animal from the animal product ($\chi^2(2, N = 322) = 7.45, p = 0.02***$) along with having relative(s) working in agriculture ($\chi^2(2, N = 192) = 10.64, p = 0.00***$). Among the 'eaters' who dissociate the living animal from the animal product, eating some foie gras during their stay tends to influence them into evaluating force-feeding as more natural ($\chi^2(2, N = 322) = 7.47, p = 0.02**$). This statistical association highlights their ability to activate a specific capability, i.e., dissociation, as a regulation process of the relationship between animals and humans when eating foie gras. Another association

Table 9.2 Relationships between changes in attitudes toward 'naturalness' of force-feeding and socio-demographic and tourist experiences variables

Variable	Result of statistical test
Socio-demographic Variables	
Country of residence	$\chi^2(4, N = 596) = 5.32, p = 0.26$
Urbanization level of current residence	$\chi^2(4, N = 596) = 2.50, p = 0.64$
Education level	$\chi^2(8, N = 576) = 8.17, p = 0.42$
Socio-economic position	$\chi^2(6, N = 475) = 3.22, p = 0.78$
Gender	$\chi^2(2, N = 580) = 3.22, p = 0.46$
Age group	$\chi^2(6, N = 593) = 4.76, p = 0.57$
Tourist Experience Variables	
Consumption of foie gras during the stay	$\chi^2(2, N = 594) = 10.69, p = 0.00***$
Partial Tables	
No dissociation between living animal and animal product	$\chi^2(2, N = 255) = 3.02, p = 0.22$
Dissociation between living animal and animal product	$\chi^2(2, N = 322) = 7.47, p = 0.02**$
Partial Tables	
Having relative(s) working in agriculture	$\chi^2(2, N = 192) = 10.64, p = 0.00***$
Not having relative working in agriculture	$\chi^2(2, N = 398) = 3.43, p = 0.18$
Participation in a farm visit	$\chi^2(2, N = 594) = 12.44, p = 0.00***$
Partial Tables	
No dissociation between living animal and animal product	$\chi^2(2, N = 255) = 9.42, p = 0.01***$
Dissociation between living animal and animal product	$\chi^2(2, N = 322) = 6.07, p = 0.05*$
Partial Tables	
Having relative(s) working in agriculture	$\chi^2(2, N = 192) = 5.18, p = 0.07$
Not having relative working in agriculture	$\chi^2(2, N = 398) = 8.30, p = 0.02**$

Notes: * $p < 0.05$. ** $0.01 < p < 0.03$. *** $p < 0.01$

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' the foodstuff in a shop or
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attitude does not depend on

can also be observed concerning the sub-sample of participants having relatives in the agricultural sector ($\chi^2(2, N = 192) = 10.64, p = 0.00***$). Those who had some *foie gras* during their stay in the *Périgord* seem to evaluate force-feeding as more natural than they did before their stay.

A final difference in the change of the 'naturalness' of force-feeding is found based on the participation in a farm visit ($\chi^2(2, N = 594) = 12.44, p = 0.00***$). Their participation led to the tourists considering force-feeding as more natural. As Hélène said:

I did not have the feeling that they were suffering. As soon as you know that they are doing it by themselves in Nature . . . I felt that they were not afraid. They were caught easily [by the agricultural workers].

In this case, the concrete and sensory-lived experience is essential in shaping the tourist's opinion. As for Marion, she explained that those visits allowed her some distancing with the image built by the media:

She [the farmer] insisted quite a lot on force-feeding. I found that great because we tend to have this cliché through documentaries. To me, force-feeding was industrial, like on an assembly line. In that case, it was not! She even offered us to come and feel the neck of the animal while she was force-feeding. It looked natural but it influenced me.

These statements show how a lived and sensorial experience in relation to the animal can significantly contribute to the construction of opinions and put media discourses to the test. Indeed, the experience of a farm visit (wherever it is including or not force-feeding demonstration) appears to influence the participants to hold views that force-feeding is more natural. These tourism experiences contributed to the change of the legitimacy of force-feeding as being in line with Nature.

Attitude toward 'culturality' of force-feeding

As in the case of 'naturalness,' the value of 'culturality' was influenced for 10 percent of the respondents toward a more "cultural" evaluation; however, 8 percent evaluate force-feeding as less "cultural" than they did prior to their stay.

