

# HERITAGE OR CRUELTY? THE CONFLICT OF VALUES AMONG SUPPORTERS AND PROTESTERS OF BULLFIGHTING TRADITIONS



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## ABSTRACT

Bullfighting has always been a controversial topic in Spain. Spaniards either support it or repulse it, not many seem indifferent when being asked about their opinion about bullfighting traditions. However, little is known about the reasoning behind the attitudes towards bullfighting.

This thesis aims to review some of the results of previous bullfighting studies and try to find out the underlying values in the Spaniards that support bullfighting or protest against it. For this purpose, I used a survey as a quantitative method, which included open questions that served as qualitative data. It was elaborated after the literature review of different social psychology theories with particular emphasis on Schwartz's Theory of Cultural Value Orientations, and it was distributed through social networks.

1640 Spaniards participated in the survey during the 35 days it was available online. By checking the survey distribution and analysing the data obtained with SPSS, I found out that: I) Spaniards with profiles in social networks against bullfighting were very active in sharing the survey and had a keen interest to prove that most Spanish people are against bullfighting. II) Women are more likely to be against bullfighting than men. III) Most Spaniards agree with the membership of Spain in the European Union, and some would be supportive of a European regulation of bullfighting events. IV) Spaniards who identify with left-wing political parties are more likely to be against bullfighting. V) Most Spaniards identify with egalitarianism, intellectual autonomy and harmony values and tend to think about the common interest, especially those against bullfighting. VI) Spaniards who get economic benefits out of bullfighting activities are more likely to support bullfighting compared to those who do not get economic benefits out of bullfighting.

**Keywords:** *Bullfighting, Spanish culture, Spanish traditions, Spanish politics, Spanish history, Spanish identities, analysis of Spanish values, Schwartz's Theory of Cultural Value Orientations*

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## 1 KEY TERMS

**Antitaurino/s:** in singular without “s” and plural with “s” refer to the protester/s of bullfighting events. The term “*antitaurino*” can lead to misunderstandings due to the meaning of the word itself: “against the bull” when its real meaning is to be against all kinds of events that harm the animal, and therefore seek its protection.

**Becerradas:** Bullfighting events usually held in small locations during the festivals of the town or village. Heifers and calves aged one year or less, play with the locals or are mistreated by them (depending on who talks about it, the first version would be according to *taurinos* and the second version according to *antitaurinos*). The neighbours spear the animals with spears and hurt it until the animal dies.

**Capeas:** Bullfighting events made with heifers where bullfighting fans can participate and play with the animal. They take place in local or portable bullrings. The animal is not killed during these events, and the animals participate again in similar festivities all over the country.

**Ciudadanos:** Center right-wing Spanish political party. Its leader is Albert Rivera. It currently holds 32 seats in the Congress.

**Correbous:** Type of Toro embolado or Toro enmaromado (see below) in Catalonia and Valencia regions.

**Corrida/s:** in singular without “s” and plural with “s.” Bullfighting event that takes place in a bullring by professional bullfighters. It dates from the eighteenth century, and it was initially established in southern Spain. The bullfighter directs a team of men that help him dominate the bull to kill it at the end.

**Encierro/s:** in singular without “s” and plural with “s”. Type of bullfighting spectacle that consists in: letting bulls or calves out in the streets or a local bullring so any person can run with them or test their bravery and skills with the animal.

**ERC:** Catalanian left-wing Republican Party acronym for Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya

**INE:** acronym for Instituto Nacional de Estadística, the National Statistics Institute of Spain

**IU:** acronym for Izquierda Unida, it is a left-wing party led by Alberto Garzón, currently allied with Podemos.

**La Tortura No Es Cultura:** Torture Is Not Culture is a social platform that defends animal rights in Spain.

**PACMA:** acronym for Partido Animalista Contra el Maltrato Animal. It is the animalist party in Spain founded in 2003.

**Podemos:** Left-wing Spanish political party whose leader is Pablo Iglesias. It has 71 seats in the Congress together with Izquierda Unida (IU) in the group: Unidos Podemos.

**PP:** acronym for Partido Popular and previously named Alianza Popular (AP). It is known as Popular Party or People’s Party. It is a centre right-wing political party currently led by Mariano Rajoy, the Prime Minister of Spain since 2011. The party has currently 134 seats in the Congress.

**PSOE:** acronym for Partido Socialista Obrero Español. It is a centre-left-wing party, now led by Pedro Sánchez, voted by the members of the party in May 2017. It currently holds 84 seats in the Congress.

**Rejoneo:** Type of bullfighting that involves a horseback rider, who is often a member of the aristocracy, who wears a country outfit and who spears the bull until he tries to kill it.

**Taurino/s:** in singular without “s” and plural with “s” refer to the supporter/s of bullfighting events. They are also called “*aficionados*”, fans of bullfighting.

**Toro de San Juan:** a local version of *encierros* in Coria, Cáceres. Twelve bulls run in the streets of the village and later, one by one, are taken to the local bullring. After the *encierros* that last for a maximum of two hours, the bulls are killed with a shot. This shot is an exemption of the Law to protect animals of the Extremadura government.

**Toro Júbilo:** a local version of a bullfighting event in Medinaceli, Soria. The bull is tied to a post by its horns and a plank of wood attached to a metal bar doused in pitch, a combustible. This plank is fired, and the bull runs around with the plank over its head for around 45 minutes when it is taken out of the ring by local people.

**Toro de la Vega:** Local version of a bullfighting event in Tordesillas, Valladolid. The bull was attacked with spears until its public death. From 2016 and onwards, the event changed the name to Toro de la Peña and forbade to kill the bull in public, but still allows to spear and attack the animal inflicting damage. The picture on the cover is taken during this event.

**Toros embolados:** Local version of bullfighting where the bull is put two balls of fire, one in each of the horns. In Catalonia, they are called: "*bous embolats*" or "*correbaus*".

**Toros enmaromados:** Local version of bullfighting where the bull is tied with a rope by the horns. In Catalonia, they are called: "*bous capllaçats*" or "*correbaus*".

## 2 MOTIVATION

This research project is first and foremost a study of the values and particular characteristics of Spaniards in an attempt to find out if those are related to their opinion about bullfighting and other local traditions with bulls, heifers and calves.

I am Spanish, born in Valladolid but lived most of my life in a small village of around 1000 people named Fuensaldaña. My personal life experience has led me to the desire of better understanding the reasons behind why bullfighting is such a polarised event.

I was initially intrigued about this topic in my early childhood, where I could observe the different reactions towards bullfighting; either people showed a very active interest or no interest at all. I remember my grandparents taking me to a crowded local bullring when I was 4 or 5 years old during the festivals of the village. I remember going to look for my grandfather at the local bar, full of middle-aged and old men smoking and playing cards while watching *corridos* on national television.

Afterwards, in my adolescence, I could experience the efforts that many citizens of my village made in the local council to bring heifers for the village festivities. One of the reasons for them was the fact that other villages around had heifers in their festivities and they wanted our village to be at the same level regarding bullfighting related events. They also believed it would attract more visitors to the local festivities. The local town hall

yielded the suggestions and a village that did not celebrate *encierros* for many years started redoing it. I could see that many people with no previous interest in heifers just go to watch them. I realised then that if many small villages have these bullfighting events, they are moving quite a lot of money in the country. It still amazes me that in many town halls there is no money for making the villages more accessible to improve the daily life of the neighbours, for instance. However, there is money to have heifers in the village a couple of days a year<sup>1</sup>.

Many would argue that bullfighting is politicised, even though it is not part of any political party programme except for PACMA's. It is up to local town halls to decide whether or not offer bullfighting events and how much of the budget spend on it.

It seems like supporters and protesters do not speak the same language. When they are defending their positions; *taurinos* describe bullfighting with terms such as: "the national celebration", "art", "beauty", "Spanish identity", "heritage". *Antitaurinos* use "the national shame", "cruelty", "old-fashioned times", "barbarous" and "to be European".

Several people manifest prejudices –negative attitudes-, discriminatory behaviours and stereotyping connected with supporters and protesters of bullfighting.

This study aspires to add knowledge and insight into the Spaniards' values and a deeper understanding of individuals and their attitudes towards these traditional festivals. Many protesters would even disagree to use terms such as "festival" or "celebration" to describe these events. In this thesis, the terms will be used interchangeably without pretending to offend anyone and trying to be objective about the treatment of the topic.

<sup>1</sup> Putting my village as an example, bullfighting events represent 25% of the budget for the festivities of the village (it is typical in Spain that every year villages celebrate festivities from 3 to 4 days up to a week or even two). In this year 's festivities, with a total budget of around 40000 euros, a bit more than 10000 euros will be used for bullfighting. To have an idea of the bigger picture, in this case, bullfighting events represent 2% of the yearly budget of the town hall.



### 3 INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Bullfighting and all its versions are controversial topics in Spain, each region has its own rules, and while it is forbidden in Canary Islands and Catalonia, it is promoted in other regions. A recent example is the Balearic Islands, in July 2017, the regional parliament approved a new law that forbade *rejoneo*, the mistreatment and the death of the bull during *corridas*. The proposition initiated by the political groups of PSOE, Podemos and the ecologist left regional party Més, was modified not to invade the national competencies that declare bullfighting as cultural heritage. Even with the negative votes of PP and Ciudadanos that consider the regional law close to being unconstitutional, the law was passed (Bohórquez, El País, 2017). The case of the Balearic Islands shows the discrepancies between political parties but also the power that the regional governments have in bullfighting. One of the reasons why the topic is controversial is because it is differently regulated in the regions and what is allowed in a part of Spain can be forbidden and even economically punishable in another part of the country, at the same time, bullfighting is declared national heritage in the whole country.

Every third year, the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports elaborates a document based on the Survey of Cultural Habits and Practices in Spain, about the National Statistics Plan. In this study, there is a part related to bullfighting practices. It provides information about the number of people who attended bullfighting events in the past year, sex, age, region, the size of the city, the level of studies and working situation. In the last study which covers the period 2014-2015, the main reasons Spaniards claimed for not attending bullfighting events were the lack of interest, time or the difficulty to understand it. However, little is known about the reasons behind the lack of interest of many Spaniards not to share the enthusiasm of many others about the “Fiesta Nacional” (National Celebration), a common term used to describe *corridas*.

The main purposes of this research are: to find out if there are significant differences in the values of supporters and protesters of bullfighting, to check if there is any relationship between bullfighting and political views as well as to confirm or deny some of the results of previous surveys about bullfighting.

Taking Carrie B. Douglass’s nineties research as a starting point; I will investigate if some of her statements still apply nowadays. For instance: Do men still like bullfighting more than women? Do right-wing voters seem to be more likely to support bullfighting than left-wing voters? However, my research goes further. I want to find out the underlying values behind the attitudes toward bullfighting mainly using Schwartz’s Theory of Cultural Value Orientations. It will help me to answer the following research question:

## How can Spaniards' polarised views on bullfighting events be explained?

The first group of hypotheses based on Ipsos Mori's research in 2015 seeks to verify if it is true that there are more *antitaurinos* than *taurinos* in Spain and if it is true that women are less interested in bullfighting than men are.

H1: The percentage of Spaniards involved in social networks with a negative attitude towards bullfighting is significantly higher compared to that of those with a positive attitude towards bullfighting.

H2: Spanish women are more likely to reject bullfighting compared to Spanish men.

The second group of hypotheses are based on the nineties research by Douglass. Her book is a rich source of hypotheses about bullfighting. She explained that *antitaurinos* claim that bullfighting is against Spain's modernisation, and consequently, Europeanization. If *antitaurinos* look forward a more European and modernised Spain, it might be a possibility that they would support an EU regulation of bullfighting, this inspired hypothesis number three.

H3: There is a relationship between supporting Spain's membership in the EU and being for an EU-regulation of bullfighting.

Douglass (1997) also wrote about the relationship between traditional Spain, who likes bullfighting, with right-wing political parties. It would be interesting to verify if this politicised view of bullfighting has a ground and for this purpose, I present hypothesis number four.

H4: Spaniards who reject bullfighting are more likely to be positioned to the left of the political spectrum compared to Spaniards who support bullfighting.

The third group of hypotheses is related to values based on Hofstede's individualism and collectivism and Schwartz's Theory of Cultural Value Orientations. The research I am proposing here has not been done before; there are no previous public studies which try to find out if *taurinos* and *antitaurinos* have a different set of values.

H5: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with individualistic values compared to those who support bullfighting.

H6: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with intellectual autonomy values compared to those who support bullfighting.

H7: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with egalitarian values compared to those who support bullfighting.

H8: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with harmony values compared to those who support bullfighting.

Finally, I present a hypothesis about the economy. It not based on previous research, but on the common belief that if a person's family economy depends on an industry, the person is likely to support it.

H9: Spaniards who get economic benefits out of bullfighting activities are more likely to support bullfighting, compared to those who do not get economic benefits.

To be able to contextualise the reader into the author's Spanish background, I dedicated a chapter to contemporary history and politics in Spain as well as the internet and social media usage due to the online distribution of the methodology tool.

The methodology used to get data about the participants was a carefully made survey, whose results gave me information about some of the participant's characteristics, values and political views. Also, my survey contained open questions that served as qualitative data.

Schwartz's Theory of Cultural Value Orientations was the main source for the survey questions about values. Inglehart's modernisation theory, Hofstede's individualism versus collectivism, Sherif's Realistic Conflict Theory and Tajfel's Social Identity Theory also served to create other questions in the survey.

The time frame and the use of social media to distribute the survey limited the reach of participants. To my surprise, the total number of participants was much higher than expected; once I shared the survey, it was impossible to control its distribution in social networks. The fact that the survey was voluntary and the strong interest of *antitaurinos* in proving that the majority of the population rejects bullfighting has to be looked carefully in the interpretation of the results.

The paper is structured as follows: The following part is chapter four, it provides a background, which includes a small history review related to bullfighting mainly based on the research of Douglass (1997). It also includes a resume of Spanish politics to contextualise the creation of PACMA and the use of social media in Spain to explain the type of participants that had access to the survey and therefore are more likely to be part of this research. Chapter five describes the social psychology theories that served me to elaborate the survey. The sixth chapter is the methodology that includes the explanation of

the research hypotheses, validity, reliability and limitations and ends with the structure of the survey. The seventh chapter is the analysis of all the hypotheses using SPSS, and finally, chapters eight and nine include a discussion about the results and the conclusion of the thesis, followed by the bibliography.

There are two appendices: the English translation of the distributed survey that was in Spanish and the graphs that show the results of the survey.

This study aims to serve future research providing a better understanding of the characteristics and reasoning of those Spaniards who support bullfighting events and the ones who fight for their prohibition.

## **4 BACKGROUND**

This chapter will cover a historical review of the past decades in Spain with regards to the political situation and its relation to bullfighting. It aims to contextualise the creation of PACMA in the political scene. Also, since the primary methodology tool in this research is a survey distributed on Facebook and Twitter, the chapter ends with an overview of Internet access in the country and the relationship between Spaniards and social media, focusing on the social networks of Twitter and Facebook. Finally, I will explore the popularity of the main political parties in this research study in the mentioned social networks.

### **4.1 “THE TWO SPAINS” AND BULLFIGHTING**

Most Spanish accept Spain as a nation. However, some emphasise the regions. If you ask a Spanish person where does he/she come from, some would initially just say from Spain, while others would directly answer the region. For many, it is important to place a stronger emphasis on identifying themselves with the region or city instead of the nation.

This identification with the whole of Spain or the particular area could have its origins during the Restoration Regime (1875-1923), and it accentuated during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

In the Restoration Regime, there were two different projects for the country, one liberal and one traditional. The first one, the Republican version had ideas coming from the French Revolution. The second one was more conservative and Catholic. At the end of the XIX century, many educated Spanish believed that Spain was behind other European

countries and claimed the need of regeneration and Europeanization, while the conservative forces accused the reformers of “denationalising activity” (Humblebæk, 2015).

This discourse relates to the Spaniards against bullfighting, who see the activities involving bullfighting as an impediment to Spain’s Europeanization. While supporters claim that bullfighting is Spanish culture and part of the identity of the country (Douglass, 1997).

Just before the Civil War, the left-wing Republic granted autonomy to Catalonia and the Basque Country, and this was one of the factors that initiated the war. During the Civil War, the rebels were “the right”, who called themselves the Nationalists and fought against the ones who would destroy the nation, according to them, the Republicans or “the left”.

In the 1985 movie “The Heifer”<sup>2</sup>, based during the Civil War, we can see how the nationalists are related to the celebration of bullfighting events. The plot shows how the Republicans try to steal the heifer that is going to be the main attraction of the festivals of the village where the nationalists are based (Azcona & García Berlanga, 1985).

During Franco’s dictatorship after the Civil War, the following mottos could summarise Franco’s ideas about the country: “¡Arriba España!” meaning “Spain up!” and “España es Una, Grande y Libre” meaning “Spain is One, Great and Free” (my translations).

This view of Spain as “One” denied the possibility of any separatism and centralised all power. The term “Great” was a reference to the colonial times where Spain “conquered” America. The word “Free” meant that no other country would influence Spain.

For some, Spain as such would only be Madrid region and its surroundings, representing the old Kingdom of Castile from back in the XV century. Those who believe that the old Castile is trying to impose its view of the country in regions like Catalonia and the Basque Country reject the idea of a centralised Spain.

The second article of the Constitution defines Spain as a nondivisible nation that acknowledges and guarantees the right to the autonomy of the nationalities and regions (Spanish Constitution, 1978). It assumes the unity of the regions while emphasising the diversity of all of them. The article also shows an “unclear political consensus regarding the relationship between Spain and the regions attempting to combine Spain’s unity and plurality” (Humblebæk, 87:2015)

<sup>2</sup> Original Spanish title: “La vaquilla”

Therefore, it is possible that the expression that considers bullfighting the “National Celebration” (my translation of Fiesta Nacional) brings problems to the table (Douglass, 1997).

