

## PERCEPTION OF AND MOTIVATION FOR ATTENDING BULLFIGHTS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TOURISTS AND RESIDENTS

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### ABSTRACT

This article analyses the link between bullfighting and tourism, and the motivations and satisfaction of the attendees. It carries out a comparative analysis of tourist profiles and their motives for attending or not a bullfight. The aim is to analyse the variables influencing the satisfaction of attendees at bullfights. The results reveal significant differences between residents and tourists on the level of satisfaction, with higher levels for higher-income attendees, and in demographic variables, the motivation for attending bullfights and feelings about the life of the animal.

**Keywords:** bullfights; satisfaction; motivation; residents; tourists; comparative analysis

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## **Percepción de las corridas de toros y motivación para asistir: un análisis comparativo entre turistas y residentes**

### **RESUMEN**

Se analiza el vínculo entre la tauromaquia y el turismo, las motivaciones y la satisfacción de los asistentes. Se realiza un análisis comparativo de los perfiles de los turistas y sus motivos para asistir o no a una corrida de toros. El objetivo es analizar las variables que influyen en la satisfacción de los asistentes a las corridas. Los resultados revelan diferencias significativas entre residentes y turistas en el nivel de satisfacción, siendo más alto para los de mayor renta, y en las variables demográficas, la motivación y los sentimientos sobre la vida del animal.

**Palabras clave:** corridas de toros; satisfacción; motivación; residentes; turistas; análisis comparativo.

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Local festivals and events are known to have a major impact on the community from a social, economic and cultural point of view, especially given their potential for creating new tourism segments and developing the identity and image of a destination (Getz, 2008).

Although there are numerous studies of cultural events that analyse attendees' motivations and satisfaction (Crompton and McKay, 1997; Uysal and Li, 2008; Yolal *et al.*, 2012; Kruger and Saayman, 2016; Vinnicombe *et al.*, 2016; Duran and Hamarat, 2014; López Guzmán *et al.*, 2017; Lee *et al.*, 2004), bullfighting has not been scientifically analysed, and there are few studies that link bull-related events to tourism and other variables such as spectator satisfaction or motivation. These days, given the new attitudes towards events featuring animals and the current controversy surrounding them, it is undoubtedly essential to carry out a thorough analysis of the satisfaction of enthusiasts and non-enthusiasts and the motivations of tourists for attending this type of event. We should therefore *take the bull by the horns*, as a bullfighting enthusiast would say<sup>1</sup>, and analyse the different behaviours of the regular audience, as well as those who rarely attend, in order to aid the decision-making of all actors in the sector, and to give a new direction to such events, if necessary.

The bull is a symbol of Spain and even something of a national trademark. Bullfights are a big business that expanded due to tourist demand and, although they are controversial, they are still tourist attractions (Toti, 2011). The Spanish city of Cordoba in Andalusia has numerous tourist attractions that have been designated world heritage sites by UNESCO (The Mosque-Cathedral and the Historic Centre, the Courtyards Festival and the City of

<sup>1</sup> There are many expressions in Spanish that come from the world of bulls and bullfighting. For example, *coger al toro por los cuernos* is equivalent to the English "to take the bull by its horns", meaning "to directly confront a problem".

Medina Azahara), as well as an extensive bullfighting tradition that has long formed part of the cultural life of the city. Events held during the city's festival in May include bullfights.

The aim of this article is threefold: first to analyse the link between tourism and bullfights; second, to study the motivations and satisfaction of those attending this type of event; and third, to perform a comparative analysis of tourists based on whether or not they attend bullfights, by means of an empirical analysis in the city of Cordoba during the bullfights held in May 2018. To achieve these objectives, the article is divided into five sections, following this introduction: Section 2 presents a theoretical review of bullfighting and its relationship with tourism, Section 3 examines the tradition of bullfighting in the city of Cordoba, Section 4 explains the methodology, Section 5 presents the data and results, and the final section sets out the conclusions and implications of this study.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Bullfighting

Tourism and events featuring animals have traditionally been a feature in different countries and civilizations (Klien, 2011), and the bull—an emblematic animal in many regions of Europe—has a history of association with national tourism spanning many decades (Clarke, 2012). In Europe, the well-known bull culture was venerated by our predecessors, and many examples of it can be found, mainly in the early Mediterranean cultures (Marvin, 1988).

All around the world, we can find tourist shows involving oxen or bulls; for example, various festivals in Thailand and China include rituals with these animals, as Yates points out (2009). In Thailand, the *Royal Ploughing Ceremony* is held every year before the rice planting to predict the amount of rainfall and the yield. In this ceremony, the ox is used in a peaceful way, quite unlike the violence meted out to the bull in bullfights. However, it is worth noting an increase in Chinese bullfight spectators: 23rd October 2004 will go down in bullfighting history as the day on which a bullfight was held for the first time in China (Shanghai), albeit with some specifically Chinese features, since the death of the animals in the ring was eliminated from the spectacle.