The change imparting a value of 'culturality' to force-feeding is associated with eating *foie gras* during the stay ($\chi^2(2, N = 598) = 7.91, p = 0.02***$). Indeed, the consumption of *foie gras* and the farm visit appear to be associated with the notion that force-feeding is a more cultural practice. Here again, this observation is based on the ability of the 'eaters' to dissociate and on their experience with agriculture. The observation of participants legitimizing the consumption of *foie gras* through the value of nature was evident in those that had relatives working in the agricultural sector. However, those participants with no family in the agricultural sector tend to legitimize *foie gras* by its cultural value. The consumption of *foie gras* during the tourism experience related to the change of attitude

Table 9.3 Relationships between and socio-demographic

Variable
Socio-Demographic Variables
Country of residence
Urbanization level of current residence
Education level
Socio-economic position
Gender
Age group
Tourist Experience Variables
Consumption of <i>foie gras</i> during the stay
Partial Tables
No dissociation between living and animal product
Dissociation between living and animal product
Partial Tables
Having relative(s) working in agriculture
Not having relative working in agriculture
Participation in a farm visit
Partial Tables
No dissociation between living and animal product
Dissociation between living and animal product
Partial Tables
Having relative(s) working in agriculture
Not having relative working in agriculture

Notes: * $p < 0.05$. ** $0.01 < p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.001$.

toward the 'culturality' of force-feeding is associated with a higher dissociation capacity. Only those participants with a high dissociation capacity ($N = 320$) = 6.69, $p = 0.03^*$) evaluate force-feeding as less "cultural" than they did prior to their stay. This association ($N = 598$) = 7.17, $p = 0.03^{**}$) is also associated with consumption of *foie gras* during the stay.

There is a correlation between the consumption of *foie gras* and the 'culturality' of force-feeding on individual socialization, particularly for those participants who have relatives working in agriculture. The consumption of *foie gras* during a farm visit is associated with a higher dissociation capacity. Therefore, the consumption of *foie gras* is motivated among people with a high dissociation capacity. This association is also involved in disconnecting the living and

Table 9.3 Relationships between changes in attitudes toward 'culturality' of force-feeding and socio-demographic and tourist experiences variables

Variable	Result of statistical test
Socio-Demographic Variables	
Country of residence	$\chi^2(4, N = 601) = 9.04, p = 0.06$
Urbanization level of current residence	$\chi^2(4, N = 593) = 1.74, p = 0.78$
Education level	$\chi^2(8, N = 581) = 10.96, p = 0.20$
Socio-economic position	$\chi^2(6, N = 482) = 3.18, p = 0.79$
Gender	$\chi^2(2, N = 585) = 1.01, p = 0.60$
Age group	$\chi^2(6, N = 598) = 7.39, p = 0.29$
Tourist Experience Variables	
Consumption of foie gras during the stay	$\chi^2(2, N = 598) = 7.91, p = 0.02***$
Partial Tables	
No dissociation between living animal and animal product	$\chi^2(2, N = 261) = 1.34, p = 0.51$
Dissociation between living animal and animal product	$\chi^2(2, N = 320) = 6.69, p = 0.03**$
Partial Tables	
Having relative(s) working in agriculture	$\chi^2(2, N = 192) = 3.02, p = 0.22$
Not having relative working in agriculture	$\chi^2(2, N = 403) = 6.93, p = 0.03**$
Participation in a farm visit	$\chi^2(2, N = 598) = 7.17, p = 0.03**$
Partial Tables	
No dissociation between living animal and animal product	$\chi^2(2, N = 261) = 0.36, p = 0.84$
Dissociation between living animal and animal product	$\chi^2(2, N = 320) = 12.58, p = 0.00***$
Partial Tables	
Having relative(s) working in agriculture	$\chi^2(2, N = 192) = 3.86, p = 0.14$
Not having relative working in agriculture	$\chi^2(2, N = 403) = 5.21, p = 0.06$

Notes: * $p < 0.05$. ** $0.01 < p < 0.03$. *** $p < 0.01$

toward the 'culturality' of force-feeding and is different depending on individual dissociation capacity. Only those who can disconnect the living animal from the animal product tend to revise their opinion toward a more cultural practice ($\chi^2(2, N = 320) = 6.69, p = 0.03**$). The change imparting a value of 'culturality' to force-feeding is also associated with the visit to a farm producing foie gras ($\chi^2(2, N = 598) = 7.17, p = 0.03**$), and additionally the experience of consuming foie gras is associated with considering force-feeding as a more cultural practice.

There is a correlation between participating in a farm visit and changing attitudes toward the 'culturality' of force-feeding. Differences can be observed depending on individual socialization, as the change is verified only for those who have relatives working in agriculture ($\chi^2(2, N = 403) = 6.93, p = 0.03**$). For them, visiting a farm is associated with a change of opinion toward a more cultural evaluation of force-feeding. Therefore, the cultural aspect of force-feeding tends to be promoted among people without direct experience of food production. In addition, dissociation is also involved in the change of this attitude. Only the individuals disconnecting the living animal from the animal product changed opinion while

experiencing a farm visit ($\chi^2(2, N = 320) = 12.58, p = 0.00***$). In this case, they tend to evaluate force-feeding as more cultural. To summarize, lived experience plays a significant role when it comes to the change of legitimating force-feeding to the cultural aspect. Similar to the case of the natural aspect, this is to be qualified according to the individual abilities acquired through socialization prior to the tourism experience and more specifically having a relative in agriculture.