To sum up the situation of bullfighting during Franco’s dictatorship, local versions of bullfighting were forbidden while *corridos* incremented considerably, becoming a must for tourists visiting Spain. *Corridos* were related to the nationalists, the political right, who won the Civil War. Republicans, considered the political left, were known to be against bullfighting (Douglass, 1997)

Until the end of Franco’s dictatorship, Spain and Europe were portrayed as antagonists. However, even with Franco’s strategy of nationalising the country, Spaniards had a strong desire of becoming more European. The positive image of Europe in Spain still applies nowadays.

In her interpretation of the information in the Standard Eurobarometer 84 Autumn 2015 by the European Commission, González- Enríquez (11:2017) explains:

*“Spain is below the EU average in its citizens’ feelings of “attachment to their country (by 4 points) while it clearly exceeds the average in their attachment to the EU (by 7 points)”*

The results of my survey will also show the general support that Spaniards have for the membership of Spain in the EU.

The next part of the chapter will be a summary of current Spanish politics and how the lacks of animal rights defence in the programs of the main parties, pushed the creation of the animalist party PACMA.

## **4.2 THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE CREATION OF PACMA**

Since the eighties, Spain has been governed by PSOE and PP in turns, and both parties summed up most of the votes, actually creating a two-party system.

In 2001, some unknown assaulted an animal shelter facility and cut the legs of 15 dogs and let them bled to death and there were no means to punish or make anything about it. This event was one of the critical situations that pushed the creation of PACMA. According to the founders, the situation back then did not facilitate the protection of animals in Spain.

First, the name of the party focused on being *antitaurino*; afterwards, they changed the name to refer to its commitment with the mistreatment of animals in general. The name of

the party is since then: “Partido Animalista Contra el Maltrato Animal”, known with the acronym PACMA. In 2003 they appeared for the first time as a party only in two local elections, later, in 2004 they got 64.947 votes for the national Senate.

The evolution of PACMA is closely related to the campaign for the abolition of *Toro de la Vega* in Tordesillas. According to Kepa Lozano, coordinator of PACMA in the Basque Country, the abolition of *Toro de la Vega* has been the most important campaign of the party so far. He also remarks the collaboration of PACMA in the Platform La Tortura No Es Cultura. Together they organised the biggest demonstration against bullfighting in Spain, which took place the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 2010 in Madrid. On September 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017, they have programmed another demonstration whose motto is: Mission Abolition (of all bullfighting events).

During the 2000 decade, another relevant party nowadays, Ciudadanos was founded. It was in the year 2006 in Barcelona. The party also called the orange party due to the colours of its logo, aimed to mobilise Catalanian people who did not vote. In the regional elections of 2006, they got the support of around 90.000 voters. The party’s results continued to increase, as we will see later in the results of the 2016 elections (Ciudadanos, 2017).

The last six years have been hectic as never seen before in Spanish politics. In the spring of 2011, after a demonstration, some of the participants decided to camp in Madrid’s famous square of Puerta del Sol demanding a more participative democracy, away from the two-party system. These protests extended to the whole country creating the “15M movement” that three years later impelled the creation of a new left party, Podemos.

In November 2011 José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero had to advance the elections, and PSOE lost a lot of support, giving Mariano Rajoy, the leader of PP the victory with an absolute majority. At this point, Spain was already suffering the effects of the economic crisis. The Spanish banking sector received a bailout of 40 billion euros from the European Union. The PP government put into practice many austerity measures that were not very welcomed by many Spaniards.

Many Spanish people are dissatisfied with politics, the justice system and the high levels of unemployment. It might be one of the reasons for the establishment of new parties led by a younger generation of politicians. These circumstances can also relate to the shift from Materialist to Postmaterialist value priorities of the Spaniards that brings to table political issues and new political movements (Inglehart, 1997).

In May 2014, a few months after its creation, the new party Podemos surprised the whole country getting more than 1.2 million votes for the European Parliament Elections. A political science university professor, Pablo Iglesias, leads the party. Left-wing coalition

governments that include Podemos as one of the coalition partners can now be found in the government of the main cities like Barcelona and Madrid, showing the strength of the new political party in the cities with larger populations.

A few days later, in June, King Juan Carlos I<sup>3</sup> abdicated, leaving the throne to his son, Felipe VI, who has the challenge to re-conquer Spaniards' opinion of the monarchy after his father's many scandals and the corruption case that involves his sister Cristina and his brother in law Iñaki Urdangarín. According to the book *Conspiracies*, the transfer of power in the monarchy was perfectly planned with the leaders of PP and PSOE to avoid the public demand for a referendum on monarchy or republic in the country (Cintora, 2017).

In the national elections of December 2015, PP was the most voted party with 28,7% of the votes, despite this, PP could not start a government because of the opposition of PSOE, which got 22% of the votes, and other political forces. The two-party system PP-PSOE got the lowest result in the history of Spain's democracy. Podemos came in 3rd reaching 20,6% while Ciudadanos, led by a jurist named Albert Rivera got close to 14% of the total votes. As no group managed to agree and form a government, Mariano Rajoy, the acting President, called re-elections set to June 2016 (Elecciones Generales, n.d.).

PP got 33% of the votes, PSOE 22%, Ciudadanos 13% and Podemos joined forces with Izquierda Unida becoming "Unidos Podemos" got 22% of the votes.

PACMA got 284.848 votes becoming the first extra-parliamentary force. The Spanish way of distributing seats in the Congress follows d'Hondt method. In the case of one single constituency, PACMA would have gotten four seats in the Congress. This system would also benefit Unidos Podemos and Ciudadanos, which would get 3 and 15 seats more respectively. PP would lose 17 seats, and PSOE would lose 3. The votes for PACMA to the Senate exceed 1.2 million, but it still has no representation because provinces do the division of the seats, which benefits regional and big parties.

To sum up this political overview of Spain, there is a political change that is trying to break the constant duopoly between the two largest parties, PP and PSOE. The new parties already in the Congress, Ciudadanos and Unidos Podemos will indeed fight to change this system in the future. The development of PACMA could indicate a future representation in the Parliament giving them the power to push initiatives further to

<sup>3</sup> The Royal family has had a close relationship with bullfighting events. The mother of former King Juan Carlos I, was a big fan of *corridos* and so is Juan Carlos I, his daughter Elena and her children. It is possible to see them attending *corridos* and handing in prizes related to professional bullfighting activities. However, since Felipe VI became king, he has shown a lack of interest for attending *corridos* and this has been criticized by *taurinos* who claim the importance of the monarchy supporting the "national celebration", despite of personal interests (Lorca, 2016).



protect animals and towards the prohibition of bullfighting events. In general terms, politicians will also have to revise the 1978 Constitution considered “rusty” by many Spaniards (Ávila López, 2016).

#### 4.2.1 Political parties and their views about bullfighting

The French philosopher Francis Wolff declared that in Spain bullfighting is politicised and it is dangerous that it gets forbidden because *“today is the bull after will be gastronomy, hunting, fishing...”* (Wolff F. , 2010) Not only Wolff believes that bullfighting is politicised, but it is also typical to get involved in politics when having a conversation about bullfighting.

Initiatives to stop bullfighting can come from members of any party, as it happened in the Canary Islands. In 1991, a representative of a regional party, promoted an Animal Protection Law that forbade bullfighting, his initiative barely got support, and he was even expelled from his party and became a member of PP. Afterwards, the law was approved. He claimed that the Canary Islands did not have a bullfighting tradition and personally, he would ban bullfighting in all the country (Fernández, 2010). Even if supporting bullfighting is related to right-wing parties, this is an example that it is not always like that.

After a period of controversy, in 1997, the Spanish Supreme Court declared the bull silhouette of a popular brand of brandy integrated with Spain’s landscape (Galgo, 2013). Nowadays, it is still possible to find giant black bull billboards along the roads of the country, and they are declared national artistic monuments (Humlebæk, 2015).

The largest political parties have not clear public information on their websites or their programmes about their opinion about bullfighting. The regional journal Heraldo of Aragón, published in 2015 an article about the views about bullfighting of each party that I summarise below:

PP approved bullfighting as cultural heritage and promotes that it becomes World’s Heritage by UNESCO. According to Ramón Celma, PP’s member of the Congress:

*“Bullfighting is an asset to protect in a cultural, ecologic and economic level. A corrida, besides what the show itself represents, has a repercussion that deserves to be valued (...) Bullfighting must be an artistic branch that does not relate to political colours”* (my translation) (Clavero, 2015).

In March 2017, the Spanish Government (PP) reduced the VAT for live cultural shows such as theatre, ballet, concerts and bullfighting from 21% to 10% which put bullfighting in the spotlight and created once more, a public debate about bullfighting in Spain.

PSOE respects bullfighting celebrations and remarks the freedom of each citizen to decide his/her opinion about it. PSOE also acknowledges the economic repercussion of bullfighting (íbid, 2015)

Ciudadanos do not want to open an exclusive debate about the mistreatment of the bull. The party believes that a discussion on animal protection, in general, is needed, not exclusively related to the tradition and cultural expression particularly (íbid, 2015)

Podemos has in their political program some measures to protect animals, but none of them is specific about bullfighting. As an example of these actions is the promotion of animal adoption and animal protection laws. Besides, they do not consider bullfighting a priority in public spending (íbid, 2015)

Izquierda Unida manifests a clear opinion about bullfighting: "Totally against it". Raúl Ariza, a member of IU in the region of Aragón, adds that if they get access to power in the region of Aragón, one of the measures would be to stop subsidising any bullfighting-related show (íbid, 2015)

Among the many proposals in the programme of PACMA is to stop *corridos* as well as local bullfighting events, any events that mistreat bulls are essential elements of the existence of the party (PACMA, 2017)

The controversy of bullfighting in Spain can be explained due to the many different festivities related to bulls, heifers and calves all over the Spanish territory and the various points of view for each one of them. As the National Official Bulletin (BOE) claims, the difficulty of the regulation is due to the complexity, some different versions and the impossibility of regulating every single step, as each of these steps also depends on other rules (my translation) (Ministerio de Justicia e Interior, 1996).

Some of the points that create most controversy are the destination of public funds to maintain bullfighting and the privileges given to bullfighters and bullfighting entrepreneurs in tax declarations.

PP and PSOE voted in 2014 in the European Parliament for maintaining the economic subsidies towards bullfighting. This financial help from the European Union was as high as 130 million euros a year. A year later the EU Parliament cut the subsidies for the

Common Agricultural Policy, and it stated that “*funds should not be used for the financing of lethal bullfighting activities*” (Badcock, 2015).

In October 2016, the Spanish Congress voted to maintain bullfighting as cultural heritage; this was possible due to the affirmative votes of PP and the regionalist party of Navarra, UPN (Unión del Pueblo Navarro) and the abstentions of PSOE and Ciudadanos.

The initiative to remove bullfighting as cultural heritage was promoted by the Catalanian left-wing Republican Party ERC and was supported by Unidos Podemos. ERC claimed that the bull suffers during the *corridas*. Unidos Podemos explained their support of this initiative due to the decline in the number of fans attending bullfighting. At the same time, Unidos Podemos pointed out to ERC that they didn’t understand what the measures used by ERC to determine the panic of the animal in a *corrida* which according to ERC do not apply in the regional Catalan tradition of *correbous*. Here we have an issue of making distinctions between local and national versions of bullfighting events. Catalonia is an example of the Spanish regions that forbade corridas in July 2010, while two months later protected *correbous* considering them the cultural heritage of Catalonia ignoring the protests of animalists who claim that the bull gets hit, burnt and even killed in the celebration. Ciudadanos and PSOE voted abstention. The first ones argued that deciding whether to forbid or not bullfighting in Spain must be done by the society. The second ones said that it is more important to promote the education of animal rights than forbidding anything (Europa Press, 2016).

In addition to maintaining bullfighting as cultural heritage, PP and PSOE voted to renew the financial subsidies for bullfighting (García Torres, 2014). A representative of ERC denounced the opacity regarding the public money of bullfighting business including bullfighting schools, rehabilitation and construction of bullrings and portable rings, entrepreneurs and bull support associations, propaganda, television rights, bullfighting museums amongst many others.

The official data of the bullfighting economy is confusing. In the last eight years, the professionals who work in bullfighting have increased in 2797 while the number of festivities decreased in 1703 (Zaldívar Laguía, 2015).

In the Bullfighting Affairs Statistics 2011-2015 (my translation of Estadística de Asuntos Taurinos) elaborated by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport we can see a decrease in the evolution of bullfighting events except for one category. Also, it shows the concentration of professional bullfighting events (78.3%) in the regions of Madrid, Castilla y León, Castilla- La Mancha and Andalucía and the general decrease from 2290 events in 2011 to 1736 events in 2015.

The study also shows the number of local bullfighting with a total of 16.383 events in 2015, around half of them, 8242 events in Comunidad Valenciana, followed by Castilla y León with 1905 events, Navarra 1573 events, Castilla-La Mancha 1321 events and Aragón 1079 events.

An example of these local bullfighting events is *Toro de la Vega* in Tordesillas, Valladolid. Residents defended the celebration of one of the icons of animal mistreatment in Spain for *antitaurinos*, claiming to be heritage and essence of the roots of the village. For many, *Toro de la Vega* was a tradition dating back to the medieval times in honour of Queen Juana La Loca (the Mad Queen). The *Patronato Toro de la Vega*, an association that defends the celebration, claims the importance of such a unique tradition in the whole world, identity of the historical town of Tordesillas.

In September 2015, PACMA's president, Silvia Barquero went to PSOE headquarter offices with 120.000 signatures against *Toro de la Vega*. The reasoning behind this was that PSOE was and still is, the party in the local government of Tordesillas. While PSOE in Tordesillas vigorously defended their tradition, the national headquarters expressed their repulse towards the celebration. The discrepancies between opinions of members of the same party were evident. However, Pedro Sánchez, the leader of PSOE made clear that he would not impose "order and command" in the case of local competencies (eldiario.es, 2015).

*Toro de la Vega's* regulation was an exemption amongst the local bullfighting events. The particularity of this exemption was the allowance to kill the bull in public. After several years of *antitaurino* protests, a Decree-Law from the regional government of PP in Castilla y León forbade participants to kill the bull in public. Still, participants can spear and hurt the animal. Nevertheless, PACMA considers this step the beginning of the end of bullfighting events. *Toro de la Vega* changed name and regulations. The new *Toro de la Peña* is from 2016 one of the hundreds of *encierros* that are celebrated in Spain yearly. However, PACMA is proud of the symbolic step toward the abolition of bullfighting.

To sum up, most political parties do not want to clarify their opinions about bullfighting events as the topic is controversial and this might lead them to lose votes. Neither PP nor PSOE want to risk to lose voters of *taurinos* or *antitaurinos* sides, and that is why they keep a moderate speech about bullfighting activities. However, it seems like left-wing parties are closer to the *antitaurinos* side, without aiming to prohibit bullfighting events. As shown in the introduction, it is a left-wing coalition the one changing bullfighting rules in the Balearic Islands. In that example, PSOE is a member of the coalition pushing the change. Nevertheless, members of PSOE in other locations might oppose the regional decision about changing bullfighting rules in the Balearic Islands. The same can happen for members of PP that might disagree with the regional decision taken in Castilla y León

about *Toro de la Peña*. These internal conflicts about bullfighting probably favour PACMA, the only party that has a clear opinion about bullfighting: to forbid it. The mixed opinions about bullfighting in other parties might explain the rise in voters that PACMA is gradually experiencing.

The next part explores the importance of social media in today's Spanish society and relates it to the participants of the survey, political parties and spread of bullfighting opinions.

### 4.3 INTERNET AND SOCIAL MEDIA IN SPAIN

Since I distributed the survey on the two social networks of Facebook and Twitter, it is important to review the access of Spanish people to these social networks.

In a 2016 report from data from the INE about the use of internet in Spain, the total population between 16 and 74 years was 34.389.822 people. From these, 82.7% have used the Internet at some point in time; this makes a total of 28.434.363 people. 27.704.889 people have used it in the last three months, and 22.969.308 people use it daily (ONTSI , 2016)

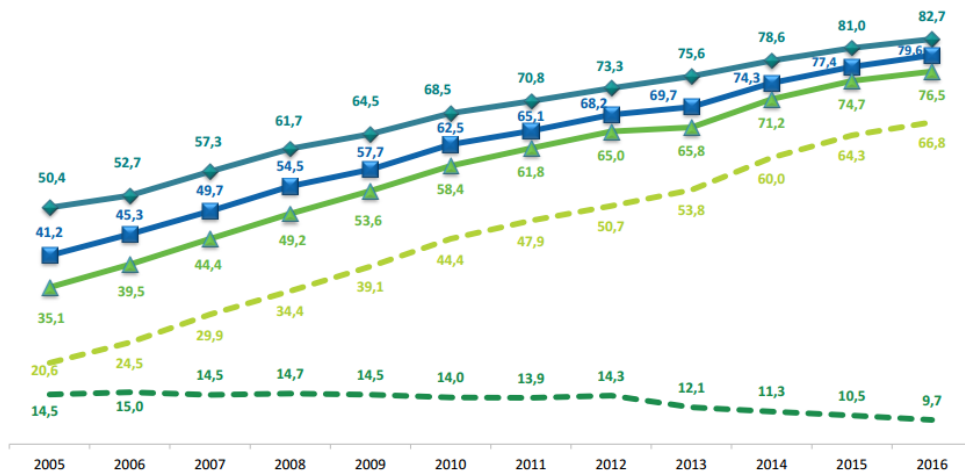


Image 1: Evolution of the percentage of Internet users in Spain

In the graph, we can see the positive development of the percentage of Internet users in Spain; we can see how more and more people got access to it. The line on top with diamond shapes pointing the percentages represents people who have accessed internet at some stage in time. The blue line with squares indicates the percentage that has accessed internet in the last month. The third line with triangles represents the percentage of people

who access internet weekly. It is a sum of the two dashed lines below. The light green dashed line starting at 20.6% is the percentage who access daily to the internet ending up in 66.8% of the population in 2016. Finally, the green dashed line starting at 14.5% and slowly decreasing until 9.7% shows the percentage of the population who access several times a week. It indicates that there is a decline of people who access the internet weekly because more people access the internet daily.

