

## The Relation Between Humans and Animals in Food Tourism

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**Abstract:** *Foie gras* is today one of the most contested foods. The animal welfare and rights movement disputes this product which is concurrently considered as part of heritage and embedded in tourism attractions. Technical anthropologists argue that the inclusion of animal in food involves the processes of moving the animal away, legitimising the killings and masking the animal origin of the food. However, these processes are challenged by the structural changes of society such as urbanisation and industrialisation which have also led to awareness of animal treatment and sensitiveness. Another outcome of these social developments is mobility and tourism is therefore an important metaphor of the contemporary social life. Food tourism has developed as a strategic standpoint to analyse food model dynamics. In regard to this perspective, we can question how the link between eater and animal is influenced by tourism experiences in rural territories. This study emphasises the role of the different types of rural relations in the construction of the sensibilities toward force-feeding and their adjustment during a rural experience: the tourism stay. Results show that the influence of the tourists' experience in the change of opinion about force-feeding varies according to the respondents' level of socialisation with the rural area, particularly the influence of the tourists' experience in the rural areas. For city-dwellers, local tourism experience and visits to animal farms contribute to the contemporary construction of the imageries and sensibilities toward farm animals. This paper concludes with implications for (i) individuals working in the production and valorisation of the *foie gras* sector and in the territorial development and tourism industry in rural areas; (ii) academic research on animal and food studies; and (iii) for hospitality and tourism educators and researchers.

**Key words:** Food, relations between humans and animals, tourism, metropolisation, mobility, sociology

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### Introduction

*Foie gras* is an important sector of the French economy, with almost 20,000 tons produced in 2011 and with a trade surplus of 42 million euros. But *foie gras* is, above all, today's most contested food. The Californian ban on force-feeding and distribution of *foie gras* on 1st July 2012 is certainly one of the most pregnant illustrations of the animal rights movement's awareness. *Foie gras* is a delicacy produced through force-feeding of ducks or geese. Therefore, the debate about this practice involves some economics issues in banning production, distribution or promotion of the product.

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However, the social issue related to this controversy is our main interest. This debate promotes two main, but not the only, groups of interests and arguments. On one hand, for the campaigners of animal welfare and rights, *foie gras* is chosen as an emblem to denunciate all animal abuses. They used the issue of force-feeding to open reflections on animal treatment in modern breeding conditions and about the human exploitation of animals. On the other hand, for producers, *foie gras* constitutes a cultural food specificity that has to be preserved as a heritage. This cultural valorisation leads to an integration of *foie gras* in several tourist attractions. A significant number of initiatives to embed *foie gras* in tourism have been launched such as farm visits, private or community museums, festivals, etc. Today, the importance of production and promotion of *foie gras* integrated in agritourism inspired DeSoucey (2010) who defines Sarlat (*Périgord, France*) as a “*Foie gras Disneyland*”. *Foie gras* was also declared “*patrimoine gastronomique et culturel français*”<sup>2</sup> by law in January 2006. Portrayed as such, *foie gras* illustrates what Eder described as “double structure” of modern experience and representation of nature: “*The double symbolisation of nature enters into the antagonism between cultivated land and wilderness. It produces the antagonism between dominance and protection of nature, and it produces the peculiar relationship to animals that is torn back and forth between meat and mercy.*” (1996: p. 147) In this context, we need to analyse how consumers’ opinions about force-feeding are influenced by the tourism experience.

This article is divided into four main parts. The first aims at introducing the conceptual backgrounds and model of this research including literature review; second at presenting the problem statement. The goal of the third part is to display major facts of the research protocol; The fourth parts presents some results and analyses on the force-feeding perception variability in relation to tourists’ experience of *foie gras*.

## Literature Review

This review is focused on social sciences developments about transformations of anthropozoological relations and heritage designation of food. After reviewing the literature on these two processes, we conclude this section by presenting the problem statement.