Furthermore, Babb (1976) and Ward (1984) report on some festivals in Nepal involving the intersection of religion and animals, such as the *Gadhimai Festival*; held every five years, it includes the most controversial animal sacrifice in the world (about 200,000 animals were slaughtered in 2014). Approximately four million people take part in this festival. Participants believe that animal sacrifices to the Hindu goddess Gadhimai will put an end to evil and bring prosperity. After the festival, the meat, bones and skins of the animals are sold to companies in India and Nepal.

Ishii (2005) studies acculturation and bulls in Japan, pointing out that platforms are being created to boost this type of tourism in the country. A notable spectacle in Japan is *bull sumo*: unlike the man-versus-beast bullfights, this is a kinder version similar to sumo wrestling, in which two bulls, accompanied by their coaches, take each other on. *Bull sumo* has been a popular form of entertainment since the 12th century, a test of strength in which the animals try to twist the head of their rival and which ends when a bull sur-

renders before the force of its opponent. The event continues to this day in many places in Japan. location is Uruma in Okinawa, which holds about 200 fights a year, including a tournament to choose the strongest bulls.

Bull-related events can also be found in South Asia (Ponnu, 1984), such as the so-called *Jallikattu*, which is a sport that involves subduing bulls, practiced in Tamil Nadu, India. It is one of the most ancient celebrations in India. The challenge is to try to grab the large hump on the back of a bull set loose in a crowd, and cling on as the bull tries to break free. Participants hold on to the bull as long as possible, trying to stop it and remove the flags from its horns. The activity does not lead to the death of the bull. Moreover, one of the rules of the *Jallikattu* is that participants must not hit or hurt the bull in any way.

Until the late 1980s, there were bullfights in Zanzibar and on the neighbouring island of Pemba (Tanzania). There were no bullrings in either place, and the animals were not killed, nor were they specially-bred bulls like the Spanish or Portuguese fighting breeds (Gray, 1980). A subspecies of cattle called Zebu were used, an animal of Asian origin with a large hump. Participants fought and played with these bulls, rather like the Portuguese *forçados*. The custom was introduced to these two Indian Ocean islands centuries ago by Portuguese settlers, as Portugal extended its territories along the coast and the archipelagos of Tanzania (they were Portuguese colonies between 1505 and 1629).

Countries with a bullfighting tradition view the event as a contest with the bull that some authors regard as brutal or comic (Douglass, 1997). Others interpret it as an invisible show with an eye-catching stage facing the gallery but with a backstage that offers much to analyse (Douglass, 1997), after reducing it to fighting skills in the ring between man and animal (MacCannell, 1973).

Some authors take the view that without bullfights, the survival of an animal species would be called into question (Gunn, 2001). Other authors also focus on festivals without which various species of animals would be lost if they were not used for these shows: for example gamecocks in cockfighting (Marvin, 1984), beetles (Wannamontha, 2011), elephants (Pearson, 1984), tigers and lions (Cohen, 2012) as well as fights between bulls in Iran and the Persian Gulf (Al-Busafi, 2012), Kenya (Kabaji, 2008), South Korea (Park, 2012) and China (Luo, 2010). But in all these areas, there is no clear dividing line between entertainment and tourism, to the extent that the use of animals for tourism purposes can be justified without examining the ethical principles (Azare and Gulsen, 2013).

When it comes to changing the rules, every culture sees its own as having a weightier tradition than others (Shih, 2011), which influences the perception of bullfights. There are differences between the sexes in terms of the perceptions of these traditions, which could perhaps be explained by man's history as a hunter (Pink, 1997). Certainly, if we think about the history of humanity we have to apply anthropological (Geertz, 2003) and philosophical (Ortega y Gasset, 1960) theories to the observation of human behaviour. These philosophical and anthropological aspects may be biased according to modern contextual interests (Sell, 2002). Thus, from the point of view of the bullfighter who loves the animal—his brave adversary—even though he wants to kill it (Kimmelman, 2008) he experiences a mystical, sublime, existential (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006), and mysterious feeling by sacrificing the bull in the bullring (Eliade, 1971). However, there are exceptions like Portugal, where the bull does not meet its death at the hands of the bullfighter (Capucha, 1999).

It is difficult to classify bullfighting within the categories of tourism and culture (Cohen, 2014). Many authors would categorize it as folklore (Mitchell 1986), spectacle (Douglass, 1997) or even sport (Ponnu 1984), although most authors oppose the latter classification and do not see it as a fair fight between two opponents (Kimmelman, 2008), alleging a clear ignorance of the matter as there is no sport or competition (Sophie 2010). Others see it as a dance. The colourful *banderillas* (sharp, barbed sticks) and the *traje de luces* (literally “suit of lights”, the traditional clothing of bullfighters) glint in the setting sun. Everything is tightly controlled and produced for connoisseurs of the drama, where businessmen have set the contract for the bull’s end, with a president who bears witness to the outcome, and with the main actors—the bullfighter, the entourage, the lancers and the *banderilleros*—until the bull stumbles in a dance of death to his anticipated end (Marvin, 1988). Therefore, some authors see bullfights as an outrageous (Bailey, 2007) and bloody (Zara, 2013) spectacle.

The perception also depends on the point of view in question—whether a bullfighting enthusiast, family members, or the bullfighter himself (McCormick and Deleon, 1999)—although it may be strongly biased and depends on how spectators and various variables are analysed (Marvin, 1988). The origin of the spectators also plays a role: if they are foreigners, they have a substantially different understanding of the event from local or national spectators, which is a variable that should be taken in to account in any analysis (Josephs, 1996).