Summing up the percentages of 2016 of the dashed lines 66.8% plus 9.7% we get the total of 76.5% which is represented by the green line with triangles. The population targeted with the survey was part of that 76.5% who also have access to a profile in the social networks Facebook and Twitter and also have an email account that allows them to participate in Google survey. The reason for this required validation aimed to reduce the participants who answered the survey to do it twice through different devices. Although it was possible to participate more than once using different email accounts, it would be more cumbersome.

IAB Interactive Advertising Bureau in Spain made a study about social network use in 2016. Social online networks are structures that connect people who create a profile on the internet. With the recognition of more than 90% of the users: Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter are the most popular social networks in Spain. The average use per person a week of these networks is:

- Over 5 hours for WhatsApp
- Over 4 hours for Facebook
- Over 2.5 hours for Twitter

Since WhatsApp is a more private network that in many cases is not recognised as such, I used Facebook and Twitter to share the survey.

The number of "Facebook likes" and "Twitter followers" that political parties have on social networks can give an idea of the supporters of each party. Not everybody that follows or likes a party in social networks is a voter of the party, but it might help get an overview of the interest for the communications of the party and even explain the results of the survey question number 17.

#### **4.3.1 Political parties and social media**

Nowadays, political parties, as well as companies, are aware of the importance of their presence in social media. The use of social media must be an essential part of their strategy. Political parties and political leaders can use social media and social networks to

express opinions, show transparency and have direct contact with ordinary citizens and potential voters. However, this also might lead to misunderstandings and take unnecessary risks.

In data from April 2017, I analysed six national parties Facebook “likes” and Twitter “followers”. These parties are PACMA, Partido Popular, PSOE, Ciudadanos, Podemos and Izquierda Unida. The last two parties are currently seating together in the Congress under the group Unidos Podemos but still keep their separate profiles on social media.

Twitter is the network where most parties have most followers. Podemos leads in “Twitter followers” and “Facebook likes” with more than a million in each network. Partido Popular is the second party in “Twitter followers” with more than 600.000. However, the second party in total “Facebook likes” is PACMA, with more than 500.000.



*Image 2: Followers and Likes of the main Spanish Political Parties in Twitter and Facebook*

Source: Own elaboration in collaboration with Juan Pérez Ventura 13/04/2017

This chapter has given the background details needed to understand the current situation in Spain regarding politics, bullfighting and social media influence in bullfighting. It helps to contextualise the present conditions of the research better. It also settles the basis for the next two chapters. Chapter five covers the different theories that have served me to develop the survey, the core of the analysis; later on, in chapter six, Methodology, I explain where do the hypotheses come from, validity, reliability and limitations of the method.

## 5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This theory chapter starts with the main social psychology theories that serve as the basis for the elaboration of the survey and the development of the hypotheses. First, Schwartz's theory of cultural value orientations, secondly, Inglehart's modernisation theory, then Hofstede's individualism and collectivism, followed by Sherif's realistic conflict theory and finally Tajfel's social identity theory.

### 5.1 SCHWARTZ'S THEORY OF CULTURAL VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Shalom H. Theory of Cultural Value Orientations is the theory behind most of the questions of personal values. The purpose of using his approach was to identify whether different groups of values lie behind *taurinos* and *antitaurinos*. This method differentiates value dimensions for three issues confronting all societies. These issues are:

- 1) The nature of the relation between the person and the group
- 2) The way people behave responsibly to maintain society
- 3) The way people relate to the natural and social world

#### **Autonomy versus embeddedness**

To reason the nature of the relation between the person and the group, Schwartz labels polar locations on this dimension. He uses the terms autonomy versus embeddedness.

On the one hand, in cultures that prioritise autonomy, each person is autonomous, separated from the group. One can express his/her feelings, opinions, ideas in an attempt to be unique. Autonomy is divided in two: intellectual and affective.

Intellectual autonomy is concerned with the way each person pursues his/her ideas and directions. Creativity, curiosity and broadmindedness are examples of values regarding intellectual autonomy. Affective autonomy covers areas related to seeking positive experiences for the individual. Examples of affective autonomy are the search for a varied and exciting life and pleasure.

On the other hand, we have cultures that prioritise the group. One is embedded in the collectivity, therefore the term "embeddedness." In these cultures, the most important things in life are personal relationships, identifying with the group and reach common goals. This way of living emphasises maintaining the status quo and avoiding actions that could disrupt traditional order. Respect for tradition, security and social order are examples of typical values in embedded societies.



## Egalitarianism versus hierarchy

The way people behave to maintain society has two polar alternatives. The first one is egalitarianism. In an egalitarian culture, people care about everyone's welfare and are committed to cooperate to make it happen. Social justice, equality and honesty are values related with egalitarianism.

The second alternative is hierarchy. Hierarchical systems focus on productive behaviour, defining an unequal distribution of power. People are familiarised with the separation of roles and compliance with the obligations that they have. Authority, power and wealth are important values in these systems.

## Harmony versus mastery

Finally, about the way people manage their relations to the natural and social world, Schwartz defined harmony and mastery as polarised groups of values.

While harmony emphasises individuals to fit in the world as it is; mastery, on the other hand, encourages the change the environment to attain goals. Harmony cultures care about the world peace and protecting the environment. Mastery values would be ambition and success. If a society ranks high in one cultural type at one pole of a dimension, it will likely rank low in the other pole in the same dimension.

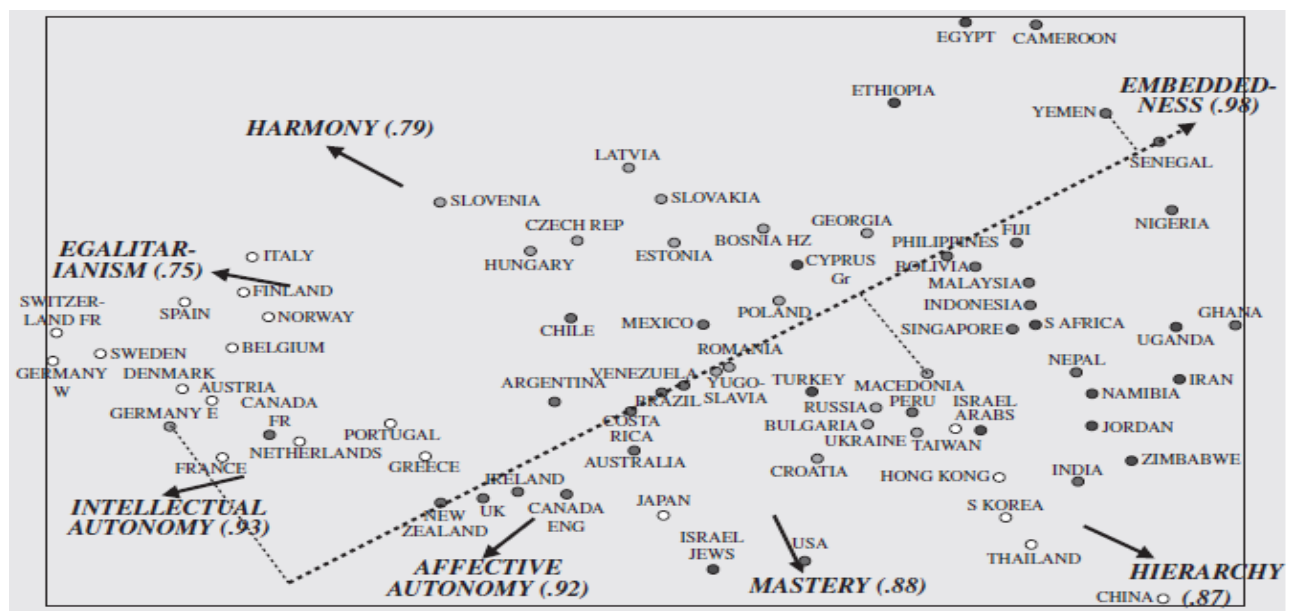


Image 3: Co-plot map nations on Seven Cultural Orientations

Countries are usually taken as a unit; this is a way to unify the values of the people living in it. Schwartz defended that countries are meaningful cultural groups. He also developed a multidimensional scaling technique and a visual map on which he placed 76 countries as national groups. Schwartz situated Spain surrounded by countries such as Italy, Finland, Norway, Belgium, Sweden and the French part of Switzerland.

As we can see in the image, Spain is on the left of the map, and according to the representation, cultures in this area strongly emphasise harmony, egalitarianism and intellectual autonomy. The values of Western European countries are far from hierarchy and embeddedness. The cultural profile of these countries fits the idea of welfare states that have a democracy and care about the environment.

The results from my survey confirm Schwartz's location of Spain in the co-plot map in the image three above. The total percentages I got for the three dimensions of values are:

Egalitarianism (87.3%)

Harmony (86.9%)

Intellectual autonomy (83.4%)

To get these percentages, in the Likert scale divided into seven steps, where one was "I feel very identified with" and seven was "I do not feel identified at all". I selected the people who placed themselves in level one or two and summed the results.

These dimensions are the base for hypotheses number six, seven and eight that I will further explain in the methodology chapter.

Western European countries are considered individualist; however, they rank high in dimensions that are collectivist like harmony and egalitarianism. Schwartz acknowledged these contradictions and argued that this type of culture *"calls for selfless concern for the welfare of others and fitting into the natural and social world rather than striving to change it through assertive action"* (Schwartz, 2006).

Image four below shows the cultural nation level value types summarised in the three bipolar dimensions I have explained above Autonomy- Embeddedness, Hierarchy- Egalitarian and Mastery-Harmony.

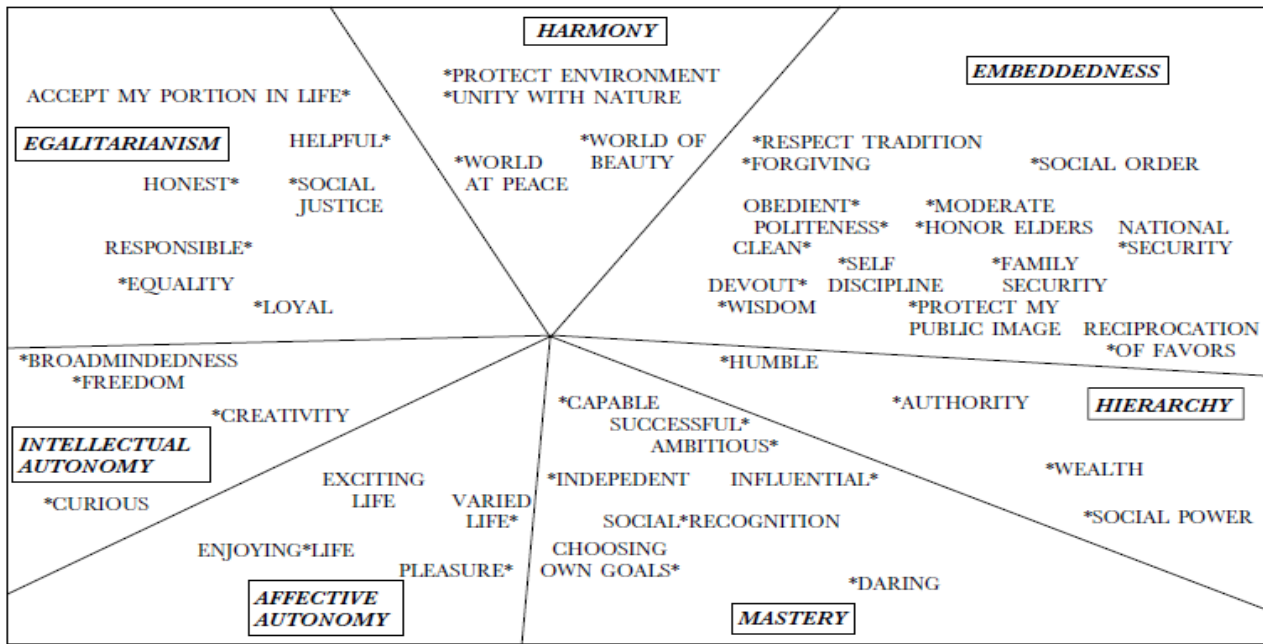


Image 4: Cultural Value Orientations

I chose the nation level over the individual level to try to get significant results from Spaniards as a nation, not placing interest at the individual level. However, nations are not individuals. The reason for this was to spot what values created conflict in each group, and for that purpose, the question number 27 was included. To give people the chance to express what values created conflict in particular groups. To construct a valid theory, I would need to use both perspectives.

*"To infer that a relationship holds at the individual level because it has been found true at the nation level is illogical and has been termed the "ecological fallacy" (...) To infer that a relationship holds at the nation-level because it has been found at the individual level is likewise illogical and has been termed the "reverse ecological fallacy." (Smith, Harris Bond, & Kagitçibasi, 2006)*

Schwartz also tested the correlation between the cultural value orientations and some selected attitudes such as political activism. He discovered that the combination of intellectual autonomy and egalitarianism predicts a greater political activism. To measure political activism, he considered the legal actions taken by participants in the past year. Examples of these activities were: participating in a demonstration, boycotting a product, contacting a politician, etc. He found out that these political actions fit in a cultural environment that encourages thinking out of the box and promoting causes that go beyond self-interest of the in-group. As an example of this political activism: PACMA's public demonstrations to show rejection of bullfighting and improving the protection of animals. On the contrary, a cultural atmosphere that focuses on preserving the status quo

and social order predicted less political activism, related to the value orientations of embeddedness and hierarchy (Schwartz, 2006).

As I will show in the next two theories, Schwartz's Cultural Value Orientations theory is related to Hofstede's individualism and collectivism as well as Inglehart's Modernization Theory.

## **5.2 INGLEHART'S MODERNIZATION THEORY**

Ronald Inglehart worked with two dimensions to classify values. On one dimension he places Traditional and Secular- Rational values and on the other dimension Survival versus Self-Expression values.

Traditional values emphasise religion, making parents proud, national pride and respect for authority. Also, the respondents would place themselves on a right side of a left-right scale and believe that divorce, suicide and euthanasia are never justifiable. Secular-Rational values would emphasise the opposite.

On the other dimension, we have Survival values. These would emphasise the importance of women to have children, hard work, the rejection of foreigners, homosexuals and people with AIDS as neighbours, the refusal of the importance to recycle, defending more the rights of men for jobs and education rather than women and reject the importance of leisure. Self-Expression values would emphasise the opposite. (Inglehart & Baker, 2000)

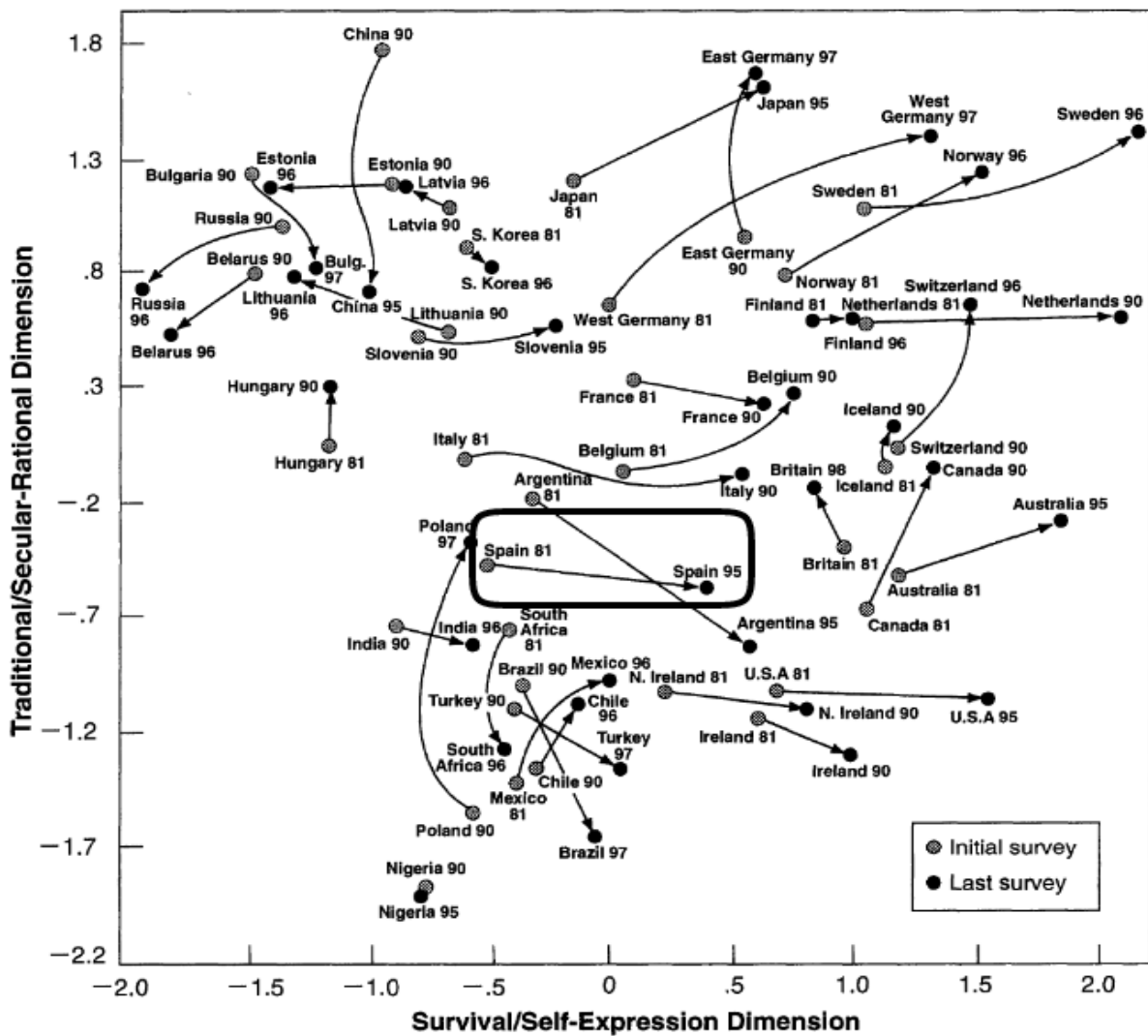


Image 5: Traditional/Secular and Survival/Self-Expression dimensions

In the study of the two dimensions changing we can see Spain, located in the centre of image five. Between 1981 and 1995, Spain moved in the horizontal axis from Survival to Self-Expression values, however, the country shows a slight decline in the vertical axis of Traditional/ Secular-Rational Dimension (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Spain moved towards Self Expression dimension during that period; this might be explained due to the more open-minded attitudes that Spaniards got in the years after the end of Franco's dictatorship.