### *Anthropozoological Relations in Food Modernity*

Since its origins, social anthropology has been studying the relations between humans and animals. The different approaches can be organised according to a continuum opposing cultural materialism and idealism. In the cultural materialism perspective, culture is considered to encode the deliberate and pragmatic action of the human on the environment. In this perspective, food taboos (Harris, 1966; 1974) or anthropophagy (Harner, 1977) are interpreted as results of ecological constraints. In the opposite perspective, idealism considers human action on the environment as mediated by culture. Anthropological economics (Sahlins, 1976) or structural anthropology (Douglas, 1966; Leach, 1964; Lévi-Strauss, 1962) illustrate this position. The prohibitions are considered with attention in the analysis because they reveal the margins or the edge or the symbols of the studied culture. Douglas (1966) had clearly deployed this perspective on animal classifications in the *Leviticus*. In opposition with the cultural materialism approach,

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<sup>2</sup> French gastronomic and cultural heritage (our own translation).

the emergence of taboos has to be considered as a risk management strategy and maintenance of the established order.

There are a number of intermediary postures positioned as anthropology of symbolic practices and technological anthropology. If ecological determination is not excluded, it ensures a space for freedom of expression for collective and individual differentiation. Attention is given to variability of technics of domestication and processes for the conversion of living animal to food. The contribution of those perspectives is important in the understanding of the actions that allows for the construction of the palatable status of an animal as a process of domestication (Digard, 1988; 1990; Milliet, 1995), moving the animal away by that designation (Fabre-Vassas, 1993; Méchin, 1992; Milliet, 1995), of legitimisation of the killings and of masking the animal origin of the food (Vialles, 1987). For food socio-anthropologists, these transformation processes of living animals into food are considered as part of the “culinary system” (Fischler, 1990) or “food social space” (Poulain, 1997a; 1997b; 2007). They contribute to the regulation of food anxiety because of the ambivalence between life and death (Beardsworth & Keil, 1997).

Structural transformation of society—as industrialisation and metropolisation—involves an ambivalent relation with the animals, shared between humanisation of pets, sympathy toward wild animals—for example, areas of protection—and expansion of rationalised breeding—for example, production of meat. Extending these perspectives, Franklin (1999) considers that at the present time, relations between humans and animals are characterised by an ontological insecurity, by an accentuation of a misanthropic feeling and finally by a rise of animal-related risk assessment.

### ***Heritage Designation of Food and Tourism***

Heritage designation of food began at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and has developed through the connection between food and tourism established in France in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Csergo, 1996). Food heritage has been involved in the construction or the resistance of collective identities during the emergence of the nation-states (Poulain, 1997c). At the time of generalised mobilities, it can be conceived as a story telling of place and as a movement of re-localisation of food. For Poulain (2011), the heritage designation of food contributes to the institutionalisation of food as an academic research field and to the development of research about food tourism.

The study of food tourism was already foreseen by sociologists (Morin, 1962 ; Moulin, 1975 ; Poulain, 1997c), but research on this topic increased more recently, fifteen years ago by management and then by the sociology of tourism. Studies on food tourism mainly questioned the profits from food production, territorial marketing and development or market segmentation. Two dominant approaches can be identified depending on the point of view. One approach is to assess the conditions under which food in tourism can allow actors to create profit chains (OECD, 2012; World Tourism Organisation, 2003). A second approach focuses on food as a driver for regional marketing striving to attract new customer segments (Hall & Sharples, 2003; Hjalager & Richards, 2002; OECD, 2012; World Tourism Organisation, 2012). These studies have given visibility to the theme. However, while taking note of the selection made, the bulk of this work considers food solely as a tourist attraction. Food, through incorporation, constitutes more than just a marker of identity; it is an element of

individual and collective construction of identity (Corbeau, 1997; Fischler, 1990; Poulain, 2002). The idea of food-attraction is not taken into account.

From the social sciences perspective, a tourist is mainly considered a sightseer (Urry, 1990; 2000). As a result, studies exclude other senses involved in the tourism experience despite this perspective being recently challenged by the recent inclusion of the body within the sociology works (MacNaghten & Urry, 2000). Social sciences approaches can be divided into three main types. The first approach focuses on host societies and impacts of tourism on the social, economic, political and environmental aspects. Such studies are mainly interested in processes of convergence and fragmentation of food systems through dialectical relationship between tradition and modernity. Tourism is thus conceived as a factor of development or acculturation for host societies. Food tourism studies are mainly interested in the processes of changes in host societies like macdonaldisation (Ritzer, 1993) or innovation in cuisines. For example, the transformation of cuisines and production (Cohen & Avieli, 2004; Long, 1998), or the valorisation process and heritage construction of local foods (Bessière, 2001; Poulain, 1997c; Tibère, 2009) are analysed.