Bassedoga i Nonell (1996) notes that ignorance of the rules and the different times of the ritual makes it more difficult to understand the spectacle, and makes the death of the animal surrounded by hundreds of people cheering more incomprehensible. Lewine (2005) offers an understanding of bullfighting by detailing technical aspects, such as the different varieties of *banderillas* and other elements. Other authors claim that having some basic knowledge puts us almost at the level of experts, as if it were a work of modern art, about which your amateur opinion can be compared to that of an expert (Del Moral, 2003). Lewine (2005) also refers to the number of spectators who attend without really knowing how bullfighting works or many of the rules. Abella (1994) notes that these people, despite their ignorance, see it as something sublime, comparable to music or other arts.

Over the centuries, romantic writers have portrayed bullfighting as an art; indeed, in his travels around Spain, Hemingway declared that bullfighting is the only art in which the artist is in danger of losing his life. This prompted waves of Americans to seek out said art and to risk their lives by visiting Pamplona and running in front of the bulls during the festival of *San Fermín*. For his part, festival (Douglass, 1997). Other authors consider the bull as a kind of totem that is sacrificed and venerated by the masses (Mansour, 1997).

It is also important to analyse the people in Spain who are really interested in bulls, as some authors argue that they are already a minority given the change in tastes towards other hobbies such as videogames or football (Kimmelman, 2008). There also seems to be a declining trend because there has been no generational handover in terms of attendance at these shows (Chancellor, 2011), although there are no quantitative indicators that suggest a genuine crisis, regardless of attendance (Arbour, 2013).

There are various activities related to fighting bulls and their classification as a spectacle depends on the author in question. Thus, Douglass (1997) reports that there are up to 16 different bull-related traditions in Spain. Since the seventeenth century, the

“*toreo a pie*” (the practice of fighting bulls on foot rather than horseback) has stood out among these traditions (Sánchez, 2011). It has almost always been considered a recreational activity, but can often be viewed as an independent, for-profit, mass-oriented sector, appreciated by all social classes (Schubert, 2001). This major business offers many opportunities (Brandes, 2009), and the agricultural and livestock sector are very comfortable with the activity (Mitchell, 1986).

Some writers see in the suffering of the bull when it goes out into the ring a poetic contrast between darkness and light (Sophie, 2010): the clash between upholding tradition so as not to diminish the national identity and ensuring that centuries of cultural heritage continue to prevail despite modern trends (Lucas, 2008).

## 2.2 Tourism and bulls in Spain

The bull is a symbol for Spain and its tourism. It is present in festivals and can also be seen in the landscape, in the fields; for tourists from some countries, Spain is an exotic country (Brandes, 2009) and so it forms an important part of cultural tourism (Lucas, 2008). Hemingway did not realize the significance of being one of the pioneers in discovering this tourism, which decades later has become established as a major industry (Arbour, 2013). Americans made romantic trips to Spain to compare it with the writings of their favourite authors, making the country a focus of cultural tourism (Lewine, 2005). By the mid-eighteenth century, this romantic, exotic scenario was already evocative for tourists from countries with more purchasing power (Towner, 1985). Modern studies analyse the different elements drawing tourists to Spain, and the role played by writers and the press in this type of tourism (Castelltort and Mader, 2010).

Among the pros and cons of bullfighting, Read (2014) points out that it that can fill hotels and offer other advantages for a location, but the end of the event may mean that many novice viewers choose not to repeat the experience, and may spread the word about their negative experience, thus reducing tourism in the medium term. In the different countries where there are bullfights, it would also be worth carrying out a classification by regions, to observe the influence on their economy: none at all in Galicia (Santos and Trillo-Santamaría, 2017) but substantial in Catalonia (Tkac, 2014). Many authors talk about a tourist profile that combines a feeling of repulsion with art (Kimmelman, 2008), with the mixture of the two attracting some to the show (Chancellor, 2011).

The uncertain future of bulls in a Spain where tradition and modernity compete with one another was highlighted by the prestigious American weekly, *Newsweek*, on 14th September 2017. It points out that bullfights in Spain are currently at a critical juncture, following the growing rejection of this tradition that has sparked a conflict between two sides committed to winning the battle. The article by Kasper notes that the bullfighting tradition is increasingly being reduced to a “niche and political” topic, but that it continues to generate an excitement that is “impossible to ignore”.

The *Newsweek* article contrasts the fervour and romanticism in a bullfight held in Palma de Mallorca in July 2017, which involved the “one-eyed matador” Juan José Padilla, with the protests outside the bullring organized by animal rights activists. Unlike

the spectators, those activists see “nothing honourable” in the work of a bullfighter, with the author using the divide to depict the current duality in Spain with respect to bullfighting. Kasper highlights that this world-famous tradition finds itself “at a crossroads” following certain court rulings, noting that Spain still has “an existential (cultural) crisis to resolve” and that both parties are committed to prevailing over the other.