The evolution in the vertical axis has been somewhat more complicated. From 1970 until now, the primary-agrarian sector has seen a sharp decrease, from being around 11% of the GNP in the seventies to almost 3% in 2013 (Pampillón, 2013)

*"The largest increase in existential security occurs with the transition from agrarian to industrial societies. Consequently, the largest shift from traditional towards secular-rational values happens in this phase"* (Inglehart & Welzel, World Values Survey, 2015).

In the World Values Survey website live cultural map over time until 2015, we can find Spain has moved upwards secular-rational dimension, located now a bit below 0.5. It remained almost in the same location on the horizontal axis regarding self-expression (also around 0.5).

Spanish society seems likely to continue moving upwards in the vertical axis as Spaniards become less religious and more European due to globalisation and easier mobility of Spaniards around the world.

In the 2011 World Values Survey sample, a 91.1% of Spaniards answered that family is essential, while only 10.7% responded very important for religion. In their study, Inglehart and Baker found evidence of both cultural changes but also the persistence of distinctive cultural traditions.

If I relate Inglehart's and Baker's dimensions to Schwartz's Theory of Cultural Value Orientations, the dimensions of Harmony, Egalitarianism and Intellectual and Affective Autonomies would be linked to the Secular and Self-Expression dimension of Inglehart. On the other hand, Embeddedness, Hierarchy and Mastery would be related to the Traditional and Survival dimension.

The 2011 World Values Survey also asked about Schwartz's dimensions. For 19.4% of Spaniards, tradition and following the customs handed down by one's family or religion was "very much like them", 33.1% chose "like me" and 26.3% "somewhat like me". It reflects the importance of the Embeddedness dimension for Spaniards. In my survey "respect tradition" was placed together with other values (social order, security, honour the elderly), many people noted distinctions between respecting cruel traditions and other kinds, making bullfighting an exception in their commitment to respect Spanish traditions.

In appendix two, in graph fourteen we can see that Embeddedness dimension has no clear results, most chose intermediate values. It can be due to the difficulties that the group of values altogether presented. Some people noted that they placed themselves in the middle of the scale when some groups of values were a dilemma; the embeddedness orientation was the group that presented most issues according to the comments in the open question about values.

According to *antitaurinos*, bullfighting has no place in a modern society. It is even an impediment to Spain's Europeanization (Douglass, 1997). After the end of Franco's

dictatorship, Spain's unprecedented economic situation and physical security led to an intergenerational shift from Materialist to Postmaterialist values. In societies that have experienced these changes like Spain, the young will be much likelier to emphasise well-being than the old; the young will not take on the values of the old as they age (Inglehart, 1997).

Even though tradition and modernity are used as opposites in a linear theory of social change, Gusfield (1967:351) claims that: "*It is incorrect to view traditional societies as static, normatively consistent, or structurally homogeneous.*"

His paper is concerned with the assumption that existing institutions and values are impediments to changes and obstacles to modernisation. He argues that tradition and innovation do not have to conflict and that tradition has been open to change before. He argues that: It is fallacious to assume that a traditional society has always existed in its present form and the old is not necessarily replaced by the new. Also, the relation between tradition and modernity is complex, but they are mutually reinforcing. Also, modernising processes do not weaken traditions. He adds that we cannot separate the terms modernity and tradition from some particular tradition and some specific modernity and finally he claims that there is a need for a new perspective toward change which does not deny the specific and contextual characteristics of events.

To avoid controversy in bullfighting activities, these could be reviewed and adapted. The example of *Toro de la Vega* changed into *Toro de la Peña* shows a case that it is possible to modify and change centenary bullfighting traditions. Likewise, the example of the recent change in the regulations of bullfighting in the Balearic Islands. However, many *taurinos* are not pleased with these changes as they see them as an insult to the true tradition. At the same time, for *antitaurinos*, these are only steps towards the direction of the abolition.

### 5.3 HOFSTEDE'S INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

Industrialized Western cultures typically value individualism, giving priority to one's goals over the group's goals. On the other hand, Asian and African cultures place a greater value on collectivism, prioritising the group values, over oneself (Myers, 1996).

Individualism and collectivism attitudes are the basis for the survey question number nineteen and also for hypothesis number five, further developed in the methodology.

Schwartz's cultural value orientations shown in image two can be divided between individualist and collectivist. Egalitarianism, Harmony and Embeddedness are collectivist

orientations, whereas Intellectual and Affective Autonomy, Mastery and Hierarchy are individualist orientations.

It is a mistake to believe that societies which prioritise individualism do not care for the communities (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2012). Individualism is also related to Social Identity Theory that I will present after the Sherif's Realistic Conflict Theory.

## 5.4 SHERIF'S REALISTIC CONFLICT THEORY

Throughout the XX century, social psychologists developed different methods that we can draw from to understand the conflict between *taurinos* and *antitaurinos* better.

Every year groups of different *antitaurinos* attend some of the most controversial bullfighting events in Spain, to defend the rights of the animals. The placement of *taurinos* and *antitaurinos* together in the same location creates a lot of tension.

*Taurinos* defend that if *antitaurinos* do not want to see the event, they must not attend and that they just go to provoke and annoy *taurinos*. On the other hand, *antitaurinos* claim that they must be there to increase the visibility of the barbarous tradition that they want to have prohibited. These conflicts throughout the festivities of the whole country are examples of the irreconcilable differences between the two groups.

Social psychologists in the 1930s claimed that group frustrations were directed as aggression towards minority groups. Personality would play a small role in prejudice. The main cause of prejudice is living in a culture of prejudice (Pettigrew (1958) cited in Hogg (2016))

In the 1950s Sherif developed Realistic Conflict Theory, where he claims that people are dependent on others to work together to achieve common goals. Cooperation within the group is a good example of what *antitaurinos* do to push the local or regional authorities to ban some of the local versions of bullfighting events. The prohibition of all types of bullfighting, in general, is one of the primary goals of the political party PACMA.

Sherif argued that if two groups have a mutually exclusive goal like would be the case of *taurinos* and *antitaurinos*; the groups compete very fiercely. *Antitaurinos* are more likely to be political activists, as some answered in the open field in the survey. *Antitaurinos* attend bullfighting protests in big groups to strengthen their power, on the other hand, *taurinos* do not need to do anything as the current legislations are on their side. Therefore there is no need for them to become political activists.



In connection with Realistic Conflict Theory, we have Social Identity Theory that I will describe below.

## 5.5 TAJFEL'S SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

The thesis' title already states the importance of groups, in this case, the supporters and protesters of traditions involving the mistreatment of bulls. Therefore, I was led to look for sources within social psychology and particularly theories related to intergroup relations.

Being part of a group provides the individual with stability and protection. In-groups are considered a primary source of support. In Social Comparison Theory people try to validate their opinions by comparing their own to social referents in their environment (Fiske, Gilbert, & Lindzey, 2010)

In 1979 Tajfel and Turner developed Social Identity Theory (SIT) with the basic ideas of intergroup relations, conflict and cooperation between groups.

Social Identity is that aspect of a person's self-concept that derives from the individual's membership in a group that also makes that person distance him or herself from others who are not members of that group.

*"The way individuals think about the world, how they feel, and how they behave –indeed, all behaviour- is guided and sometimes constrained by the group(s) which they belong" (ibid, 2010).*

Tajfel studied at the Sorbonne in Paris when the Nazis invaded France. The fact of living in France saved his life during the Holocaust because the Nazis categorised him as French instead of a Polish Jew. While his entire family was killed, he survived because of being classified as French. Social categorisation had a personal significance for Tajfel (Hogg, 2016).

The motivation of Tajfel's studies was to understand the prejudices, discrimination and intergroup conflict. With regards to Sherif's Realistic Conflict Theory, Tajfel wondered if the mere fact of being categorised as a member of a group was enough reason for intergroup conflict. He found out that just for being a member of a group, the person produces competitive intergroup behaviour.

Tajfel defined Social Identity Theory as: *"an individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group of membership"* (Tajfel (1972:292) cited in Hogg (2016:6)).

If someone receives a compliment for his/her actions that would increase this persons' intrinsic motivation (Myers, 1996). For instance, if the active participants of celebrations like *capeas* or *becerradas* are praised for being brave, they will receive that as a compliment and it might motivate them to participate in similar future events.

In 1987 Turner made a significant contribution to Social Identity Theory with the Self-Categorisation Theory, which defends that "*human groups are categories that people mentally represent as prototypes*" (Hogg 2016).

People see a person through a lens of a category prototype and not as an individual. The categorisation affects in-group members and the self. The person's behaviour conforms to the norms of the group. Self-categorisation transforms the way the individual sees himself and produces normative behaviour within the in-group members. Social categorisation reduces uncertainty and describes how people have to behave (ibid, 2016).

When attending a demonstration against bullfighting or a *corrida* as a viewer, the crowds provide anonymity. Depersonalisation is viewing you as a category the "*taurinos*". According to the Social Identity Model of Deindividualization (SIDE model), depersonalisation can produce antisocial behaviour (Postmes & Spears (1998) cited in Hogg (2016)). The SIDE model can explain why a few years ago, in 2014, the conflict between *taurinos* and *antitaurinos* in *Toro de la Vega*, Tordesillas ended up with some individuals throwing stones at the opposite group.

Kitayama and Cohen (2007) present two theoretical perspectives of social identity.

The first one is related to Berry's (1979) ecological model of culture. He argues that cultural differences in social relationships emerge from factors such as geography, social structure and mobility. In 2005, Oishi explained that social mobility plays a determinant role in the aspects of self and in-groups. In societies where there is high mobility of individuals, the groups are formed based on similarities and shared interests, while in low mobility societies group membership is ascribed. This ecological model shows a link between individualism and depersonalised collective identities.

In the conflict example of *Toro de la Vega* presented above, when the media published the attacks throwing stones, they used the collectivity to refer to who threw the rocks.

"*Neighbours and Antitaurinos end up throwing stones at each other in the Toro de la Vega Tournament*" (my translation) (El Periódico, 2014).

The second perspective that explains why individualism is associated with category-based social identity exposes that:

*"The nature of collective selves is shaped and constrained by the relative importance placed on values of independence (Individual Autonomy) versus interdependence in relations between the self and others in a society"* (Brewer and Roccas (2001) cited in Hogg (2016)).

Brewer and Roccas believed that individualism has direct effects on the need for inclusion in larger social units. The benefits of group inclusion are high, but so are the costs. The individuals are provided with security and mutual aid in exchange for their time and resources.

Members of PACMA are politically very active, and they often collaborate with the Platform La Tortura No Es Cultura to attend demonstrations. Mobilisation reflects the attitude of these groups towards bullfighting events and success benefits the common goal of the group. The leader/s of the organisations have an important role in mobilising the team members to take action in the interest of the whole group.

To sum up, the presented theories relate to the questions in the survey, and some of them are the basis for the hypotheses that I will elaborate in the coming methodology chapter.

## 6 METHODOLOGY

To get an overview of the Spanish population's values and relation to bullfighting events I did an online survey. The purpose was to be able to reach a lot of people, and unexpectedly the survey was answered by more than 1600 people, a larger number than the last survey about Spaniards' opinion of bullfighting made by the pollster Ipsos Mori in 2015.

To elaborate the survey, I followed the six principles listed by De Vaus (2002) to develop the questions: reliability, validity, discrimination, response rate, same meaning for all respondents and relevance. I will further discuss these principles in the discussion, in chapter eight. Below are the nine research hypotheses and the theories/previous studies that are the basis for each one of them.

### 6.1 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

I have divided the hypotheses into four groups; the first group has hypotheses about demography H1 and H2, the second group contains hypotheses about political views H3

and H4, the third group has hypotheses related with personal values from H5 to H8 and the last is H9, a hypothesis about the economic influence in bullfighting.

- ⇒ **H1: The percentage of Spaniards involved in social networks with a negative attitude towards bullfighting is significantly higher compared to that of those with a positive attitude towards bullfighting.**

The survey made by the pollster Ipsos Mori is the basis for H1. In a proportional sample of 1059 people from all over the country, 57% opposed or strongly opposed bullfighting, while as 76% opposed or strongly opposed *Toro de la Vega* (Ipsos Mori, 2016).

Besides, the data from the Survey of Habits and Cultural Practices in Spain in the period 2014-2015 shows the interest for bullfighting in the country is not high. In a sample of 38.956 people in all age groups, above 50% classifies between zero and two their interest about bullfighting (being ten the highest, and the number showing the highest interest).

The interest for bullfighting is even lower for the younger generation (aged 20-24), where 72.2% ranked their interest in these events between the levels zero and two ( Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte , 2015).

- ⇒ **H2: Spanish women are more likely to reject bullfighting compared to Spanish men.**

As well as the first hypothesis, the basis for this second is the same study. In the one from Ipsos Mori, 15% of women support or actively support bullfighting, compared to 22% of men. On the contrary, 63% of women oppose or strongly oppose bullfighting, compared to 53% of men (Ipsos Mori, 2016).

Likewise, the mentioned Survey of Habits and Cultural Practices in Spain in the period 2014-2015 also shows that women are less interested in bullfighting than men. 67.7% of women ranked between zero and two their interest for bullfighting whereas men ranking the same levels were 56.5%. On the other side, there was 4.9% of women ranking their interest for bullfighting at the highest levels nine and ten, while 8.9% of men gave the highest punctuation ( Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte , 2015)

- ⇒ **H3: There is a relationship between supporting Spain's membership in the EU and being for an EU-regulation of bullfighting**

Based on Inglehart's modernisation theory, the more "European" Spain becomes, the more modern the country is. Therefore, supporting an EU regulation of bullfighting would likely take the country closer to that desired modernisation.

Since it was for most Spaniards a success to enter the EU (Humblebæk, 2015), I speculate about the relationship between supporting the membership of Spain in the EU and support an EU regulation of bullfighting.

⇒ **H4: Spaniards who reject bullfighting are more likely to be positioned to the left of the political spectrum compared to Spaniards who support bullfighting.**

The fourth hypothesis comes from the association of the "two Spains" presented in Douglass' research.

*"For the Left, the bulls are one of the symbols of the Right, of archaeological, official Spain, of Spain invented by the tourists, Spain of the pandereta (tambourine). The Right, on the other hand, has often accused the Left, the anti-Spain, of being antitaurinos". (Douglass, 1997:64)*

⇒ **H5: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with individualistic values compared to those who support bullfighting.**

The fifth hypothesis is based on Schwartz's theory and Hofstede's individualism theory. According to Schwartz political activism needs cooperative work, meaning that the *antitaurinos* would need to be collectivistic. However, does modernisation imply individualism? Ferdinand Tönnies argues that individualism is a crucial element of modern society (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2012) then, *antitaurinos* which claim to move toward modernisation would be individualists (according to Tönnies) and collectivists (according to Schwartz). This hypothesis aims to find out who is closer to the truth based on my survey sample of participants.

⇒ **H6: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with intellectual autonomy values compared to those who support bullfighting.**

⇒ **H7: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with egalitarian values compared to those who support bullfighting.**

⇒ **H8: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with harmony values compared to those who support bullfighting.**

As I mentioned in the theory part covering Schwartz's orientations, the results of my survey show three clear dimensions of values for Spaniards and confirm Schwartz's location of Spain in his co-plot map in image three. Since the survey was answered by

more than a thousand *antitaurinos*, hypotheses six, seven and eight are based on the assumption that Spaniards who reject bullfighting, also rank higher in the value dimensions of intellectual autonomy, egalitarianism and harmony.

⇒ **H9: Spaniards who get economic benefits out of bullfighting activities are more likely to support bullfighting, compared to those who do not get economic benefits.**

Finally, the last hypothesis relates to a common sense of economy. If one gets money out of something, is more likely to support it because that is benefitting the person's economy.

## 6.2 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

As I have mentioned in the characteristics of good questions in the survey design, the survey's validity and reliability are questionable.

To increase reliability, I used Likert scales in many questions. Using a scale system helps to understand the complexity of the concept, multiple indicators assist in developing more valid measures, enable greater precision and simplify the analysis by summarising the information into one variable (De Vaus, 2002)

The survey has a neutral language, not showing any wrong or right answers and not using offensive vocabulary towards supporters or protesters. Survey links have been posted in social media groups, both supporting and protesting bullfighting events. The fact that the survey got actively shared between supporters and protesters affects the results. Many participants can incline the balance to the extremes, while maybe most of the population might be located in the middle. To attract a population not located in the extremes, I posted constant reminders on social media under trending topic tags not related to bullfighting.