The second approach involves researchers who view tourism as a system of interactions of host sites and their visitors. Boniface (2003) developed this approach about history of the development of food and drink as a leisure destination and practical entities of these activities (production and display centres and venues, outlets and markets, etc.).

Finally, the third approach deals with research on tourists, their behaviour, experiences and imageries. In this approach, studies are interested in tourists and their food imageries and habits. The “tourist-eater” imagery has been considered as compensation for everyday life (Bessière, 2001). Some features of eating practices during a stay have been analysed (Chrzan, 2007; 2008; Everett, 2012; Poulain, McLaughlin, & Tibère, 2003; Vittersø & Amilien, 2011). Tourism is thus conceived as a factor of globalisation and as such could be designed as an advanced stand point to study “global modernities” (Featherstone, Lash & Robertson, 1995).

## Problem Statement

The *foie gras* dispute convenes campaigners of animal welfare and rights, ethnicists, stockbreeders, artisans, chefs, scientists, veterinarians, politicians, legislators, judges, lobbies, medias, citizens, consumers etc. *Foie gras*, because of force-feeding, is thus enrolled in a multiple process of (i) condemnation (by the changes of sensibilities toward animals), (ii) valuation (heritage designation and tourism staged), and (iii) regulation (by politics, science and embroilment in the justice system). It also raises two broader social issues: on one hand, using animal welfare and rights involves modern relations between animals and humans; on the other hand, *foie gras* constitutes a cultural food specificity and implicates heritage construction of food. As such, it constitutes an illustration of modern and ambiguous relations with nature (Eder, 1996) and therefore constitutes a critical standpoint to study food modernity (Ascher, 2005; Poulain, 2002).

On the one hand, the long-term structural transformations of society (as industrialisation, metropolisation) are involved in the development of an ambivalent relation between the city-dwellers and the animals, as technical anthropologists. On the other hand, in relation to the process of heritage construction, historical and socio-historical approaches have established the implication of structural changes of societies such as tourism and globalisation (Poulain, 1997c) in the designation of food as an heritage. Tourism bridges fundamental transformation of the mode of occupation and appropriation of the space, with some consequences in the

anthropozoological relations. Taking the stand of mobilities (Bourdin, 2005; Lussault, 2004; Stock, 2006; Urry, 2000), this approach could be extended to question food modernity as a poly-spatial experience.

In this context, understanding the dynamics of food models – as a specific configuration of ‘food social space’ (Poulain, 1997b; 2002) – requires us to consider these new modes of space occupation and appropriation. Is distinction between rural and urban areas still relevant in the comprehension of anthropozoological relations in food modernity? How are the sensibilities toward animal treatment and heritage construction of force-feeding adjusted through the tourism experience? And does this revamping depend on individual and collective experiences of the rural area?

## Methodology

An investigation was carried out to seek answers to our research questions. The protocol of the investigation is first detailed. The subsequent consideration was the distribution of opinions on force-feeding, their changes during tourism experience and impacts on tourism experience depending on tourists’ relations with rural areas. The results provide an insight into this issue of food models’ dynamics and anthropozoological relations in contemporary European societies.

Two sets of data were collected: first by in-depth interviews and observations during summer 2009 and second through a questionnaire during the summer of 2010. This analysis that follows focuses on the results of the survey. The questionnaire attempts to embrace the tourist experience in its dynamic dimension, for example, before and during tourism experience (Jafari, 1988). The questionnaire was translated into English using retro-translation technics and was non-personally administered to tourists visiting Dordogne during summer 2010 (July to October).

Two main variables have to be detailed according to the problem statement of this paper: experiences of the rural space (as independent variable) and sensibilities toward animal treatment and heritage construction of force-feeding (as dependent variable). According to the theories of social construction (Berger & Luckmann, 1967), experiences of rural area during childhood and relationships with animals have to be taken into account. Degree of urbanisation, both current and of childhood places of residence, was directly submitted to the respondents and could therefore be influenced by their own representations. Three modalities were proposed: urban, rural and suburban areas. To consider the experience of food production, the indicator of the presence of a member of the respondent’s family in the agriculture sector was selected.