The article cites testimonies of bullfighters who defend it as a tradition and *a fair fight between man and beast*, although the *Newsweek* article points out that the use of the word “fight” is problematic, since in the vast majority of bullfights, all six bulls are put to death while the bullfighters are left unscathed.

One of the immediate effects of the entry into force of *Law 18/2013, of 12th November, on the regulation of bullfighting as cultural heritage*, was the inclusion of bullfighting festivals in the *Survey of Cultural Habits and Practices in Spain*, carried out every four years by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports. The first and so far, only survey in which this subject appears is the 2014–2015 series. It reveals the limited public support for these events, with only 9.5% of respondents indicating that they had attended a bullfight in the previous year. Iñigo Fraile, Secretary of the *Unión de Toreros* (Bullfighters Union, or UT by its initials in Spanish) does not see this information as worrying—far from it in fact. He claims that this percentage is a positive result for a leisure activity and bearing in mind that such activities are the first to be cut out in times of crisis. The survey also draws attention to the fact that 2 out of 10 people who have attended such a show admitted to having done so using a free ticket. The Secretary of the UT does not give much credibility to this information. While 9.5% of respondents did attend a bullfight, 90.5% did not. Among the reasons they state for not doing so, 40% claimed they had no interest in it and 20% said they did not understand it.

The *Popular Legislative Initiative* presented to Congress in 2013 called for bullfighting to be declared a *cultural asset*, claiming that it contributed 350 million euros to the public coffers in VAT each year, and created 200,000 jobs. Furthermore, according to a report drawn up by the *Asociación Nacional de Organizadores de Espectáculos Taurinos* (National Association of Bullfight Organizers), the sector contributed 3.5 billion euros to the economy in 2014.

Of the 52 Spanish provinces, 10 have broken their ties with bullfighting (data from April 2018). Of the remaining 42, most of the bullfights are concentrated in just two: Madrid with 251 and Toledo with 128. Between the two, they represent 24% of the total bullfights held in Spain. Along with Salamanca (92), Ávila (82) and Cuenca (79) they account for almost 80% of all the bullfights in the country. Castile-La Mancha and Castile and Leon are the top two autonomous communities when it comes to holding this type of event, followed by Andalusia, Madrid and Extremadura. This distribution has remained unchanged since there have been official statistics on it (since 2011). At the same time as the decline in bullfighting events, the government approved the aforementioned law for the regulation of bullfighting as cultural heritage. However, in the preamble of the legislative text, societal support for said decision is couched in the following terms: “*Spanish society is very diverse, and this diversity includes great enthusiasts, as well as many citizens who have expressed their concern for the treatment of the animals during bullfights*”.

### 3. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT AND BULLFIGHTING TRADITION IN THE CITY OF CORDOBA

Cordoba is a city and municipality in Andalusia, Spain. It is capital of the province of the same name, and is located in a dip on the banks of the Guadalquivir River and at the base of the Sierra Morena. With 325,916 inhabitants in 2018, it is the third largest and most populous city in Andalusia after Seville and Malaga, and the 12th in Spain. Its metropolitan area comprises eight municipalities, with a population of 363,326 inhabitants, the 23rd most populated in Spain.

In 1984, UNESCO included the Mosque-Cathedral of Cordoba in its list of World Heritage Sites, and a decade later the World Heritage declaration was extended to the entire historic centre. The Courtyards Festival of Cordoba was declared Intangible Cultural Heritage in December 2012, and in 2018 the palace-city of Medina Azahara, in the outskirts of the city, was also declared a World Heritage Site.

Bulls in all their manifestations, understood as ritual or recreational sport, have formed part of the Iberian culture since before the country now known as Spain was founded. Thus, a city such as Cordoba has an archaeological bull-related history dating back to Iberian and Roman times. Indeed, it had the largest Roman amphitheatre in Spain, where in the first century gladiators fought one another as well as a variety of animals, including bulls.

There is an evident similarity between a bullring and a Roman amphitheatre: physically, in terms of their round shape, and functionally, as the two sites provided—or still provide—entertainment to the people. The city had a number of seventeenth-century writers and exalted poets, such as Góngora, who extolled the bullfights of that time.

Cordoba's bullfighting tradition and art have centuries-old foundations. Bullfights are unmatched in terms of the number and different types of works they have inspired in the artistic fields: in history, literature, novels, poetry, painting, drawing, sculpture, engraving, signage, music, journalism, theatre, cinema and even in speech, as it is an art that has a language all of its own that has managed to work its way into the social lexicon (e.g., Spaniards say "*cambiar de tercio*" when they want to change the subject, referring to the three distinct stages or *tercios* in a bullfight). Bullfights are an intrinsic part of the history of Spain, and their influence has spread to Portugal, to the south of France and to South America.

Bullfights in Cordoba are held during the Nuestra Señora de la Salud May Fair, which is an entertaining event for all ages, with shows including contests, live concerts, flamenco performances, bullfights, etc.

As of May 2018, bullfights are now of diminished relevance in a land that has traditionally been the birthplace of bullfighters, but it seems that this status is being steadily eradicated. People go less often to bullfights, as was evident at the 2018 Nuestra Señora de la Salud May Fair. During the four days of festivities, around 16,000 people gathered in the Cordoba bullring. The largest crowd was on Saturday, with 7000 people, while the *rejones* (bullfighting on horseback) on Sunday drew the smallest crowd, with 4500. The 2018 Fair has gone down as the one with the fewest events celebrated and the smallest presence in the stands.