The number of people I was able to reach, influences validity of the results. I have come across many difficulties of reaching bullfighting supporters. As previously mentioned, I distributed the survey through Twitter and Facebook. *Antitaurino* community immediately shared the survey and the number of responses rapidly increased. There is no balance in the number of replies between *taurinos* and *antitaurinos*. I was able to get around a hundred answers from *taurinos* compared to over a 1300 answers from *antitaurinos*. From the total of 1640 participants, 65 chose to remain in the indifferent to bullfighting or what I consider the same, chose the middle levels (three to five) of the seven step Likert scale. In the scale, seven meant very *taurino*, and one was very *antitaurino*. It is easily visible in appendix two, in graph number nine.

Participants in the survey were not informed about the hypotheses or title of the thesis, not to affect their initial and real thoughts about each question. Therefore, participants are unaware of the research purposes and cannot collaborate intentionally to help the experimenter to confirm or reject certain hypotheses. The original survey is in Spanish; I attached the full survey translated into English in Appendix one.

Many questions, for example, the ones regarding where would people place themselves on a seven step scale with combined values that according to Schwartz are related, will provide data difficult to analyse.

I used seven points on the Likert scale in the questions that asked about the person's opinion about bullfighting, political views and values because of the complexity to evaluate these issues. Krosnick and Presser's review (2010) concludes that seven point scales are optimal in many cases.

*"Most people may be able to differentiate feeling slightly favorable, moderately favorable, and extremely favorable toward objects, in which case a 7-point scale would be more desirable than a 5-point scale."*

Following self-knowledge theory, the view of the own behaviour is hard to interpret. It is even harder to explain when the classification of values has many values combined in the same group. One person can be very identified with authority but not with wealth even though they are together in Schwartz's hierarchy group of values.

Also, according to self-discrepancy theory, one has to consider that people get self-knowledge from actual beliefs but also from ideal beliefs, making a discrepancy between the real and ideal self (Fiske, Gilbert, & Lindzey, 2010). Applied to this case, even if the survey is anonymous, some people may think it is better to be considered more educated and answer to have a higher education than the real one they have or vice versa.

It is impossible to know if people were 100% honest when answering the survey, even though I stated the importance of honesty at the beginning of the survey. I have to presuppose the good will of people and assume they were honest.

There are limitations to establishing internal and external validity for some reasons.

First, internal validity seeks to establish a causal relationship between two factors. As a test, I could explore the particular results of one person and conclude after an interview that the fact that this specific person who only had Spanish neighbours who always participate in *Toro de la Vega* affected his/her positive view of this event. However, that

would only apply to that person. Since this thesis data comes from a survey, one would need to interview each participant to be able to establish a causal relationship between each of the factors and its relation to the person's opinion about bullfighting events. Because the sample is relatively big, it would not be possible, and therefore there is not a chance of getting internal validity of the data.

Second, external validity seeks to generalise findings. In the case that I found out that all *antitaurinos* who answered my survey vote PACMA, I could not generalise to all Spanish population who do not like bullfighting because it is impossible to know that. Consequently, I have to be very cautious when establishing the validity of the data.

### 6.3 LIMITATIONS

This thesis is the case of basic research that tries to find out some of the characteristics and values of Spaniards who like and dislike bullfighting events. It is a pure reason of intellectual curiosity that does not pretend to solve a particular issue, in which case it would be a problem applied research.

The use of an Internet-based tool like the online-survey restricts the participants' sample to people who have Internet access and is computer and social media literate, meaning that a part of the population is not able to participate. According to Eurostat, in data of 2015, a bit more than 50% of Spanish citizens aged 16 to 74 had access to social media, meaning that our survey will not reach half of the Spanish population. On the bright side, of the 50% that has access to social media, 64% access Internet on a daily basis, compared to a 29% in 2007, the increase is significant in the past decade.

Nevertheless, once I posted the survey, I was not able to track its distribution. A person who answered the open question number fifteen wrote that the fact that he found the survey in a group that works actively against bullfighting can affect the survey results not to be representative. It is possible that if the survey was actively shared in social groups against bullfighting, it reached many people who are against it. It might not have reached people who do not have an opinion about bullfighting. In data from the pollster Ipsos Mori, around a 20% of the Spanish population do not have feelings either way. However, since the purpose of this thesis is to find out different values between supporters and protesters of bullfighting, it is an advantage that the survey was actively shared in these groups since this will help to have a more polarised sample of people.

The survey was online for 35 days, from the 26<sup>th</sup> of February 2017 to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 2017. The online survey I used is from Google forms; there are many reasons for this choice.



First of all, it is a free system, and I was to be able to have more than ten questions. Secondly, it lets you see the answers in real time, individually and the summary of all. As a user, this system helped me to know the development of the answers so I could try to reach people who I believed were under-represented in the data.

Also, this online survey system automatically elaborates bar charts and pie charts, and it also shows total percentages together with the number of people that have chosen that answer. Also, I was able to share the survey with my supervisor and other people who could see the evolution of the data in real time.

Finally, I was able to export the data to an excel sheet at any time. The excel sheet shows the date and time when each person has answered, and the columns are modifiable.

To be able to start analysing the data, I had to close the survey. The survey could have reached more people if it had been opened for a longer time.

To analyse the significant amount of data I have presupposed that the sample is a normal distribution. This type of distribution allows predicting future behaviours, knowing the data of the present.

## **6.4 SURVEY STRUCTURE**

In almost all questions participants were given a choice of answers. The only mandatory question that was open was question number two, about the age. In the statement of the question, I gave participants the instruction about how to answer the question by only typing the digits of the age.

The choice of closed questions was made to be able to analyse the data of a significant sample.

The survey had five sections: “about yourself”, “bulls, your opinion and your environment”, “your political opinion”, “about your values” and “contact information”. The last one is a voluntary open question that gives the option of leaving a contact email to receive information about the results of the survey.

The first part is from question one to question eight. These questions cover data about the person, sex, age, level of studies, what region are they from, the size of the city they live in, their neighbourhood if they have lived in different places and the diversity of their friends.

The purpose of Part I is to find out if all the above factors influence liking or disliking bullfighting events. All questions will be analysed in the analysis part.

The second part covers the questions about bullfighting events. It starts by asking the person to place him/herself on a seven step Likert scale regarding being a supporter or a protester of bullfighting.

Then, it moves on asking about the economic benefits that bullfighting could bring to the area or the person's direct family. The purpose of these two questions is to find out if there is a relation between economics and support of bullfighting.

Afterwards, asked about the regulation of bullfighting events. Is there a relation between a person who wants bullfighting regulated by the European Union and being against bullfighting? In the open answer at the end of the section, some participants manifested dissatisfaction not to have the option: bullfighting events must be forbidden.

More questions in this part cover the participation or not in different events, most of them local versions. Are *taurinos* interested in all kinds of bullfighting events or only in *corridas*? Do *antitaurinos* dislike all bullfighting events or only the ones where the animal gets killed?

The last mandatory question in this part covers the local tradition of *Toro de la Vega*, to find out if there is a relation between the participation of family and friends and the own participation. Since not many people who participate in *Toro de la Vega* answered the survey, this question will not give the desired data to perform a proper analysis of the influence of others in this particular event.

The second part finishes with the open question to express personal experiences or any information that the person wishes to give regarding bullfighting.

Part III has three questions. Question number sixteen asks participants to place themselves in a seven step Likert scale depending on their political ideas, then question seventeen asks for the particular party that the person feels closer to his/her political ideas. Finally, there is a question about the individual's opinion about Spain as a member of the European Union.

Part IV is the part about values. Some people wrote in the open question at the end of the section that they did not know if they had answered right; others that some values did not belong to certain groups, etc. Some participants expressed their concerns about this part, some found it confusing, especially the fact of having many values that they would rank separately, together.

The way I started this part was with question number nineteen trying to find out about the individualism or collectivism of the person. Afterwards, in an attempt to sum up Schwartz's seven cultural value orientations, I selected the values I found the most representative in each group and made a question with each cluster. The purpose of this separation was to have the values already divided into egalitarianism, harmony, embeddedness, hierarchy, mastery, affective autonomy and intellectual autonomy. While putting the values in groups, I created dilemmas for the participants to push them to express what values were the problematic ones in the open question at the end of part IV. The conflicts were, especially in the values of the Mastery and Embeddedness orientations.

In question twenty, the one that covered the embeddedness orientation, the value: "respect traditions" was the most problematic. It makes sense in this type of research when the issue is whether or not people support a tradition that involves the mistreatment of animals and where blood, suffer and death are part of the show.

In the next chapter, I will reveal the survey findings for each question, and I will analyse the hypotheses that I have previously presented in the methodology chapter.

## 7 ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will first expose the findings from the survey results question by question; all the graphs are in Appendix two at the end of the paper. Later on, I explain the use of SPSS as the analysis tool, and I move on testing of the hypotheses. First demography hypotheses based on previous studies, then the hypotheses about politics and values and finally the hypothesis about the economy. In the analysis part, I only present the results and whether or not I am led to accept or reject the research hypotheses. Chapter eight offers a discussion of the results.

### 7.1 SURVEY FINDINGS

Question one asked about if the person was a man or a woman. There was a total of 1045 women answering the survey and 595 men. In percentages, women were 63.7% of the participants in the survey, while men were 36.3%.

Question number two asked how old the person was. There was no age restriction. However, most participants were at an adult age, between 18 and 60 years old. The average age of the participants was 36.4 years old.

Question three asked about the maximum level of studies; participants had to choose between four options. 51.2% chose Bachelor level, followed by 30.6% who chose Secondary School, 16.2% had a Master level or superior and only 2.1% had Primary School studies or not studies at all.

Question four gave participants a list of the 17 regions in Spain plus the two autonomous cities: Ceuta and Melilla. Participants had to choose the region where they lived or where they came from in the case of being Spaniards abroad.

The results show the highest participation of people living in Madrid region, Andalusia, Catalonia, Valencia region and the two Castiles. People of these regions sum up 72.7% of the total participants.

Question five addressed the size of the city where the person lives. Participants had three options. Village or town below 10.000 citizens. The city includes urban areas above 10.000 people and below 300.000. Major cities are urban areas with more than 300.000 people. Almost half of the participants lived in a city between 10.000 and 300.000 people.

Question six asked about neighbourhood diversity. This question wanted to find out if the communities of participants were multicultural or not. More than half of the participants lived in diverse districts. However, 43% lived in not very diverse areas, while a 6.6% lived in areas not diverse at all.

Question seven asked participants whether they had always lived in the same place, lived in different locations in Spain or also lived abroad. The question specified to live more than six months to avoid that people considered living abroad a period below half a year. Most participants have lived in different places within Spain or always in the same location. 20,5% have lived in various places, also including different countries.

Question eight asked about the diversity of the participant's friendships. 73.2% had mainly Spanish friends, but also from other cultures, while 23.8% only had Spanish friends.

Part II of the survey concerned bullfighting events and had seven questions, the last one was an open one, giving participants the possibility of explaining a more qualitative view of their opinions.

Starting with question nine, which was the key question of the survey, asking participants to evaluate their feelings towards bullfighting and place themselves in a seven step Likert scale. Number one would be a person strongly against bullfighting, and number seven would be a big fan of it. The use of the scale wanted to give a wider range of measuring

the attitude and find out if the opinions were polarised or most would remain in the middle.

The results show the polarisation of the attitudes; not many people chose to stay in the middle. The result reflects that *antitaurinos* were very active answering and sharing the survey in social media. 82.7% placed themselves in number one and 5.5% in number two, what makes a total of 88.2% of people who consider they are *antitaurinos*. On the other side of the Likert scale, 6.6% chose number seven, and 1.3% chose number six, making a total of 7.9% of the participants considering they are *taurinos*. Only 4% elected to be neither for or against bullfighting, selecting levels three, four and five.

Question ten wanted to find out if the local economy of the participant benefitted from bullfighting events. 69.2% answered no, and 30.8% answered yes. Following up on this, question eleven asked about if the direct family or the participant have perceived economic benefits from bullfighting activities. 95.2% answered “no”, and 4.8% answered yes.

Question twelve asked about who should regulate bullfighting events. The options given were: The European Union, the Spanish government, the region, the local government and the option that they should not be regulated.

A bit more than 50% of the participants preferred EU to control these events, while 22.3% would prefer the Spanish government to do it. 16.5% answered that they should not be regulated, while 5.9% responded the region and 4.8% the local government. In the open question at the end of part II, some participants expressed dissatisfaction with the impossibility to select: “Bullfighting events should be forbidden”.

Question Thirteen presented nine bullfighting events and gave participants the following answers:

I like them and actively participate  
I like them, and I go to see them  
I am indifferent  
I dislike them  
I strongly dislike them  
I do not know what they are

These options were carefully evaluated, since attending the event and actively participate is not the same than visiting to see it. The option “I do not know what they are”, gave the survey respondents the possibility of being honest; since some of these events are local, it

is possible that some participants are not aware of the events. Likewise, the option “I am indifferent” could be chosen by people who do not pay attention to these events. As Converse and Presser (1986) cited in De Vaus (2002:106): “To force them to express an opinion to where they really do not have one is to create false and unreliable answers”.

All the answers followed the same trend; most participants strongly disliked all the bullfighting events presented. Taking into consideration the total number of responses was 1640: 1428 strongly disliked *corridas*, 1364 strongly disliked *becerradas*, 1271 strongly disliked *encierros*, 1331 strongly disliked *toros enmaromados*, 1433 strongly disliked *toros embolados*, 1307 strongly disliked *Toro de San Juan*, 1295 strongly disliked *Toro Júbilo* and 1453 strongly disliked *Toro de la Vega*.

All participants knew what *corridas* and *encierros* were. 60 were unaware of *becerradas*, 17 unaware of *capeas*, 126 did not know *toros enmaromados* and 30 did not know *toros embolados*.

I want to make emphasis in the knowledge of *Toro de la Vega* all over the country. Only 21 participants were unaware of *Toro de la Vega*, an event that happens once a year in one small town with less than 10.000 people. It is possible that the knowledge of this particular event all over Spain is due to the national campaign of PACMA to stop it. *Toro de San Juan* was unknown for 166 participants and *Toro Júbilo* unknown for 179 participants. These three events have been differently covered by national media what could also be an explanation of the different awareness.

Question fourteen asked specifically about participation in *Toro de la Vega* of oneself, friends and family members. 18 people answered that older generations of the family sometimes participate as runners and lancers, 26 responded that older generations of the family participate as viewers almost always and 97 answered sometimes.

Sixteen people replied that friends attend almost always as lancers and runners and 52 answered friends sometimes participate as lancers and runners. 27 answered that friends join as viewers always and 115 responded that friends join as viewers sometimes.

Five participants responded that they actively participate in *Toro de la Vega* as a runner and lancer almost always and ten people replied sometimes. Eighteen participants attend almost always as a viewer and 55 sometimes.

Most people who took part in the survey never attended *Toro de la Vega*.

In an attempt to give people the chance to develop their opinions about bullfighting further, I added an open question at the end of part II. Even 156 participants wrote here

that bullfighting must be forbidden and many others wrote all kinds of comments about their opinion (generally very negative) about bullfighting. Only one person wrote that bullfighting must be protected and promoted.

Here is a selection of answers that I have translated from people who consider themselves *taurinos*, ranking six or seven in the Likert scale of question nine.

*"I am taurino, but I do not see anything artistic in Toro de la Vega."*

*"Like I do not go to professional football matches because I think is a money market. Despite this, I do not try to forbid professional football. I like all bullfighting events, and I want to say to those who do not: Stop wanting to ban the things that others enjoy."*

*"I respect and understand the ethics of the now forbidden Toro de la Vega. But I have never attended, and I do not think I will."*

*"I am taurine but against toros embolados, de la Vega and similar."*

*"I love bou al carrer, which is typical of villages in Comunidad Valenciana."*

*"In my opinion, the image of Toro de la Vega and many other bullfighting events has been distorted through those who lie and have prejudices about it. It has made that many people with no knowledge about the topic have positioned themselves against."*

*"I am recortador<sup>4</sup> and obviously taurino. I enjoy any bullfighting show, and my hobbies should be respected. Nowadays bullfighting has become a taboo, to the point that many fans are ashamed of being it. It is due to the physic or verbal violence and the sectarianism that we are treated by animalist groups. The groups nurture themselves by offering an image where we are irrational and bloodthirsty. I understand not everybody like bulls, and it is a show difficult to understand due to the presence of death. It is the second mass show in our country, our roots and traditions deserve respect, and even more, the beliefs of each person."*

Not many *taurinos* wrote comments, but as we can read, some make distinctions between the local versions and the professional ones.

On the other hand, below is a selection of replies that I have translated from people who consider themselves *antitaurinos*, ranking 1 or 2 in the Likert scale of question 9.

<sup>4</sup> Recortador is a professional that stands in front of the bull unarmed while avoiding it. Sometimes the person jumps over the bull and makes other acrobacies.