Considering sensibilities toward animal treatment and heritage construction of force-feeding and their transformation, two-dimensional indicators were identified by the analysis of the controversy and during the in-depth interviews: opinion about the “natural” and “cultural” aspects of force-feeding. These two dimensions were used as indicators of Eder’s (1996) “double structure” of modern experience and representation of nature. On the “natural” dimension of force-feeding, respondents had to position themselves on the following continuum *“It’s natural: Geese and ducks naturally overeat vs. It is pushing things beyond natural limits”*. Regarding the “cultural” dimension of force-feeding, the continuum proposed was *“It is a cruel practice inflicted upon geese and ducks vs. It is a traditional heritage to be preserved”*. For each of these objections, respondents were asked to position themselves on a 6-point Likert scale plus a “no opinion”

option. The force-feeding opinions were approached through a double evaluation, before and during the tourism experience.

With the aim of allowing comparisons between inter and intra origins, stratified random sampling was chosen with three main origins of tourists from Dordogne in France, United Kingdom, and Netherlands (BVA, 2008). With the exception of the criterion of provenance and the number of days passed since the beginning of the stay in the region, all persons were welcome. The valid sample counted 662 observations, with 38.7% of the respondents coming from Great Britain and Ireland (256), 24.9% from Netherlands (165) and 36.5% from France (241).

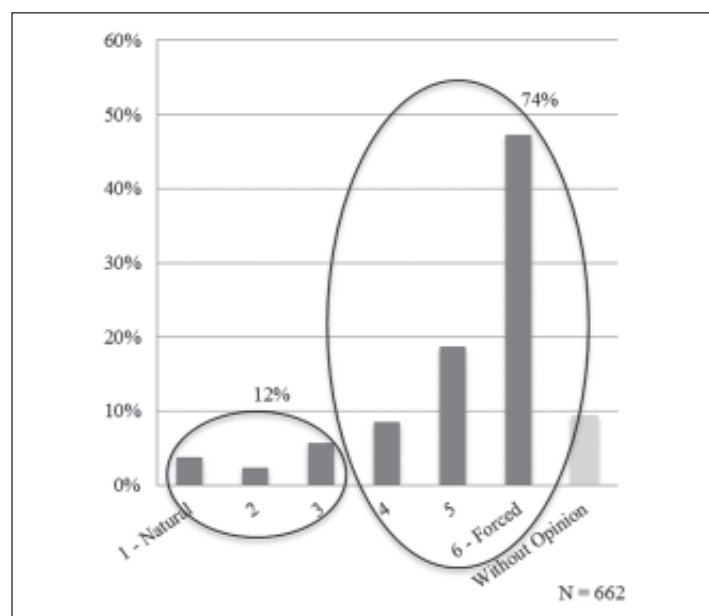
Statistical analyses were performed using SPSS Software (v 20.0). Cross tabulations were analysed using the Pearson Chisquare test. Statistical significance was set at  $P < 0.05$  with interpretations being based on the analysis of standardised residuals higher than an absolute value of 1.7.

## Results

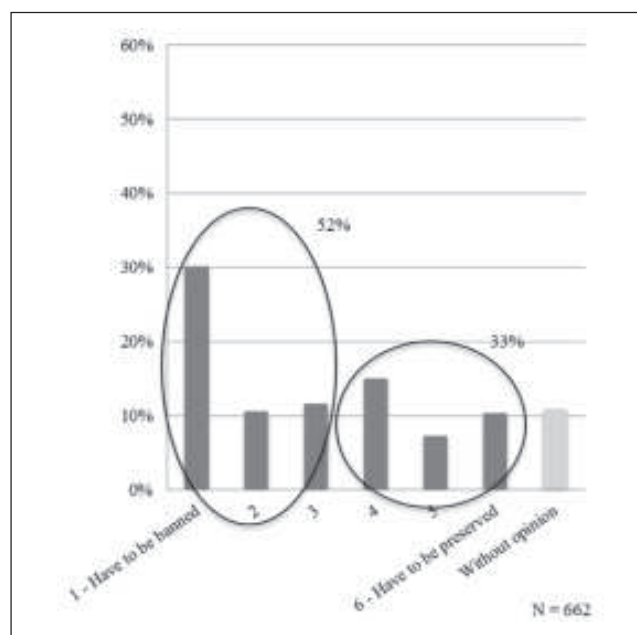
### *Opinions about Force-Feeding Are Differentiated by Rural Relations of the Respondents*