In the rest of Spain, there has also been a notable drop in the number of attendees, especially because of the increase in prices and the decrease in the quality of the events, which were strongly affected by the economic crisis. But the ageing of the average audience is also evident, as these events have not been able to capture the attention of younger generations. The high costs of tickets and season passes, and the growing distaste among younger generations for torturing animals, have visibly worn down a spectacle that has not found a way to update itself for modern times. During local festivals, many more people attend music concerts than the afternoon *novilladas* (bullfights for novices and young bulls), which generally do not average more than about 200 spectators.

The sector's companies and agents make the case that these declines are generally due to the shortage of funds in the municipal coffers, but they can also be explained by other indicators unrelated to the economic crisis, which show Spaniards' increasing lack of interest in bullfights. This waning interest, along with the loss of quality and spectators who follow the events, have led to the cancellation of many television broadcasts. The audience share, the indicator that measures television audiences, reveals that televised bullfights have lost 200,000 viewers on regional channels and 400,000 on national ones.

#### 4. METHODOLOGY

In order to analyse the current situation of the bullfighting sector in Spain and the city of Cordoba, personal interviews were conducted with tourists and residents. In the first part of the study, we attempt to identify the motivations and the level of satisfaction, as well as the variables that influence the latter. To that end, fieldwork involving questionnaires was carried out by experts in the bullring in Cordoba, during the three days of festivities of the 2018 Nuestra Señora de la Salud May Fair. A total of 222 valid questionnaires were obtained in the bullring.

The second part of the study compares the motivations and profile of the tourists who attend this event with those who do not. In this case, the number of valid questionnaires obtained was 343.

The questionnaires were drawn up with reference to the scientific literature on motivation and satisfaction in events and festivals (Crompton and MacKay, 1997; Uysal and Li, 2008; Yolal *et al.*, 2012; Kruger and Saayman, 2016; Vinnicombe and Sou, 2017; Duran and Hamarat, 2014; López Guzmán *et al.*, 2017; Lee *et al.*, 2004; Chang, 2006) and based on the intrinsic characteristics of bullfights.

The questionnaires used in the first part of the study were distributed to bullfight attendees 30 minutes before the end of the show and collected by the interviewers as they were completed. Each questionnaire took about three minutes to complete and consisted of 27 questions written in Spanish, English and French. The questions related to demographic variables, including sex, age, educational level, income and whether the person was a tourist or resident in Cordoba; bullfighting variables (level of interest; for or against the death of the bull); and questions on motivation and satisfaction. To analyse these last two variables a Likert scale was used, ranging from 1 (low) to 5 (high). The motivations for attending the bullfight are classified into three categories: relaxation (to disconnect from everyday life,

have new experiences), bullfighting (I like the bullfighters and the animals involved) and city (another stop on my tourist itinerary, and the renown and reputation of the city for tourism).

The questionnaires for the second part of the study were also written in Spanish, English and French, with the same variables as in the first part. They were conducted on the same days as the bullfights held in May 2018, and were administered to people who were outside the bullring, in the main tourist sites of the city.

The results obtained in the first part of the study were processed using SPSS. A descriptive statistical analysis and a regression model have been applied to determine the effect of the different variables on the spectator's level of satisfaction with the bullfighting, both overall and depending on their place of residence (resident in Cordoba or tourist). In the second part, a descriptive statistical analysis and a multivariate logistic regression model were conducted to determine the variables that are associated with attending a bullfight and that have a statistically significant effect.

## 5. RESULTS

With respect to the first part of the study, the final study sample comprised 222 people, of whom 72.5% are men and 27.5% women, aged between 19 and 80 years with an average of 36.3 years ( $SD = 15.9$ ). The highest percentage corresponds to university graduates, although 29.3% have no studies or only elementary studies (Table 1).

**Table 1**  
**DESCRIPTIVE DEMOGRAPHIC, BULLFIGHTING AND MOTIVATIONAL VARIABLES**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Resident</b>	<b>Tourist</b>	<b><i>p</i>-value</b>
<b>Sex</b>				0.729
Male	161 (72.5)	86 (73.5)	75 (71.4)	
Female	61 (27.5)	31 (26.5)	30 (28.6)	
<b>Age</b>	36.3 (15.9)	35.9 (17.1)	36.9 (14.54)	0.643
<b>Educational level</b>				0.197
No education /Primary/Lower Secondary	65 (29.3)	38 (32.5)	27 (25.7)	
Upper Sec/Vocational	59 (26.6)	34 (29.1)	25 (23.8)	
University	98 (44.1)	45 (38.5)	53 (50.5)	
<b>Income</b>				0.151
<€700	20 (9)	13 (11.2)	7 (6.7)	
€701 - €1,000	30 (13.6)	17 (14.7)	13 (12.4)	