Discussion

Overall, the attitude changes toward force-feeding affected only a small part of the population surveyed on both the nature and culture aspects. This study reinforces the idea that attitudes toward force-feeding are relevant to the human-animal relationship and appear to be deeply rooted in food models. This observation corroborates similar conclusions in regard to long-term change of food models (Dupuy, 2013; Fischler & Masson, 2007; Holm et al., 2016; Poulain, 1997b, 2002a). When changes related to experience are noted, tourists engage some socio-technical and symbolical abilities to distance themselves from the living animal, such as the dissociation between living animals and food (Bastian et al., 2012; Kunst & Hohle, 2016; Vialles, 1994).

Additionally, the consumption of foie gras at a restaurant, having relatives living in the region, and/or making farm visits was also involved in the transformation of attitudes. These components of the tourist experience clearly involve the corporality of a sensory and lived experience and possibly the crossing of the self frontiers (Corbeau, 2008; Fischler, 1990; Poulain, 2002b, 2017). In the case of food production being staged for tourism (farm visits), eaters are brought together with the animal that will become food. These experiences support the change of the legitimacy of force-feeding based on the values of 'nature' and 'culture' and can be interpreted as a partial problematization of the interpretation of the world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and an alignment between lived experiences and social representations included in the food models.

As such, the 'tourist experience,' both socio-culturally constructed and sensorially lived, becomes an integral part of the individual updating of food models. However, their change differs depending on the eaters' capacity to manage their opinions relative to the relation to animals. Two main "abilities" acquired during individual socialization are activated by tourism experiences. The first is the relation to food production (and subsequently breeding animals) as indicated by the mention of having a relative in agriculture. The second involves the capability of dissociation of animal products from its animal itself. Those eaters are the ones whose attitudes toward force-feeding change in light of nature and culture.

Conclusion

This research work is a practical contribution to the analysis of the role of agritourism in current human-animal relationships and as such, in food education.

The findings suggest that limited be expected from a tourism experience farm visit and can enhance prior study stress that those transform face the animal as food. It is in the tourists' background.

From the theoretical perspective lived experience in the producer's experience contributes to align their ethics to different goals in some changes in regard to c

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$r = 0.00***$). In this case, they summarize lived experience of legitimating force-feeding. From a cultural aspect, this is to be qualified through socialization prior to the relative in agriculture.

affected only a small part of the aspects. This study reinforces the importance of the human-animal relationships. This observation corroborates the change of food models (Dupuy, 1997; Poulain, 1997b, 2002a). When we engage some socio-technical and the living animal, such as the dissection (An et al., 2012; Kunst & Hohle,

restaurant, having relatives lived also involved in the transformation. This experience clearly involves the crossing of the self (An, 2002b, 2017). In the case of visits, eaters are brought together. These experiences support the change of values of 'nature' and 'culture' and of the interpretation of the world between lived experiences and discourses.

Culturally constructed and sensorily individual updating of food models. Eaters' capacity to manage their main "abilities" acquired during these experiences. The first is the relationship (with animals) as indicated by the second involves the capability of the self. Those eaters are the ones in the light of nature and culture.

to the analysis of the role of agriculture and as such, in food education.

The findings suggest that limited change of attitudes toward force-feeding can be expected from a tourism experience. Changes can result, for example, from a farm visit and can enhance prior aversions or assumptions. Also, the results of the study stress that those transformations are conditional to abilities of the eater to face the animal as food. It is important for local agritourism players to consider the tourists' background.

From the theoretical perspective, this analysis confirms the significance of the lived experience in the production/reproduction of food models. The 'tourist-eater' experience contributes to the construction of 'eaters' in their attempts to align their ethics to different global modernities. By doing so, they are incorporating some changes in regard to contested values, morals, and ethics.

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10 The ethical im of tourism on pig production

The case of Cuenca

José Prada-Trigo

Introduction

Food and tourism have a very close relationship. In some, satisfying a multiplicity of things very different for each person. Food is a commodity; it is a multidimensional commodity; it is a multidimensional commodity regarding the relationships between food and tourism. (2008) point out, eating exotic, in postmodern culture characterize new patterns of food identities and touristic experiences.

The guinea pig (*Cavia porcellus*) is an important animal in the Andean subregion since (Morales, 1994; DeFrance, 2000) because it is quickly bred. Guinea pigs play important roles in the Andean societies and people from different social classes have an important influence in culture.

Although guinea pig raising has been a mass production of *cuy*s outside the city of Cuenca, farmers have discovered the animals to subsidize their salaries. The increase of national and international tourism of the guinea pig as a traditional phenomenon. Thus, the city of Cuenca Centre, has seen an increase in tourism. It is also known for its gastronomy and has become one of the most high quality products such as mote (a type of hominy).

This chapter presents a case study of the prevailing contrast between the production of the guinea pig as food. D