First, in relation to the “natural” dimension of the opinion about force-feeding before the tourism experience, we can notice that almost three-quarters of the population consider force-feeding as a practice that pushes things beyond natural limits. Only 12 % of the population think that geese and ducks naturally overeat.

Considering the “cultural” dimension of force-feeding, for half of the respondents, force-feeding is a cruel practice inflicted upon geese and ducks. For a third of the population, force-feeding is a cultural practice to be protected.



**Figure 1.** Opinion about “natural” dimension of force-feeding before the tourism experience



**Figure 2.** Opinion about “cultural” dimension of force-feeding before the tourism experience

Based on the literature review, cross-tabulations were carried out between the different indicators of rural relations and opinions about force-feeding before the tourism experience. Contrary to what one might think, the opinion about “natural” dimension of force-feeding was not correlated with the degree of urbanisation of current and childhood residence. In addition, there was no correlation between having a relative who worked or is still working in agriculture and opinion about force-feeding. This ascendancy of the opinion considering force-feeding (74%) as forced and the absence of differentiation according to the rural relations could be interpreted as a consequence of generalised urbanisation. This result could be interpreted as the consequence of loss of competences in managing relation with animals, including respondents with food production experience.

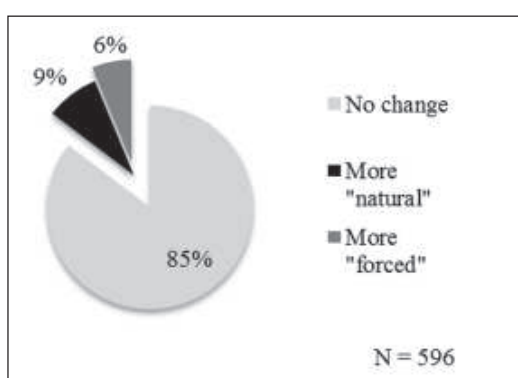
In contrast, there is a significant correlation between the opinion about “cultural” dimension of force-feeding before tourism experience and the degree of of the place of residence during childhood. We can notice that promotion of force-feeding for the “cultural” dimension is over-represented for respondents who have grown up in urban areas. This trend could be associated with a positive and aesthetic valuation of the primary socialised respondents in urban areas (Table 1).

### ***Opinions on Force-Feeding Change During Tourism Experience***

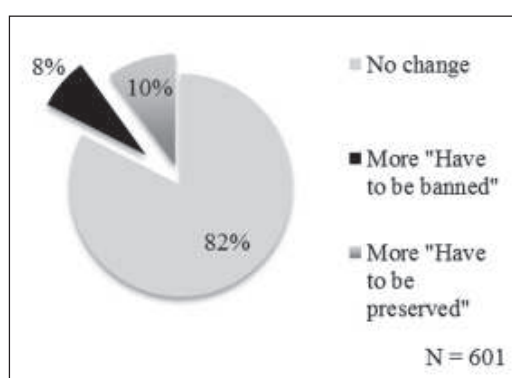
The measures of opinion on force-feeding were carried out at two periods: before the stay in the region and during the stay, at the time of the investigation. This double standard has been used to evaluate the transformation of attitudes for each dimension. Tourism experience does not deeply change opinions about force-feeding. In both cases, only about 15% of the population changed their opinions during the tourism experience. Following their tourism

**Table 1.** Cross-tabulation of opinion about “cultural” dimension of force-feeding before tourism experience and degree of urbanisation of childhood place of residence (N=651; P = 0.032)

Degree of urbanisation of childhood place of residence		Opinion about force-feeding before tourism experience		
		Have to be banned	Have to be preserved	Without opinion
Urban	s.r.	-1.5	1.8	0.1
Rural	s.r.	0.1	-0.4	0.4
Suburban	s.r.	1.5	-1.5	-0.6