€1,001 - €1,500	59 (26.7)	30 (25.9)	29 (27.6)	
€1,501 - €2,500	58 (26.2)	34 (29.3)	24 (22.9)	
€2,501 - €3,500	32 (14.5)	16 (13.8)	16 (15.2)	
> €3,501	22 (10)	6 (5.2)	16 (15.2)	
<b>Level of interest</b>				0.386
Major enthusiast	83 (37.4)	48 (41)	35 (33.3)	
Enthusiast	66 (29.7)	29 (24.8)	37 (35.2)	
Spectator	62 (27.9)	34 (29.1)	28 (26.7)	
No bullfighting knowledge	11 (5)	6 (5.1)	5 (4.8)	
<b>Death</b>				0.818
NO	189 (85.1)	99 (84.6)	90 (85.7)	
YES	33 (14.9)	18 (15.4)	15 (14.3)	
<b>Motivation</b>				
Relaxation	3.55 (1.09)	3.72 (1.06)	3.36 (1.08)	0.114
Bull-related	3.74 (0.86)	3.75 (0.86)	3.73 (0.87)	0.851
City	3.23 (1.29)	3.26 (1.24)	3.2 (1.36)	0.741
<b>Satisfaction</b>	3.8 (0.87)	3.71 (0.89)	3.9 (0.84)	0.105

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Almost half of the respondents have a monthly income of over 1500 euros, with small numbers of high- and low-income respondents, both groups representing around 10% of the total. Most interviewees consider themselves well-versed in bullfighting, and it is noteworthy that a sizable majority do not want to eliminate the death of the bull from the event.

With regard to the primary motivations for going to the event and the level of satisfaction with it, the main reasons for attending are related to bullfighting. However, motivations such as relaxation or part of a tourist visit to the city record high scores that are not very different from those for bull-related motivations. Satisfaction with the bullfight in general is high, above 3.7 on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (very dissatisfied) to 5 (very satisfied).

Table 2 shows the results of the regression models run to determine the effect of demographic, bull-related and motivational variables on the level of satisfaction with bullfights, overall and in relation to residence.

Table 2  
EFFECT OF DEMOGRAPHIC, BULLFIGHTING-RELATED AND MOTIVATIONAL VARIABLES  
ON LEVELS OF SATISFACTION WITH BULLFIGHTING SPECTACLES

Predictor	Total			Residents			Tourists		
	B (ET)	t	p-value	B (ET)	t	p-value	B (ET)	t	p-value
Gender (Female vs. Male)	-0.17 (0.12)	-1.38	0.169	-0.29 (0.17)	-1.71	0.091	-0.07 (0.17)	-0.41	0.684
Age	0.02 (0.01)	-0.89	0.374	0.01 (0.01)	-0.4	0.691	-0.01 (0.01)	-1.5	0.137
Education	-0.12 (0.07)	-1.79	0.076	-0.09 (0.10)	-0.89	0.375	-0.13 (0.09)	-1.35	0.181
Income	0.10 (0.04)	2.3	0.023	0.03 (0.06)	0.54	0.593	0.11 (0.06)	2.19	0.031
Residence (Visitor vs. Resident)	0.29 (0.11)	2.8	0.006						
Understanding of bullfighting	-0.07 (0.06)	-1.05	0.294	0.01 (0.08)	-0.03	0.975	-0.16 (0.09)	-1.77	0.08
Prohibit killing (Yes vs. No)	0.05 (0.16)	0.29	0.776	0.26 (0.23)	1.15	0.252	-0.13 (0.23)	-0.55	0.587
Motivations									
Relaxation	0.08 (0.07)	1.15	0.253	0.20 (0.10)	2.02	0.046	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.74	0.463
Bullfighting-related	0.37 (0.08)	4.89	<0.001	0.39 (0.12)	3.33	0.001	0.28 (0.10)	2.86	0.005
City	0.02 (0.06)	-0.02	0.987	0.04 (0.08)	0.5	0.619	0.06 (0.09)	0.63	0.531
R <sup>2</sup> (%)		22.9			27.8			21.4	
Model		F (10.204) = 7.361; p < 0.001			F (9.105) = 5.869; p < 0.001			F (9.90) = 4.16; p = 0.001	

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Overall, the resulting model was statistically significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) and explains 22.9% of the variance. The demographic variables that were found to have a significant effect on the level of satisfaction were income level ( $p = 0.023$ ) —high levels of income are associated with high levels of satisfaction; and being a resident of the city ( $p = 0.006$ ) (being a resident increases the level of satisfaction). With regard to the motivations for attending a bullfight, those related with the event itself showed a significant effect ( $p < 0.001$ ), such that greater bull-related motivation is associated with high levels of satisfaction.

After dividing the sample into residents and tourists, the models were found to be statistically significant in both cases. For residents, the percentage of variance explained is 27.8%, with the motivational variables' relaxation ( $p = 0.046$ ) and bull-related aspects ( $p = 0.001$ ) being those that show a significant effect on the level of satisfaction. In both cases, high levels of motivation due to relaxation and bull-related aspects are associated with high levels of satisfaction. None of the demographic or bullfighting variables showed a significant effect.

For the tourist sample, income level is found to have a significant effect on the level of satisfaction ( $p = 0.031$ ): high income levels are associated with high levels of satisfaction. Of the motivational variables, bull-related motivation is positively and significantly associated with the level of satisfaction ( $p = 0.005$ ); thus, high levels of motivation relating to this aspect are associated with high levels of satisfaction.