*"Bullfighting is typical of the Middle Age."*

*"They are a barbarous tradition that denigrates Spanish people."*

*"They are torture. I detest them"*

*"No one should have fun torturing living creatures."*

*"Shameful", "Cruel", "Embarrassing", "Old-fashioned", "Savage", "Sad", "Brutal", "Irrational",*

*"Leaving ethics apart, in my village, as in many others in Spain, bullfighting events leave big economic loss, but politicians still support it with the excuse of being a tradition."*

*"Culture of incivility."*

*"Abolish everything. No exceptions."*

*"Many taurinos that do not let themselves be known publicly. I think it is the same why many people who vote right parties do not say they vote right parties. It is not that they are ashamed. I believe it is because they do not need to proclaim or defend it. (...) The State just reduced the VAT that for the bullfighting (from 21% to 10%) The State decides to keep the 21% for cinema because there are more people interested in attending the movies than the bulls. Taurinos do not need to defend their position. We live in a retrograde country; it's like when the PP people give lessons to the poor workers how to behave (...) The rich live good and benefit from all the help. The rich can have an abortion paying, go to the movies, the theatre, bullfighting, concerts, etc. They make tailor-made laws for themselves. (...) "*

The opinions above are a small selection of several comments from mostly dissatisfied *antitaurino* participants in the survey. Some wrote personal experiences with bullfighting and how it affected their lives, others just wrote the word: "abolition". As we can read from the last comment, bullfighting relates to politics in the sense that the government can decide whether or not increase or decrease the VAT for it and also give or not some economic help to the industry. Therefore, the need of the next part of the survey. Part III of the study contained three questions concerning politics.

Question sixteen asked participants to place themselves on a one to seven Likert scale where one meant extreme left-wing political ideas and seven meant extreme right-wing political ideas.

Only 1.9% of the participants considered themselves as very right-wing oriented. In some EU countries like France or the Netherlands, extreme right parties are increasing their



popularity and number of voters. Compared to these countries, Spain is an exception. The recent dictatorship in Spain that ended in 1975 might explain why these fascist movements are not successful in Spain and probably also why only 1.9% of the survey participants chose six or seven to locate his/her political ideas.

In a study made by UK's Think tank as part of a European project about the increase of populisms, against EU and xenophobic parties; three factors are affecting EU countries: economic factors like unemployment and reduction of the welfare state, political factors like corruption, and immigration. While in other EU countries extreme right parties against EU have increased their support, Spaniards do not blame EU or immigrants for these difficulties. There is such a recent memory of Franco's dictatorship that the Spanish national identity, flag and song are related to the lack of freedom and rejected by many (Rengel, 2017).

On the other hand, it is important to say that almost 51% of the survey participants chose levels one and two, meaning to consider themselves to be extreme left-wing oriented, as we can see in graph number ten.

Question seventeen asked about the particular political party that was closer to the person's political views. Individuals who identify with Unidos Podemos (Podemos, Izquierda Unida and Equo) and PACMA were the most actively participating in the interview. According to the results: 40.9% felt closer to the political ideas of Unidos Podemos, 28.8% to the ideas of PACMA, 6.8% to Ciudadanos, 5.9% PSOE, 3.5% PP, 5.9% other left-wing parties, 0.7% other right-wing parties and 7.6% answered "other". In this 7.6% "other" option, some wrote that they did not feel identified with any political party, others wrote regional parties.

Question eighteen asked about the opinion regarding the membership of Spain in the European Union. Most survey participants were in favour or mostly to Spain as a member of EU, only 5% of the participants were against Spain as a member of the EU, and 14% were mostly against.

About these results, a working paper from Elcano Royal Institute claimed:

*"Research consistently demonstrates that only a very small part of the Spanish electorate identifies with the extreme right positions on the ideological scale. Furthermore, Spaniards stand out for their support for the EU (...) favourable attitudes to immigration and globalisation, compounded by the lack of a strong, common Spanish identity to appeal to, make Spain inhospitable terrain for the extreme populist right."* (González-Enríquez, 2017)

Part IV "About your values."

Question nineteen tries to find out if the Spaniards answering the survey are individualist or collectivist-minded. In a seven step Likert scale where one was “I usually think about my good” and seven was “I tend to think about the common good” most placed themselves on levels five and six, closer to thinking about the common good.

The following questions from number twenty to number 26 are all related to Schwartz’s theory of cultural value orientations. In a seven step Likert scale, participants had to place themselves depending on if they agreed or not with the whole set of values. The difficulties of this task, made that in the questions were people neither agree nor disagree or considered that some values should not be part of the group, people chose to remain in the middle.

Question twenty contained these values from Schwartz Embeddedness group: social order, security, honour elders and respect traditions. Some people wrote in the open question that honour the elder has nothing to do with respecting traditions or social order. Some manifested their impossibility to respect traditions that are cruel, such as bullfighting but agreed with the other values in the group. The triangle shape of the bar chart with a peak in the middle of the Likert scale in number four can be a sign of the difficulties for many to locate themselves in regards to this group of values.

Question 21 grouped the values of authority, wealth and power, under Schwartz’s Hierarchy group. Some people also manifested in the open question that in their opinion money had nothing to do with authority. However, this group of values had a clear trend towards not feeling identified with, the highest peak in number seven with a 42.9% of the participants.

Question 22 grouped the values of independence, success, ambition and looking for social recognition, all of them part of Schwartz’s Mastery orientation. Almost  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the participants chose to remain in the middle of the Likert scale. In the open question, some manifested their identification with independence and success but always in a determined context.

Question 23 covered Schwartz’s Affective Autonomy. The values in the group were: pleasure, varied and exciting life. While some manifested that for them enjoying life is not related to an exciting life and that pleasure can also be relaxed life instead of varied, most participants chose to place themselves on the side of feeling identified with this set of values.

Question 24 grouped values in Schwartz’s Intellectual Autonomy dimension: freedom, creativity, curiosity and being open-minded. 57.1% felt identified with this set of values

locating themselves in number one, together with 26.3% that chose number two, sum up for over 80% of the survey participants.

Question 25 grouped the values of Schwartz's Egalitarianism dimension: social justice, equality, honesty and loyalty. 68.5% felt very identified with this group of values chose number one, and 18.8% chose number two, making more than 85% actively identifying with Egalitarianism orientation values, no one noted any difficulties in the group of this values in the open question.

Finally, question 26 covered Schwartz's Harmony orientation with the values: world peace, protection of nature and the environment. 72.5% chose number one and 14.4% number two, what made of Harmony like Egalitarianism, one of the preferred orientations for the Spaniards answering the survey. Over 85% of the participants strongly identified with these set of values.

## 7.2 ANALYSIS TOOL: SPSS

To make an inference about a population from a sample, I test specific hypotheses.

- The Null hypothesis: The null hypothesis is conventionally the one in which no effect is present. I refer to it either as a null hypothesis or as  $H_0$ .
- The Alternative Hypothesis: It is the research hypothesis, the one that tries to prove that the differences are real.

I assess only the null hypothesis, the one that states there is no difference or no relationship. I only reject the null hypothesis when the result would have been extremely unlikely under the conditions set by the null hypothesis. (McCormick , Salcedo , & Poh , 2015). The criterion to accept or reject the hypotheses varies, depending on the type of hypotheses, how the variables are measured and the sample distribution.

Due to a large amount of data obtained from the survey, I have assumed that I am dealing with a normal distribution.

The total participants in the survey were 1640, however as we will see in the table results from SPSS in the hypotheses, the total sample in most of the tests is 1575 instead of 1640, this is due to lost cases. The reason for this is that in the variable attitude towards bullfighting that was taken out the seven step Likert scale, I only used the data of the people who chose levels one and two, which meant *antitaurinos* and levels six and seven, which meant *taurinos*. The Spaniards that considered themselves indifferent towards bullfighting and chose to remain in the middle of the scale at levels three to five were left

outside of the analysis. I did this to be able to spot differences better comparing supporters and protesters of bullfighting.

I run the following statistical tests with SPSS: t-test, z-test and chi-square. These tests allowed me to obtain tables to compare means and crosstabs with the variables that I needed to contrast.

In many hypotheses, I related to the results of the “Standardised Residuals” to decide on accepting or rejecting the hypothesis. To explain the reasoning behind it, I use the two-sided critical z-values shown in the table below:

**Two-sided critical z-values ( $z_{\alpha/2}$ )**

1 - $\alpha$				
.80	.90	.95	.99	.999
1.28	1.65	1.96	2.58	3.29

I used the value 1.96 because, in the level of confidence of 95% (1-alpha) or a significance level of 0.05, the critical z-value is 1.96. If the standardised residuals are above 1.96, I will accept the research hypothesis and reject the null hypothesis. The higher the value of the standardised residual, the higher the level of confidence.

I will begin with two hypotheses about demography, then two hypotheses about politics with an extra analysis to test the coherence of the political data obtained, following with four hypotheses about values and finally a hypothesis about the economy.

## 7.3 HYPOTHESES ABOUT DEMOGRAPHY

These hypotheses are both based on the results of the previous study by Ipsos Mori pollster in December 2015.

### 7.3.1 Hypothesis 1

Research Hypothesis H1: The percentage of Spaniards involved in social networks with a negative attitude toward bullfighting is significantly higher compared to those with a positive attitude toward bullfighting.

Null Hypothesis H0: The percentage of Spaniards involved in social networks with a negative attitude towards bullfighting is equal or lower than the percentage of Spaniards involved in social networks with a positive attitude towards bullfighting.

To reject or accept H1 I used t-test in SPSS. T-test will compare the performance of the participants in one group, in my case those with a negative attitude towards bullfighting, with the participants in another group, in my case those with a positive attitude towards bullfighting.

**Attitude Against / Support bullfighting**

Bullfighting Attitude		Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Accumulated percentage
Valid	Against bullfighting	1446	87,1	<b>91,8</b>	91,8
	Support bullfighting	129	7,8	<b>8,2</b>	100,0
	Total	1575	94,8	100,0	
Lost	System	86	5,2		
Total		1661	100,0		

As we can see in the table Attitude Against/ Support bullfighting, the total frequency is 1661. This number includes the people that answered the test surveys before the official survey was distributed. 86 are the lost cases and participants that were neither *taurinos* nor *antitaurinos*, not counted by SPSS. Therefore, I count with 1575 valid samples. In bold we can see the valid percentage of Spaniards against bullfighting 91.8% and the valid percentage of Spaniards that support bullfighting 8.2%.

**One-Sample Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. deviation	Std. Error mean
Bullfighting Attitude	1575	1,08	,274	,007

N is the sum of the total valid sample population, as I explained above, is 1575. The mean is 1.08, on the scale of one to seven being one against bullfighting and seven support bullfighting, the mean is oriented to the “against bullfighting” side of the scale.

**One-Sample Test**

	Test Value = 1.5					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean difference	95% confidence interval of the difference	
					Inferior	Superior
Bullfighting Attitude	-60,489	1574	<b>,000</b>	-,418	-,43	-,40

In the case that half of the sample population would support bullfighting and half would be against it, the test value would be 1.5. The explanation is due to the attitude variable re-coded in SPSS to make two attitude groups only being 1 supporting bullfighting and 2 against bullfighting.

The results of the One-Sample t-test is:

- The t value is very high and negative -60.489 for 1574 degrees of freedom
- The p-value is .000 (in blue), and it is located in the column labelled Sig.(2-tailed). Being the p-value is less than .05 I have to reject the null hypothesis and accept the research hypothesis.

The T-test assumes a normal distribution of the sample. If I use nonparametric test, which does not assume a normal distribution, I am also led to conclude the same as with the T-test. In the table below, the column observed N, marked in red, gives us the results of the survey, 1446 people chose to be against bullfighting, and 129 chose supporting it. In the case that the results were balanced (50/50) the expected N would be 787.5 for each group.

Attitude Against / Support bullfighting

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Against bullfighting	1446	787,5	658,5
Support bullfighting	129	787,5	-658,5
Total	1575		

	Attitude dummy
Chi-square	1101,263
df	1
Asymp. Sig.	,000

A very high value of chi-square and significance close to 0 (in blue), leads to the conclusion to reject the equality of means between protesters and supporters of bullfighting in social networks.

Therefore, I accept the first research hypothesis based on the T-test and chi-square results. H1: The percentage of Spaniards involved in social networks with a negative attitude toward bullfighting is significantly higher compared to those with a positive attitude toward bullfighting.

### 7.3.2 Hypothesis 2

Research Hypothesis H2: Spanish women are more likely to reject bullfighting compared to Spanish men.

Null hypothesis H0: Gender does not play a role in whether Spaniards reject or support bullfighting.

The Chi-square is a statistical procedure used to test hypotheses between two categorical variables. The test evaluates whether the proportions of individuals who fall into categories of a variable are equal to hypothesised values.

Crosstabs Gender and Attitude towards bullfighting

			Bullfighting Attitude		Total
			Against Bullfighting	Support bullfighting	
Gender	Male	Count	466 <sub>a</sub>	94 <sub>b</sub>	560
		% within attitude	32,2%	72,9%	35,6%
		Standardized Residual	-9,2	9,2	
	Female	Count	980 <sub>a</sub>	35 <sub>b</sub>	1015
		% within attitude	67,8%	27,1%	64,4%
		Standardized Residual	9,2	-9,2	
Total	Count	1446	129	1575	
	% within attitude	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

The Standardised Residuals in green show the relationship between gender and attitude towards bullfighting. In the cell Female against bullfighting, the residual is 9.2 (marked in green). The value is above 1.96 meaning that there is a higher proportion of women compared to men who are against bullfighting. The value 9.2 is also above 2.58 and 3.29, what would give the result a confidence level above 99.9%. If I had formulated the research hypothesis: Spanish men are more likely to support bullfighting than Spanish women, I could also accept that research hypothesis with the same level of confidence as we can see in the standardised residual marked in yellow in the column support bullfighting, row male.

The percentages also show that men are more likely to support bullfighting, 72.9% of men support while 27.1% of women support bullfighting in a total of 129 supporters. On the

other side, 32.2% of men are against bullfighting, compared to a 67.8% of women in a total of 1446 people against bullfighting.

Chi-square tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi- Square	40,481 <sup>a</sup>	1	,000	,000	,000
Continuity correction <sup>b</sup>	38,909	1	,000		
Likelihood Ratio	41,633	1	,000		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	40,324	1	,000		
N of Valid Cases	258				

The gender and attitude variables are related as we can see above in blue in the column Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) with a chi-square being below 0.01.

The results of the chi-square, the significance and standardised residuals lead to accepting the research hypothesis H2: Spanish women are more likely to reject bullfighting compared to Spanish men.

## 7.4 HYPOTHESES ABOUT POLITICS

### 7.4.1 Hypothesis 3

In this hypothesis, I considered the total sample of 1640 participants.

Research Hypothesis H3: There is a relationship between supporting Spain's membership in the EU and being in favour of an EU-regulation of bullfighting.

Null Hypothesis H0: There is no relationship between supporting Spain's membership in the EU and being in favour of an EU-regulation of bullfighting.

Cases summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Lost		Total	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Spain in EU * regulation	1640	98,7%	21	1,3%	1661	100,0%



**Crosstabs Spain in EU and Bullfighting regulation**

		Prefer regulation of bullfighting made					Total
		By the EU	By Spain (National)	By the region	By the city/town	not regulated	
Spain as a member of the EU	<b>In favor</b> Count	403 <sub>a</sub>	170 <sub>a, b</sub>	43 <sub>a, b</sub>	32 <sub>a, b</sub>	98 <sub>b</sub>	746
	% within attitude	48,7%	46,4%	44,3%	41,0%	36,2%	45,5%
	Standardized	2,6	,4	-,2	-,8	-,3	
	Residual						
<b>Rather in favor</b>	Count	294 <sub>a</sub>	134 <sub>a</sub>	35 <sub>a</sub>	29 <sub>a</sub>	92 <sub>a</sub>	584
	% within attitude	35,5%	36,6%	36,1%	37,2%	33,9%	35,6%
	Standardized	-,1	,5	,1	,3	-,6	
	Residual						
<b>Rather against</b>	Count	96 <sub>a</sub>	53 <sub>a, b</sub>	14 <sub>a, b</sub>	11 <sub>a, b</sub>	55 <sub>b</sub>	229
	% within attitude	11,6%	14,5%	14,4%	14,1%	20,3%	14,0%
	Standardized	-2,8	,3	,1	,0	3,3	
	Residual						
<b>Against</b>	Count	35 <sub>a</sub>	9 <sub>a</sub>	5 <sub>a, b</sub>	6 <sub>a, b</sub>	26 <sub>b</sub>	81
	% within attitude	4,2%	2,5%	5,2%	7,7%	9,6%	4,9%
	Standardized	-1,3	-2,5	,1	1,1	3,9	
	Residual						
Total	Count	828	366	97	78	271	1640
	% within regulation	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Chi-square tests</b>			
Pearson Chi- Square	37,546 <sup>a</sup>	12	,000
Likelihood Ratio	35,470	12	,000
Linear-by-Linear association	28,568	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	1640		

The significance of chi-square below 0.01 marked in blue above, shows the relationship between wanting Spain as a member of the EU and wanting an EU regulation of bullfighting. I accept H3 and reject H0. There is a relationship between supporting Spain's membership in the EU and being in favour of an EU-regulation of bullfighting.

#### 7.4.2 Hypothesis 4

Research Hypothesis H4: Spaniards who reject bullfighting are more likely to be positioned to the left of the political spectrum compared to Spaniards who support bullfighting

Null Hypothesis H0: There is no difference between Spaniards on the left and right of the political spectrum with regards to support of bullfighting.

Cases summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Lost		Total	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Orientation and Attitude	1575	94,8%	86	5,2%	1661	100,0%

The Standardised Residuals above 1.96 marked in green in the table below, show that the Spaniards who answered the survey and placed themselves at levels one, two and three of the political spectrum have a clear orientation to be against bullfighting. It is true even for the group that considered themselves at level three, corresponding to the centre-left of the political spectrum.

Participants who located themselves in levels 4-7 do not have Standardised Residuals above 1.96, they are in fact negative and below -1.96.