**Figure 3.** Change of opinion about “natural” dimension of force-feeding during the tourism experience



**Figure 4.** Change of opinion about “cultural” dimension of force-feeding during the tourism experience

**Table 2.** Cross-tabulations of opinion change about force-feeding “Natural vs. Forced” and significant tourism experience with *foie gras* (N=592; P = 0.000)

Significant tourism experience with <i>foie gras</i>		Change of opinion about force-feeding		
		No change	More “natural”	More “forced”
No	s.r.	0.9	-2.7	-0.3
Yes	s.r.	-1.0	2.9	0.3

experience, a similar group of tourists shifted to a more critical or a more positive opinion about force-feeding (Figures 3 and 4).

Nevertheless, these transformations exist and analysing them allows for understanding the dynamics of ‘food models’. There is no correlation between different indicators of rural relations and changes of opinions about force-feeding. The transformation of opinion on the aspect of “natural” and “cultural” of force-feeding is strongly correlated with having participated to a significant tourism experience—that is seen at the market, eaten in a restaurant or with friends or family and having participated in a visit to a farm producing *foie gras* (Tables 2 and 3).



**Table 3.** Cross-tabulation of opinion change about force-feeding “Have to be banned vs. Have to be preserved” and significant tourism experience with *foie gras* (N=596; P = 0.009)

Significant tourism experience with <i>foie gras</i>		Change of opinion about force-feeding		
		No change	More “have to be banned”	More “have to be preserved”
No	s.r.	0.6	0.3	-2.0
Yes	s.r.	-0.6	-0.3	+2.1

These experiences tend to adjust public opinion about force-feeding as a more natural and cultural practice. Significant tourism experience of *foie gras* is a factor of change in the force-feeding opinions. Previous analyses show that opinions before the stay are mainly stable, whatever the rural relations of the respondents. Does this modification depend on the respondent’s socialisation with rural areas?

#### ***Changes of Opinions about Force Feeding During Significant Tourism Experience with Foie Gras Are Differentiated by Rural Relations***

Regarding the different modalities of rural relations (as test variables), there is no systematic correlation between significant tourism experience with *foie gras* and revamping of opinion, confirming the working assumption of different configurations or capacities depending on the rural relations. There is no systematic effect of significant tourism experience of *foie gras* with modification of “natural” evaluation (Table 4). When respondents have an urban socialisation, the change in opinion about force-feeding does not depend on tourism activities and the opinion about “natural” dimension is stable for respondents who have declared that they are living in a rural area. When respondents are currently living in suburban or rural areas, the change in opinion about force-feeding depends on having a significant tourism experience with *foie gras*. In these cases, opinion shifts towards a more “natural” evaluation of the practice of force-feeding when having a significant tourism experience with *foie gras*. Opinion is adjusted in the direction of a more “natural” evaluation of force-feeding.

**Table 4.** Cross-tabulation of opinion change about force-feeding “Natural vs. Forced” and significant tourism experience with *foie gras* with degree of urbanisation of current residence as a test variable (N= 577)

Degree of urbanisation of current residence	Significant tourism experience with <i>foie gras</i>		Change of opinion about force-feeding		
			No change	More “natural”	More “forced”
Urban	No	s.r.	0.4	-0.7	-0.7
	Yes	s.r.	-0.3	0.7	1.0
Suburban (+++)	No	s.r.	0.8	-1.8	-0.7
	Yes	s.r.	-1.0	2.2	0.8
Rural (++)	No	s.r.	0.4	-1.7	0.6
	Yes	s.r.	-0.4	1.9	-0.6

*Note.* Parentheses indicate standardised coefficients: (+)  $0.050 < P < 0.100$ ; (++)  $0.050 < P < 0.010$ ; (+++)  $P < 0.010$

In addition, when respondents said they have grown up in a suburban area, change in opinion does not depend on the tourism experience. However, when respondents said they have grown up in urban or rural area, the change in opinion about force-feeding differs from tourism activities (Table 5). In the case of respondents who have grown up in an urban area, adjustment of opinion about force-feeding depends on having a significant tourism experience with *foie gras*. Opinion is modified towards a more “natural” concept of the practice. But with respondents who had grown up in rural areas, modification of opinion about force-feeding depends strongly on having a significant tourism experience with *foie gras*. They adjust their opinions to a more “natural” evaluation of force-feeding.