With respect to the second part of the study, the final sample contains 343 tourists (147 attended a bullfight and 196 did not) of whom 69.4% are men and 30.6% women, aged between 19 and 80 years old. As shown in Table 3, more tourists over the age of 45 (60.7%) and with a primary level of education attend bullfights than younger tourists (20.4%) and university graduates.

**Table 3**  
**DESCRIPTIVE DEMOGRAPHIC, BULLFIGHTING AND MOTIVATIONAL VARIABLES**

	Total	Bullfight	
		No	Yes
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	238 (69.4)	117 (49.2)	121 (50.8)
Female	105 (30.6)	79 (75.2)	26 (24.8)
<b>Age</b>			
< 45	152 (44.3)	121 (79.6)	31 (20.4)
≥ 45	191 (55.7)	75 (39.3)	116 (60.7)
<b>Educational level</b>			
Primary / Lower Secondary	84 (24.5)	26 (31.0)	58 (69.0)
Upper Secondary/ Vocational	82 (23.9)	34 (41.5)	48 (58.5)

	Total	Bullfight	
		No	Yes
University	177 (51.6)	136 (76.8)	41 (23.2)
<b>Income</b>			
<€700	75 (21.9)	39 (52.0)	36 (48.0)
€700-1000	100 (29.2)	66 (66.0)	34 (34.0)
>€1000	168 (49)	91 (54.2)	77 (45.8)
<b>Origin</b>			
Spanish	210 (61.2)	87 (41.4)	123 (58.6)
Foreign	133 (38.8)	109 (82.0)	24 (18.0)
<b>Overnight stay</b>			
Yes	182 (53.1)	196 (62.6)	147 (37.4)
No	161 (46.9)	114 (50.9)	68 (49.1)
<b>Transport</b>			
Own car	265 (77.3)	82 (55.5)	79 (44.5)
Other	78 (22.7)	147 (62.8)	118 (37.2)
<b>Motivations</b>			
Relaxation	3.41 (1.02)	3.53 (1)	3.26 (1.04)
Bull-related	3.82 (0.88)	3.86 (0.92)	3.76 (0.81)
City	3.25 (1.33)	3.4 (1.28)	3.04 (1.38)
<b>Problem with distance</b>			
Yes	79 (23)	57 (72.2)	22 (27.8)
No	264 (77)	139 (52.7)	125 (47.3)
<b>Distance travelled</b>			
< 100	110 (32.1)	43 (39.1)	67 (60.9)
100-300	85 (24.8)	44 (51.8)	41 (48.2)
> 300	148 (43.1)	109 (73.6)	39 (26.4)
<b>Death</b>			
No	156 (45.5)	26 (16.7)	130 (83.3)
Yes	187 (54.5)	170 (90.9)	17 (9.1)

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Almost half of the respondents have an income of over 1000 euros, and it is the lowest- and highest-income tourists, as well as Spanish tourists, that most go to bullfights. As it is mostly Spanish tourists who attend this event, they register fewer overnight stays than tourists who do not attend. The most commonly-used means of transport is the tourists' own car, regardless of whether or not they attend the event.

Regarding the principal motivations for attending the bullfight, it can be seen that the main reason is bull-related. However, high scores are also registered for relaxation or as part of the tourist visit to the city, with scores not very different from bull-related motivations; as can be seen in the sample, 147 attend the bullfight and 196 do not.

For most tourists, distance is not an issue when it comes to attending a bullfight (77%); it is the tourists that attend the event who are willing to travel fewer kilometres, because they are mostly Spanish tourists living with a greater geographical proximity. In answer to the question "Would you eliminate the death of the bull? there are clearly two positions depending on whether or not respondents attended the bullfight: those who did attend would not eliminate the killing (83.3%) while those who did not attend said that they would (90.9%).

Table 4 shows the result of the multivariate logistic regression model conducted to determine which variables are associated with attending a bullfight. The regression was performed using the forward selection (Wald) method; the table thus shows the variables that have a statistically significant effect. The demographic variables that were found to be significant were sex, age, educational level, income and origin. Thus, being male ( $p = 0.012$ ), older than 45 ( $p < 0.001$ ), and having an income below ( $p = 0.011$ ) or above ( $p = 0.031$ ) the average (€700-1000) increase the probability of going to a bullfight, whereas having university-level education ( $p = 0.020$ ) reduces the probability of going to a bullfight.