Crosstabs Political Orientation and Bullfighting Attitude

			Bullfighting Attitude		Total
			Against Bullfighting	Support bullfighting	
Political Orientation	<b>1</b>	Count	325 <sup>a</sup>	13 <sup>b</sup>	338
	<b>Very left wing</b>	% within attitude	22,5%	10,1%	21,5%
		Standardised Residual	3,3	-3,3	
	<b>2</b>	Count	475 <sup>a</sup>	10 <sup>b</sup>	485
	<b>left</b>	% within attitude	32,8%	7,8%	30,8%
		Standardised Residual	5,9	-5,9	
	<b>3</b>	Count	318 <sup>a</sup>	19 <sup>a</sup>	337
	<b>center left</b>	% within attitude	22,0%	14,7%	21,4%
		Standardised Residual	1,9	-1,9	
	<b>4</b>	Count	279 <sup>a</sup>	34 <sup>a</sup>	313
	<b>center</b>	% within attitude	19,3%	26,4%	19,9%
		Standardised Residual	-1,9	1,9	
	<b>5</b>	Count	35 <sup>a</sup>	36 <sup>b</sup>	71
	<b>center right</b>	% within attitude	2,4%	27,9%	4,5%
		Standardised Residual	-13,4	13,4	
	<b>6</b>	Count	7 <sup>a</sup>	9 <sup>b</sup>	16
	<b>right</b>	% within attitude	0,5%	7,0%	1,0%
		Standardised Residual	-7,0	7,0	
	<b>7</b>	Count	7 <sup>a</sup>	8 <sup>b</sup>	15
	<b>very right wing</b>	% within attitude	0,5%	6,2%	1,0%
		Standardised Residual	-6,4	6,4	
Total		Count	1446	129	1575
		% within attitude	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The Standardised Residuals marked in yellow show the tendency of the participants who located themselves in the levels five, six and seven of the political spectrum to support bullfighting. The results above 1.96 show a relationship between supporting bullfighting and identifying with right-wing political orientations.

On the other hand, the sample of Spaniards that chose left political orientation and being against bullfighting exceeds 1100 people in the levels one, two and three together.

Chi-square tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi- Square	299,053	6	,000
Likelihood Ratio	182,705	6	,000
Linear-by-Linear association	162,482	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	1575		

Finally, the high value of the chi-square together with a significance below 0.01 leads to the conclusion of accepting the research hypothesis H4 Spaniards who reject bullfighting are more likely to be positioned to the left of the political spectrum compared to Spaniards who support bullfighting.

To add coherence to the result of the hypotheses related to politics I used SPSS to make a z- test crosstabs with the relationship between attitude towards bullfighting and the closeness to specific political parties. In the cases summary, we can see the lost cases are 86, meaning the people who placed themselves in the three to five levels of the scale, showing a more neutral view about bullfighting.

**Cases summary**

	Cases					
	Valid		Lost		Total	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Political party * attitude	1575	94,8%	86	5,2%	1661	100,0%

**Crosstabs Political party and Bullfighting Attitude**

			Bullfighting Attitude		Total
			Against Bullfighting	Support bullfighting	
Party	<b>PP</b>	Count	16	36	52
		% within attitude	1,1%	27,9%	3,3%
		Standardised Residual	-16,3	16,3	
	<b>PSOE</b>	Count	63	19	82
		% within attitude	4,4%	14,7%	5,2%
		Standardised Residual	-5,1	5,1	
	<b>Ciudadanos (Cs)</b>	Count	65	32	97
		% within attitude	4,5%	24,8%	6,2%
		Standardised Residual	-9,2	9,2	
	<b>PACMA</b>	Count	472	1	473
		% within attitude	32,6%	0,8%	30,0%
		Standardised Residual	7,6	-7,6	
	<b>Unidos Podemos</b>	Count	646 <sup>a</sup>	13	659
		% within attitude	44,7%	10,1%	41,8%
		Standardised Residual	7,6	-7,6	
	<b>Other right-wing</b>	Count	8	10	18
		% within attitude	0,6%	7,8%	1,1%
		Standardised Residual	-7,4	7,4	
	<b>Other left-wing</b>	Count	89	9	98
		% within attitude	6,2%	7,0%	6,2%
		Standardised Residual	-4	,4	
	<b>Other</b>	Count	47	8	55
		% within attitude	3,3%	6,2%	3,5%
		Standardised Residual	-1,7	1,7	
	<b>None</b>	Count	40	1	41
		% within attitude	2,8%	0,8%	2,6%
		Standardised Residual	1,4	-1,4	
Total		Count	1446	129	1575
		% within attitude	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

To interpret the results, we have to first look at the total count of “Against Bullfighting” and “Support bullfighting” marked in red above. The Standardised Residuals in yellow

are done based on the division of “Against Bullfighting” and “Support bullfighting”, in other words, by columns, and not by rows. Therefore, the Standardised Residuals above 1.96 in the column of supporters of bullfighting correspond to supporters of the parties PP, PSOE, Ciudadanos and other right-wing parties. It does not mean that the majority of people who participated in the survey and vote for these parties’ support bullfighting, but out of the total of 129 *taurinos* the residuals are above 1.96.

Voters of PP participating in this survey are without doubt more supporters of bullfighting, as we can see they are a total of 27.9% of the total supporters of bullfighting. Also of the total of 52 voters of PP, 36 support bullfighting, compared to 16 who are against it.

Even though PSOE and Ciudadanos have more survey participants who are against bullfighting than supporting it, we can see that in the total percentage within attitude, PSOE supporters of bullfighting are 14.7% of the total and Ciudadanos are 24.8% of the total, which is related with the Standardised Residuals above 1.96.

However as we can see marked in grey, the total participants voters of PP, PSOE and Ciudadanos in this survey are all below 100 for each party. Therefore, the results are not significant and are not enough to be able to generalizable to the total population of other voters of those parties.

On the other hand, the Standardised Residuals in green in the column “Against Bullfighting” correspond to the voters of the parties Unidos Podemos and PACMA.

As we can see in the column “Against bullfighting”, PACMA voters were a 32.6% of the total participants against bullfighting and Unidos Podemos voters were 44.7% of the total against bullfighting.

The total participants in the survey of PACMA and Unidos Podemos are above 100 participants for each party. It could be possible to generalise the results to the voters of those parties, especially the voters of PACMA. It is logical that voters of PACMA are against bullfighting. It is possible to relate that voters of Unidos Podemos are in general

against bullfighting, because of a total of 659 people, 646 are against bullfighting and 13 are supporters.

Chi-square tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi- Square	493,976 <sup>a</sup>	8	,000
Likelihood Ratio	334,703	8	,000
Linear-by-Linear association	93,026	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	1575		

The Pearson chi-square significance close to 0, shows that the variables political parties and bullfighting attitude are related.

The Standardised Residuals have helped us to see in which categories these variables are related and they have shown consistent results depending on the party affinity.

## 7.5 HYPOTHESES ABOUT VALUES

### 7.5.1 Hypothesis 5

Research Hypothesis H5: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with individualistic values compared to those who support bullfighting.

Null Hypothesis H0: There is no difference regarding individualistic values between Spaniards rejecting bullfighting and those supporting it

Cases summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Lost		Total	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Individualism * attitude	1574	94,8%	87	5,2%	1661	100,0%

Crosstabs individualism\*attitude

			Bullfighting Attitude		Total
			Against Bullfighting	Support bullfighting	
Individualism versus Collectivism	1	Count	5 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>a</sup>	6
	Individualist	% within attitude	0,3%	0,8%	0,4%
		Standardised Residual	-,8	,8	
	2	Count	24 <sup>a</sup>	3 <sup>a</sup>	27
	Individualist	% within attitude	1,7%	2,3%	1,7%
		Standardised Residual	-,6	,6	
	3	Count	94 <sup>a</sup>	13 <sup>a</sup>	107
		% within attitude	6,5%	10,1%	6,8%
		Standardised Residual	-1,5	1,5	
	4	Count	284 <sup>a</sup>	35 <sup>b</sup>	319
		% within attitude	19,7%	27,1%	20,3%
		Standardised Residual	-2,0	2,0	
	5	Count	350 <sup>a</sup>	34 <sup>a</sup>	384
		% within attitude	24,2%	26,4%	24,4%
		Standardised Residual	-,5	,5	
	6 Collectivist	Count	426 <sup>a</sup>	29 <sup>a</sup>	455
		% within attitude	29,5%	22,5%	28,9%
		Standardised Residual	1,7	-1,7	
	7 Collectivist	Count	262 <sup>a</sup>	14 <sup>b</sup>	276
		% within attitude	18,1%	10,9%	17,5%
		Standardised Residual	2,1	-2,1	
Total			1445	129	1574
			100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Chi-square tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi- Square	12,175 <sup>a</sup>	6	,058
Likelihood Ratio	12,140	6	,059
Linear-by-Linear association	11,586	1	,001
N of Valid Cases	1574		

This hypothesis relates the results of question nineteen with the attitude towards bullfighting. In general, not many people chose to locate themselves in the Individualist



part of the scale. Only 33 people chose levels one to two which were “I usually think about my good”. Over 700 participants chose levels six to seven “I tend to think about the common good”.

The Standardised Residuals marked in green are the ones below -1.96. It does not exist a significative proportion in the relationship between the variable individualism and attitude towards bullfighting as levels one and two “Individualist” are -0.8 and -0.6 respectively.

Looking at the table, we can see that in the column against bullfighting and level seven of collectivism, there is a Standardised Residual of 2.1, above 1.96 what leads to conclude the opposite of the research hypothesis number five.

It possible to see that question nineteen was hard to answer for many participants. There is a significative proportion in the Standardised Residuals (-2.0) in level four, which was the middle of the scale. Reading the explanations of some participants who answered the open question about values, many chose to locate themselves midst of the Likert scale when they were unsure about their opinion or the meaning of the question.

The significance of chi-square is .058 marked in blue above. Being below 0.1 but above 0.05 indicates the relationship to the limit between individualism and attitude towards bullfighting. The relationship to the limit depends on the level of confidence of 95%.

I am led to accept the null hypothesis H0: There is no difference regarding individualistic values between Spaniards rejecting bullfighting and those supporting it. I have to reject H5 because the test results show it is not true. Therefore I reject that Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with individualistic values compared to those who support bullfighting.

### 7.5.2 Hypothesis 6

Research Hypothesis H6: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with intellectual autonomy values compared to those who support bullfighting.

Null Hypothesis H0: There is no difference regarding intellectual autonomy between Spaniards rejecting bullfighting and those supporting it

**Cases summary**

	Cases					
	Valid		Lost		Total	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Intellectual Autonomy * attitude	1575	94,8%	86	5,2%	1661	100,0%

**Crosstabs Intellectual Autonomy \* Bullfighting Attitude**

			Bullfighting Attitude		Total
			Against Bullfighting	Support bullfighting	
<b>Intellectual Autonomy</b>	<b>1 Strong</b>	Count	857 <sup>a</sup>	56 <sup>b</sup>	<b>913</b>
		% within attitude	59,3%	43,4%	58,0%
		Standardised Residual	3,5	-3,5	
	<b>2 Strong</b>	Count	374 <sup>a</sup>	35 <sup>a</sup>	<b>409</b>
		% within attitude	25,9%	27,1%	26,0%
		Standardised Residual	-,3	,3	
	<b>3</b>	Count	89 <sup>a</sup>	20 <sup>b</sup>	109
		% within attitude	6,2%	15,5%	6,9%
		Standardised Residual	-4,0	4,0	
	<b>4</b>	Count	43 <sup>a</sup>	7 <sup>a</sup>	50
		% within attitude	3,0%	5,4%	3,2%
		Standardised Residual	-1,5	1,5	
	<b>5</b>	Count	7 <sup>a</sup>	6 <sup>b</sup>	13
		% within attitude	0,5%	4,7%	0,8%
		Standardised Residual	-5,0	5,0	
	<b>6 Not identify</b>	Count	27 <sup>a</sup>	3 <sup>a</sup>	30
		% within attitude	1,9%	2,3%	1,9%
		Standardised Residual	-,4	,4	
	<b>7 Not identify</b>	Count	49 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>a</sup>	51
		% within attitude	3,4%	1,6%	3,2%
		Standardised Residual	1,1	-1,1	
<b>Total</b>		Count	1446	129	1575
		% within attitude	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Chi square tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi- Square	48,694 <sup>a</sup>	6	,000
Likelihood Ratio	33,843	6	,000
Linear-by-Linear association	7,620	1	,006
N of Valid Cases	1575		

58% of the survey participants, a total of 913 chose the highest level of identification with the values of Intellectual Autonomy: Freedom, creativity, curiosity and broadmindedness. From those 913, 56 are bullfighting supporters, and 857 are protesters. The Standardised Residual (in green) is 3.5, higher than 1.96 and as a consequence of this, I can say that there is a significant proportion that relates Intellectual Autonomy with being against bullfighting. Nevertheless, keeping in mind that the total of bullfighting supporters is 129 people, it is important to remark that 56 *taurinos* strongly identify with Intellectual Autonomy values.

Summing up the levels one and two of strong identification with Intellectual Autonomy values we have 1322 people being the valid cases N= 1575. It means that most Spaniards in general, both supporters and protesters of bullfighting strongly identify with being creative, broad-minded, curious and free.

The chi-square significance marked in blue in the table above being below 0.01 relates the variables Intellectual Autonomy and Bullfighting Attitude.

The test results lead me to accept my research hypothesis H6 Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with intellectual autonomy values compared to those who support bullfighting.

### 7.5.3 Hypothesis 7

Research Hypothesis H7: Spaniards who reject bullfighting, identify more with egalitarian values compared to those who support bullfighting.

Null Hypothesis H0: There is no difference regarding egalitarian values between Spaniards rejecting bullfighting and those supporting it.

Cases summary						
	Cases					
	Valid		Lost		Total	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Egalitarianism * Attitude	1575	94,8%	86	5,2%	1661	100,0%

Crosstabs Egalitarianism \* Bullfighting Attitude

			Bullfighting Attitude		Total
			Against Bullfighting	Support bullfighting	
Egalitarianism	1 Strong	Count	1036 <sup>a</sup>	62 <sup>b</sup>	1098
		% within attitude	71,6%	48,1%	69,7%
		Standardised Residual	5,6	-5,6	
	2 Strong	Count	251 <sup>a</sup>	37 <sup>b</sup>	288
		% within attitude	17,4%	28,7%	18,3%
		Standardised Residual	-3,2	3,2	
	3	Count	49 <sup>a</sup>	18 <sup>b</sup>	67
		% within attitude	3,4%	14,0%	4,3%
		Standardised Residual	-5,7	5,7	
	4	Count	27 <sup>a</sup>	4 <sup>a</sup>	31
		% within attitude	1,9%	3,1%	2,0%
		Standardised Residual	-1,0	1,0	
	5	Count	7 <sup>a</sup>	3 <sup>b</sup>	10
		% within attitude	0,5%	2,3%	0,6%
		Standardised Residual	-2,5	2,5	
	6	Count	21 <sup>a</sup>	3 <sup>a</sup>	24
		Not identify % within attitude	1,5%	2,3%	1,5%
		Standardised Residual	-,8	,8	
	7	Count	55 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>a</sup>	57
		Not identify % within attitude	3,8%	1,6%	3,6%
		Standardised Residual	1,3	-1,3	
Total		Count	1446	129	1575
		% within attitude	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

1098 people chose one, the highest level of egalitarianism in the seven Likert scale. The egalitarian values chosen for the survey question were: equality, social justice and honesty. Out of this 1098, 1036 were against bullfighting, and 62 were supporters.

The Standardised Residual in the table above for egalitarianism level one, marked in green is 5.6, which is above 1.96. It means that there is a relationship between egalitarian values and bullfighting attitude.

Chi-square tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi- Square	58,325	6	,000
Likelihood Ratio	45,550	6	,000
Linear-by-Linear association	7,363	1	,007
N of Valid Cases	1575		

The chi-square significance close to 0 marked in blue in the table test results, indicates that the research hypothesis H7 is accepted. Spaniards who reject bullfighting, identify more with egalitarian values compared to those who support bullfighting.

#### 7.5.4 Hypothesis 8

Research Hypothesis H8: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with harmony values compared to those who support bullfighting.

Null Hypothesis H0: There is no difference regarding harmony values between Spaniards rejecting bullfighting and those supporting it.

If we sum up in the table below the total participants who strongly relate to harmony values in the levels one and two, marked in grey, we get a total of 1388. The Standardised Residual marked in green in shows that participants against bullfighting get a residual above 1.96 for the first level of harmony strength. 1111 people strongly relate to harmony values and are against bullfighting. Out of the total of 129 *taurinos*, 99 strongly relate to harmony values summing up levels one and two.

**Crosstabs Harmony \* Bullfighting Attitude**

			Bullfighting attitude		Total
			Against Bullfighting	Support bullfighting	
Harmony	<b>1 Strong</b>	Count	1111	59	1170
		% within attitude	76,8%	45,7%	74,3%
		Standardised	7,7	-7,7	
		Residual			
	<b>2 Strong</b>	Count	178	40	218
		% within attitude	12,3%	31,0%	13,8%
		Standardised	-5,9	5,9	
		Residual			
	<b>3</b>	Count	49	11	60
		% within attitude	3,4%	8,5%	3,8%
		Standardised	-2,9	2,9	
		Residual			
	<b>4</b>	Count	25	9	34
		% within attitude	1,7%	7,0%	2,2%
		Standardised	-3,9	3,9	
		Residual			
	<b>5</b>	Count	8	3	11
		% within attitude	0,6%	2,3%	0,7%
		Standardised	-2,3	2,3	
		Residual			
	<b>6 Not identify</b>	Count	11	6	17
		% within attitude	0,8%	4,7%	1,1%
		Standardised	-4,1	4,1	
		Residual			
	<b>7 Not identify</b>	Count	64	1	65
		% within attitude	4,4%	0,8%	4,1%
		Standardised	2,0	-2,0	
		Residual			
	<b>Total</b>	Count	1446	129	1575
		% within attitude	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

**Cases summary**

	Cases					
	Valid		Lost		Total	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Harmony * attitude	1575	94,8%	86	5,2%	1661	100,0%

**Symmetric measures**

		Value	Std. error	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by nominal	Pearson's R	,096	,026	3,831	,000 <sup>c</sup>
	Spearman's correlation	,185	,029	7,479	,000 <sup>c</sup>
N of valid cases		1575			

The results of the chi-square test with significance close to 0, leads to conclude that the variables bullfighting attitude and harmony values are related.