**Table 5.** Cross-tabulation of opinion change about force-feeding “Natural vs. Forced” and significant tourism experience with *foie gras* with degree of urbanisation of childhood place of residence as a test variable (N= 584)

Degree of urbanisation of childhood place of residence	Significant tourism experience with <i>foie gras</i>		Change of opinion about force-feeding		
			No change	More “natural”	More “forced”
Urban (++)	No	s.r.	0.7	-1.7	-0.7
	Yes	s.r.	-0.8	1.7	0.7
Suburban	No	s.r.	0.3	-0.8	-0.4
	Yes	s.r.	-0.5	1.1	0.5
Rural (+++)	No	s.r.	0.5	-2.1	0.6
	Yes	s.r.	-0.4	2.0	-0.6

Both modalities of the test variable relative to agriculture are strongly correlated with the cross-tabulations between significant tourism experience of *foie gras* and the transformation of opinion about “natural” dimension of force-feeding and links with food production. The same attraction is noticed for the two modalities - that is, having or nohaving relatives in agriculture (Table 6).

For the “cultural” dimension, we can make quite similar observations: there is no systematic effect of significant tourism experience of *foie gras* on the change of opinion about force-feeding.

**Table 6.** Cross-tabulations of opinion change about force-feeding “natural vs. forced” and significant tourism experience with *foie gras* with members of family in agriculture as a test variable (N= 588)

Members of family in agriculture	Significant tourism experience with <i>foie gras</i>		Change of opinion about force-feeding		
			No change	More “natural”	More “forced”
Yes (+++)	No	s.r.	0.5	-2.0	0.4
	Yes	s.r.	-0.5	2.0	-0.4
No (+++)	No	s.r.	0.7	-1.9	-0.6
	Yes	s.r.	-0.8	2.1	0.6

Modalities “urban” and “suburban” are correlated with the modification of “cultural” dimension of the opinion of force-feeding depending on tourism experience. In this case, opinion changes in support of the heritage construction of force-feeding when having a significant tourism experience of *foie gras*. Opinions of the respondents who are living in rural areas are stable (Table 7).

**Table 7.** Cross-tabulation of opinion change about force-feeding “Have to be banned vs. Have to be preserved” and significant tourism experience with *foie gras* with degree of urbanisation of current residence as a test variable (N= 582)

Degree of urbanisation of current residence	Significant tourism experience with <i>foie gras</i>		Change of opinion about force-feeding		
			No change	More “have to be banned”	More “have to be preserved”
Urban (++)	No	s.r.	0.8	-0.3	-1.9
	Yes	s.r.	-0.7	0.3	1.7
Suburban (+)	No	s.r.	0.5	0.0	-1.4
	Yes	s.r.	-0.2	0.0	1.7
Rural	No	s.r.	-0.2	0.9	-0.2
	Yes	s.r.	0.2	-1.0	0.3

This trend is also observed for the respondents who declare themselves to have grown up in urban areas. Only this modality is strongly correlated with change in opinion when having significant tourism experience with *foie gras* (Table 8) and opinion changes in support of the heritage construction of force-feeding.

**Table 8.** Cross-tabulation of opinion change about force-feeding “Have to be banned vs. Have to be preserved” and significant tourism experience with *foie gras* with degree of urbanisation of the childhood place of residence as a test variable (N= 584)

Degree of urbanisation of childhood place of residence	Significant tourism experience with <i>foie gras</i>		Change of opinion about force-feeding		
			No change	More “have to be banned”	More “have to be preserved”
Urban (+++)	No	s.r.	0.8	0.1	-2.2
	Yes	s.r.	-0.9	-0.1	2.3
Suburban	No	s.r.	0.2	0.1	-0.8
	Yes	s.r.	-0.3	-0.1	1.0
Rural	No	s.r.	0.0	0.5	-0.3
	Yes	s.r.	0.0	-0.4	0.3