**Table 4**  
**FORWARD LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL (WALD)**

	<b>B (SE)</b>	<b>Wald</b>	<b>OR (CI 95%)</b>	<b>p-value</b>
<b>Sex</b>				
Female	Ref			
Male	0.82 (0.32)	6.37	1.82 (1.21 - 2.32)	<b>0.012</b>
<b>Age</b>				
< 45	Ref			
≥ 45	1.93 (0.31)	39.69	6.92 (3.79 - 12.62)	<b>&lt; 0.001</b>
<b>Educational level</b>				
Prim. / Lower Sec.	Ref			
Upper Sec./Voc.	0.11 (0.43)	0.07	0.90 (0.39 - 2.06)	<b>0.799</b>
University	-0.98 (0.42)	5.41	0.38 (0.17 - 0.86)	<b>0.020</b>

	<b>B (SE)</b>	<b>Wald</b>	<b>OR (CI 95%)</b>	<b>p-value</b>
<b>Income</b>				
€700-1000	Ref			
<€700	0.69 (0.27)	6.49	2.00 (1.21 - 3.85)	<b>0.011</b>
>€1000	0.76 (0.35)	4.65	2.13 (1.58 - 3.14)	<b>0.031</b>
<b>Origin</b>				
Foreign	Ref			
Spanish	2.14 (0.32)	43.71	8.52 (3.51 - 6.08)	<b>&lt; 0.001</b>
<b>Overnight stay</b>				
Yes	Ref			
No	0.12 (0.06)	4.21	1.21 (1.08 - 2.05)	<b>0.040</b>
<b>Transport</b>				
Other	Ref			
Own car	0.26 (0.11)	5.77	1.39 (1.09 - 2.68)	<b>0.016</b>
<b>Motivations</b>				
Relaxation	0.12 (0.22)	0.28	1.13 (0.73 - 1.74)	0.600
Bull-related	0.27 (0.08)	10.26	2.02 (1.63 - 3.73)	<b>0.001</b>
City	-0.48 (0.19)	6.12	0.62 (0.43 - 0.91)	<b>0.013</b>
<b>Problem with distance</b>				
Yes	Ref			
No	0.43 (0.14)	9.66	1.84 (1.11 - 2.45)	<b>0.002</b>
<b>Distance (km)</b>				
< 100	Ref			
100-300	0.16 (0.08)	4.16	1.32 (1.09 - 2.44)	<b>0.042</b>
> 300	-0.04 (0.38)	0.01	0.96 (0.46 - 2.01)	0.909
<b>Death</b>				
Yes	Ref			
No	1.34 (0.50)	7.08	3.82 (1.43 - 10.26)	<b>0.008</b>

OR: odds ratio. CI: confidence interval. Model:  $\chi^2(24) = 127.32, p < 0.001$ .  $R^2$  Nagelkerke = 0.434

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Regarding the origin of the visitor, being Spanish ( $p < 0.001$ ) increases the probability of attending a bullfight. The significant variables for transport, overnight stays and distance indicate that people who do not stay overnight ( $p=0,040$ ), who come in their own car ( $p=0.016$ ) and travel a distance of 100-300 km ( $p=0.042$ ) but do not consider it an issue ( $p=0.002$ ) are more likely to go to a bullfight than the people who spend the night, use other means of transport and have to travel farther ( $>300$  km). The motivations that

are significant for the tourist attending a bullfight are bull-related ( $p = 0.001$ ) and as part of the tourist visit to the city ( $p=0.013$ ), with relaxation not being significant. As far as animal rights awareness is concerned, it is clear that those who attend the fights would not eliminate the death of the bull ( $p=0.008$ ).

## 6. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In order to enhance the image and cultural identity of a tourist destination, it is essential to identify the events and festivals that are an intrinsic part of its culture, and to analyse whether they have any potential as tourist attractions or whether it would be better to suppress them. The type of event we analyse in this article (bullfighting) has not been scientifically investigated in the tourism field. Despite a sharp fall in the popularity of attending this type of event due to the treatment of the animal, there are still tourists who go to bullfights. Therefore, in order for economic agents involved in this sector to take the appropriate actions that yield greater benefits for the community, it is necessary to compare the profile of the tourist who attends such events with the profile of the tourist who does not.

The results show that the typical bullfight attendee is a university-educated man, with knowledge of bullfighting, who does not want to eliminate the death of the bull and who is satisfied with the event. Attendees' level of satisfaction is higher when they are resident, have a higher income level and are more motivated by bull-related reasons.

Furthermore, there is a clear difference between the profile of the tourist who attends the bullfight and the one who does not. The tourist bullfight attendee is typically a man, Spanish, over 45 years old, with a level of income above or below the average (€700-1000), who uses his own car to travel and does not spend the night in the city. His primary motivations are bull-related and he is not in favour of eliminating the death of the bull. Conversely, the tourist who does not attend is typically a woman, a foreigner, under 45 years old, with university studies, whose main reason for being in Cordoba is to visit the city and relax, and is opposed to the death of the bull.

These results are very useful for gaining a better understanding of the profile of the tourist who goes to this type of event. They can thus help the economic agents involved in this sector to develop marketing strategies that are better suited to their customers and can yield greater benefits for various tourist destinations that have bullfights.

Among the reflections we present in this article is the question of what has happened to the Spanish bullfight, both from the point of view of those who participate in it and from those radically opposed to it being held. Has the bullfight really become an occasion for the few, something detached from and in opposition to the official culture? Are we facing a phenomenon that could be described as counter-cultural? What in previous centuries was considered a well-attended popular festival, now in the twenty-first century faces the challenge of ensuring its own survival.

The most notable limitation of this study relates to the survey methodology and the geographical area of study, which makes it difficult to generalize the results. Future studies could focus on doing the same work in different cities where this type of event is held in order to carry out comparative analyses.

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