Finally, only the modality “no members of family worked or still work in agriculture” is significantly correlated with modification of opinion about “cultural” aspects of force-feeding based on having experienced *foie gras* during their tourism journey (Table 9). Respondents adjust their evaluation about force-feeding in the direction of “have to be preserved”. These

**Table 9.** Cross-tabulation of opinion change about force-feeding “Have to be banned vs. Have to be preserved” and significant tourism experience with *foie gras* with members of family in agriculture as a test variable (N= 593)

Members of family in agriculture	Significant tourism experience with <i>foie gras</i>		Change of opinion about force-feeding		
			No change	More “have to be banned”	More “have to be preserved”
Yes	No	s.r.	0.3	-0.4	-0.8
	Yes	s.r.	-0.3	0.4	0.8
No (++)	No	s.r.	0.5	0.6	-1.8
	Yes	s.r.	-0.6	-0.7	2.1

results confirm the valuation attitude and aesthisation of force-feeding as a cultural heritage for people distant from food production.

To conclude, the level of rural experience affects the significance of tourism experience with *foie gras* as reflected in tourists’ opinion shifts on force-feeding. Tourism experiences are a factor of modification of opinions on force-feeding for the respondents who are less rural socialised – according to the three indicators selected. This effect is more important for the heritage construction of force-feeding than for the sensible treatment of animals. It appears that tourism experiences related to *foie gras* strengthen the emergent values of predominantly urban areas. Here, we can see how this valorisation matches city-dwellers sensibilities.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, these results suggest implications for different stakeholders. They first concern those working in the sector of production and valorisation of *foie gras* and in the territorial development of the tourism industry in rural areas. For city-dwellers, significant tourism experiences related to *foie gras* have led to revamping of the opinion on force-feeding as a more natural and a more cultural practice, and finally more acceptable. Farm visits promote a privileged relation with ducks and geese. As noticed by Franklin, tourism experience contributes to the contemporary construction of an idealised representation on farm animals: “*the mythic farmyard of children’s books is replayed in the proliferation of hobby farms, backyard menageries and city farm, and through the purchase of free-range eggs, hormone free beef and ‘stress-free’ meats of all kinds.*” (1999: p. 127). Could those initiatives modify the global representations of *foie gras*? It is doubtful. Indeed, when opening their farms and demonstrating their knowledge, farmers aim at distancing their practices and their production from mediatised images of an industry (Cuntigh, Jullien & Smith, 2005). Here we have to consider the possibility of reinforcing a hiatus between the imagery of the traditional figure of the grandma force-feeding her individualised goose and mediatised or stolen images of force-feeding of battery-farmed ducks.

The second conclusion that can be drawn concerns food and animal studies. We can observe that force-feeding opinions, as indicators of modern experience and representation of nature, are little dependant on relations with the rural areas. However, the impact of

tourism experience on these opinions depends on tourist's spatial identity. In the context of the current debate about 'global modernities' (Featherstone *et al.*, 1995), these results demonstrate the importance of taking into account the poly-spatial dimension of "eater", including both structural determinants (as degree of urbanisation of residence) and global flows (as tourism mobilities) in the comprehension of modern relations between human and animals.

Finally, we noticed that tourism experience does not deeply translate food attitudes into opinions about force-feeding. This conclusion relates more broadly to hospitality and tourism education and research. Should we take it to mean that tourism and food have nothing to do together as a research scheme? Long-term transformations of *cuisines* and food models (Bessière, 2001; Csergo, 1996; Long, 1998; Poulain *et al.*, 2003; Poulain, 1997c; 2011; Tibère, 2009) invalidate this proposition. The level of the "tourist-eater" experience concerns shorter-term transformations. Here, the importance of food and dietary changes seem to be in relation with tourist-profiles according to the status of food in the journey (Bessière, Mognard & Tibère, 2012). In addition, we can make the assumption that cultural implications involved in opinions about force-feeding are too important to be transformed by a tourism experience without demonstrations on force-feeding. However, this survey does not allow us to investigate this hypothesis. In particular, the number of respondents and its distribution do not authorise us to assess the effect of the farm visits – with or without force-feeding demonstration—on adjustment of opinions on force-feeding. This hypothesis could be explored by a future investigation with more focus on visits to farms producing *foie gras* with force-feeding demonstrations.

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