I am led to accept H8: Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with harmony values compared to those who support bullfighting based on the results of the tests.

## 7.6 HYPOTHESIS ABOUT ECONOMY

### 7.6.1 Hypothesis 9

Research Hypothesis H9: Spaniards who get economic benefits out of bullfighting activities are more likely to support bullfighting, compared to those who do not get economic benefits out of bullfighting.

Null Hypothesis H0: Direct economic benefits have no relation with liking or disliking bullfighting.

**Cases summary**

	Cases					
	Valid		Lost		Total	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Family Economy * Attitude	1575	94,8%	86	5,2%	1661	100,0%

Crosstabs Family economy \* Bullfighting Attitude dummy

				Bullfighting Attitude		Total
				Against Bullfighting	Support bullfighting	
Family economy gets benefit out of bullfighting activities	Yes	Count		38 <sup>a</sup>	34 <sup>b</sup>	72
		% within attitude		2,6%	26,4%	4,6%
		Standardised Residual		-12,4	12,4	
	No	Count		1408 <sup>a</sup>	95 <sup>b</sup>	1503
		% within attitude		97,4%	73,6%	95,4%
		Standardised Residual		12,4	-12,4	
Total		Count		1446	129	1575
		% within attitude		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
<b>Chi-square tests</b>					
Pearson Chi- Square	152,860 <sup>a</sup>	1	,000		
Continuity correction <sup>b</sup>	147,469	1	,000		
Likelihood Ratio	84,590	1	,000		
Fisher's Exact Test				,000	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	152,763	1	,000		
N of Valid Cases	1575				

The Standardised Residuals in the column "Support bullfighting" marked in yellow show the relationship between family economy and attitude towards bullfighting. It exists a significant proportion for those who get economic benefits out of bullfighting (12.4) compared to those who do not (-12.4) Out of the total of 129 participants that support bullfighting, marked in red, 34 people get economic benefits out of bullfighting activities.

We can also see that 38 participants get economic benefits out of bullfighting activities which are actually against bullfighting.

The significance of Pearson's chi-square marked in blue and close to 0 leads to the acceptance of research hypothesis H9 Spaniards who get economic benefits out of bullfighting activities are more likely to support bullfighting, compared to those who do not get economic benefits out of bullfighting.



## 8 DISCUSSION

As I mentioned in the methodology part, I considered the principles of reliability, validity, discrimination, response rate, same meaning for all respondents and relevance.

Reliability means that the question cannot be ambiguous. The person who answers would respond in the same way on different occasions unless the person has changed over time (De Vaus, 2002), it was a challenge when I wrote the questions about Schwartz's Theory of Cultural Value Orientations. The fact that many values are in the same cultural value orientation group affected the answers of participants. For instance, some participants disagreed that particular values were located in the same group as other values which they did not relate to in the same way. It affected the answers, and I can see in the results that when the person did not agree with the whole group of values, they chose to remain in the middle of the seven step Likert scale. The questions about values are somewhat unreliable since they try to cover many values at once. Values were together to have Schwartz's Cultural Value Orientation groups ready, but also to challenge participants and spot which values in each group were the most conflicting. In the open question about values, some people expressed their concerns about Mastery and Embeddedness orientations. The values that some pointed out that created conflict were "independence" and "respect traditions". Independence was in Mastery orientation together with ambition, success and social recognition, some felt identified with independence but not with the others in the same orientation. "Respect traditions" was together with social order, security and honour the elder. "Respect traditions" itself was right for most, but some pointed out the difference between cruel and bloody traditions, like bullfighting, and other types.

Validity concerns the question measuring what we think it does (De Vaus, 2002). I argue that the questions that relate to values are complicated to measure. Two different people may interpret values differently unless putting themselves in a particular situation. If the values are grouped with other values, the validity decreases. I recommend that a future study about this topic analyses the values separately to provide higher validity.

To avoid discrimination, in the questions with a list of answers, I have given some pre-determined answers and in some questions even added the option "other". However, in question number eighteen, regarding Spain in the European Union, to have a clearer result, I removed the option "neither agree nor disagree".

All questions were mandatory (except for the open questions), to avoid a low response rate. The open questions gave participants the possibility to develop their opinions about bullfighting further and gave participants the opportunity to express what dilemmas they encountered when answering the values part of the survey.

The survey had a careful design to minimise the potential problem that questions do not have the same meaning for all participants.

At the moment of elaborating the survey, all questions were relevant. However, the thesis focus varied during the process.

The results of the hypotheses offer an interesting discussion. Regarding the demography hypotheses, H1 confirms the previous Ipsos Mori's study results published in 2016, claiming that there are more Spaniards against bullfighting than supporting it. In my hypothesis, I added the key fact of specifying that in this case, we are talking about those Spaniards who are involved in social networks.

Also, there are people attending bullfighting events of all types, what shows that there is some interest in their celebration. I would argue that *antitaurinos* seem more enthusiastic and organised in their attempt to stop bullfighting. *Antitaurinos* actively shared the survey, and that is the reason why my survey results about bullfighting support got biased towards most Spaniards in social networks being against bullfighting.

The results of H2 support the conclusion of earlier studies that women are more likely to be against bullfighting than men. Since women have been excluded from actively participating in bullfighting in the past, it is a possible explanation for their lack of interest for bullfighting compared to men's.

The reasoning behind H3 is that if an individual supports Spain's membership in the EU, this might have a connection with the fact that the person would prefer an EU regulation of bullfighting. To be able to link the positive attitude of Spaniards about Spain's membership in the EU, Europeanization and the wish of an EU regulation of bullfighting, a survey would need to have more questions about Spain and EU. The survey does not give information about why more than 50% of Spaniards think that an EU regulation of bullfighting is appropriate. An EU law would provide a clear overview of bullfighting regulations, however, if the EU got involved to the point of deciding the future of bullfighting, probably it would be to favour the *antitaurino* side. Then, many Spaniards of the *taurino* side who currently support Spain in the EU, would not see the EU as a positive entity any longer. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that EU will intervene in bullfighting.

The explanation of H4, related to Spaniards who reject bullfighting being more likely to be positioned to the left of the political spectrum, is connected to the background chapter about history and political parties views on bullfighting.

The fact that the right-wing parties have historically supported and promoted *corridas* could arguably support the assumption that the voters of those parties support bullfighting more than the voters of left-wing parties. However, according to an interview of four young *taurinos*, bullfighting as football, join people of all political views, not everyone is a voter of PP (Iván, 2017). The largest political parties are not publicly clear about their opinion of bullfighting, however, as I exposed in part 4.2.1, the journal *Heraldo* of Aragón presented the opinions of the main party representatives in that region, and those provide general guidelines about the party's opinion of bullfighting. Also, on the one hand, the fact that in the Balearic Islands, PP and Ciudadanos (right-wing parties) voted against the modification of bullfighting events shows a somewhat positive related view of these parties about bullfighting traditions. On the other hand, the initiative to make bullfighting a less bloody event come from the left-wing parties (PSOE, Podemos and Més) what shows the interest of these parties to modify the current situation of bullfighting towards a more restricted version.

I argue that it might be possible that Spaniards who vote conservative parties are more likely to be supporters of bullfighting. Nevertheless, a generalisation about it is not correct. The survey results show, most *taurinos* (88 out of 129) placed themselves in a more central political orientation (levels three to five both included), not placing themselves clearly as left-wing or right-wing supporters. However, it is clear that most *antitaurinos* (1118 out of 1446) placed themselves as left-wing politically oriented (levels one to three both included). All PACMA voters except one selected to be *antitaurinos* in question nine. This one person afterwards wrote in the open question that bullfighting must be forbidden. Therefore I understand that the person did not read the question properly.

H5 claimed that Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with individualistic values compared to those who support bullfighting. Even if I am led to accept the null hypothesis, that there is no difference regarding individualistic values between Spaniards rejecting bullfighting and those supporting it, Spaniards that reject bullfighting score higher in collectivistic values. According to this result, Tönnies' study that would argue that *antitaurinos*, for moving in the direction of being more modern and becoming "more European" would be more likely to be more individualistic is not validated. My results would be closer to support Schwartz's study, *antitaurinos* are more likely to be collectivist due to the political activism and needed cooperation involved in their activities.

It could explain the collaborations between PACMA; the Platform Torture Is Not Culture and other organisations in national demonstrations against bullfighting. The power of the activist groups united has a bigger impact when they are united, as the number of participants is higher and it also gives more visibility in the media.

H6 and H7 about intellectual autonomy and egalitarian values are accepted because the standardised residuals for the group against bullfighting score higher in level one are above 1.96. However, one has to pay attention to the total number of supporters of bullfighting that chose to feel strongly identified with intellectual autonomy and egalitarianism values, exceeding 90 (out of a total of 129 *taurinos*) counting together levels one and two of strong identification. Consequently, even if statistically I am led to accept the hypotheses that *antitaurinos* identify more with intellectual autonomy and egalitarianism than *taurinos*, I would argue that *taurinos* also identify with those set of value orientations, based on the total number of *taurinos* who strongly identified with those values.

Regarding H8, both *taurinos* and *antitaurinos* seem to identify with harmony values. The high percentages of *taurinos* who relate to harmony values could explain why *taurinos* feel a connection with nature, and they relate it to their love to the bull. The results of the statistical tests lead me to accept the research hypothesis that Spaniards who reject bullfighting identify more with harmony values compared to those who support bullfighting. Nonetheless, Spaniards who support bullfighting also strongly identify with harmony values (Martín Vicente, 1998). We can see it in the crosstabs table where 99 *taurinos* (out of 129) chose levels one and two of harmony, meaning they felt very much identified with these values.

Finally, H9 statistics test leads me to conclude that Spaniards who get economic benefits out of bullfighting activities are more likely to support bullfighting, compared to those who do not get economic benefits out of bullfighting. It seems like a typical reaction related to direct family economy benefit from the activity. However, as the statistics showed, still in this sample, 38 people who are economically benefiting from bullfighting activities, are against the activity. Therefore it is not possible to generalise that getting economic benefits out of bullfighting leads to being a supporter of the bullfighting business.

## 9 CONCLUSION

This research aimed to test some of the results of previous surveys and studies about bullfighting and verify if there is a reason to relate bullfighting and politics. The novelty of this approach lies in the use of social psychology theories to try to find out underlying values of supporters and protesters of bullfighting in Spain and thus seek an explanation for the polarised views on these events.

To be able to define participants' values, I mainly used Schwartz Theory of Cultural Value Orientations, which divides values into groups. He also made a visual co-plot map (see image 3) where he located the countries which were part of his research. He placed Spain towards the dimension of egalitarianism, close to harmony and intellectual autonomy. My research supports Schwartz's placement of Spain in his values map. Also, a further finding is that it adds that *antitaurinos* identify stronger with these dimensions compared to *taurinos*.

The survey, divided into parts, aimed to find out some the participants' characteristics in an attempt to compare results with previous study results as well as create new knowledge. One of the earlier studies used was the one from the pollster Ipsos Mori in with data from 2015. The results I got help to confirm Ipsos Mori's, they are both pointing in the same direction.

- ✓ In social networks, there is a considerably higher number of Spaniards against bullfighting compared to the number of bullfighting fans
- ✓ Women are less interested in bullfighting than men

However, the interpretation of this data must be done carefully. The fast and enthusiastic response of those against bullfighting sharing the survey in social media could have conditioned the results, making the number of *antitaurinos* much higher than what it is. Nevertheless, most studies point a greater number of bullfighting protesters, which can be true but also can be a sign of the lack of interest of bullfighting fans to express their support in research studies.

The survey contained questions whose results I was not able to deeply analyse, but that can be used for further research. For instance, does the diversity of the neighbourhood or the friendships affect the attitude towards bullfighting?

The open questions in the survey provided insight into the reasoning behind the sides. While *antitaurinos* claimed that bullfighting is a barbarous, cruel and primitive tradition that must be forbidden, *taurinos* argued that it is in the roots of the Spanish culture, it is art and heritage that must be preserved and protected. *Antitaurinos* aim to forbid all

bullfighting events, and *taurinos* want to keep them as they have been in the past, unmodified.

The survey missed more specific questions that would give a better understanding about some of the answers. For example, my research shows that:

- ✓ There is a relationship between supporting Spain's membership of the EU and being in favour of an EU-regulation of bullfighting

It would be interesting to know what are the reasons for wanting an EU regulation of bullfighting instead of a national, a regional or a local one. My study does not provide an answer to this question.

From the limited literature about bullfighting attitudes, it seems that the conflict between *taurinos* and *antitaurinos* has existed for the longest time and it is usually related to different political views. Is bullfighting politicised? In my opinion, yes, it is, but there are valid reasons for it.

In the analysis part, we could see how the Standardized Residuals in the SPSS table showed that:

- ✓ There is a positive relationship between Spaniards that support bullfighting and consider themselves right-wing party supporters as well as a positive relationship between being against bullfighting and supporting left-wing political parties.

Douglass' nineties book is a magnificent source of answers related to bullfighting that still apply nowadays. She projected the two sides of the history during the Spanish Civil War and afterwards. The "right" being the "true Spain", caring about traditions like bullfighting and keeping heritage safe from the "left" who looks forward a more Europeanized Spain where bullfighting events are forbidden because they are just cruel traditions keeping Spain away from other European countries regarding modernisation. This division might be simplistic, and it has many nuances in today's Spanish society.

Every time a regional government changes the current regulations of bullfighting or PACMA reaches national visibility with their actions; bullfighting will be in the spotlight. As we saw in the example of the Canary Islands, initiatives to stop or modify bullfighting do not necessarily come from PACMA or left-wing parties. Another conclusion of this study is that:

- ✓ Only in the case of PACMA can we safely assume that the supporters of that party are 100% against bullfighting.

Regarding Spaniards 'values my results gave the following information:

- ✓ Spaniards who reject bullfighting rank higher in collectivistic values
- ✓ Spaniards feel identified with the Schwartz's orientations of egalitarianism, intellectual autonomy and harmony, especially those against bullfighting.

Finally, this research can conclude that:

- ✓ Spaniards who get economic benefits out of bullfighting activities are more likely to support bullfighting compared to those who do not get economic benefits out of bullfighting.

This study concludes that to make generalisations about values behind bullfighting attitudes, there is a necessity of critically examining the views of many bullfighting supporters and protesters using interviews, for instance.

It is rather difficult to find out all the factors that lead one person to be bullfighting supporter or protester. From social influence to a passion for the animal world there are as many factors involved as complicated is to spot them. However, this research has shed some light on aspects like the clear identification of Spaniards against bullfighting with Schwartz's Orientations of Intellectual Autonomy, Egalitarianism and Harmony, the left-wing of the political spectrum and their active response in social networks.

As a final note, I would like to refer to a statement in the poem "The two Lanterns" of the Spanish poet Ramón de Campoamor (1817-1901):

*"(...) In this traitor world, nothing is true or false; everything depends on the light of the colour of the crystal one looks through.<sup>5</sup>"*

<sup>5</sup> My translation of: "(...) En este mundo traidor nada es verdad ni mentira; todo es según el color del cristal con que se mira."

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## 11 APPENDICES

### 11.1 ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE SPANISH SURVEY

**Title:**

Survey about the values of Spaniards and their relationship with bullfighting

**Explanation:**

The information you give in this survey will be used to elaborate a Master thesis at Copenhagen Business School in Denmark.

The objective public of this survey are people with Spanish nationality/citizenship.

If you took the time to use 6-8 minutes in answering the questions, please, do so with total honesty. The answers you provide are completely anonymous.

Thank you very much in advance!

**Part I “About yourself.”**

Note: If you are Spanish living abroad, in the question about your region use the region you lived in Spain. For other specific questions (city size, neighbourhood) use the information about your current residence.

1. Are you?

Men

Women

2. How old are you? (Type only the digits, for instance: 68)

3. What is your maximum level of studies?

I have no studies / Primary school or similar

Secondary school or similar

Bachelor or similar

Master / PhD similar or superior

4. Which region are you from?

Andalucía

Aragón



Asturias  
Cantabria  
Castile La Mancha  
Castile y León  
Comunidad de Madrid  
Comunidad Valenciana  
Cataluña  
Ceuta  
Extremadura  
Galicia  
Islas Baleares  
Islas Canarias  
La Rioja  
Murcia  
Melilla  
Navarra  
País Vasco

5. I live in a city...

Between 1 and 10.000 people  
Between 10.001 and 300.000 people  
With more than 300.001 people

6. My neighborhood is...

Diverse (there are people from many cultures)  
Not very diverse  
Not diverse at all

7. I have lived (more than 6 months)...

Always in the same place  
In many places, all of them in Spain  
In many places, also in other countries

8. My closest friendships

They are all Spanish  
 They are mainly Spanish but also from other cultures/nationalities  
 They are mainly people from other cultures but also Spanish  
 They are all from another nationality (not Spanish)  
 Other (specify)

## Part II "Bulls, your opinion and your environment."

9. Being "*Antitaurino*" a person against all type of events where bulls and similar are used and "*Taurino*" a person for all type of events where bulls and similar are used. Place yourself on the scale where one means very *antitaurino* and seven means very *taurino*.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. The economy where you live benefits from bullfighting?

Yes  
 No

11. Do you or your family get direct benefits of bullfighting or their "*aficionados*"/fans?

Yes  
 No

12. In your opinion: Who should regulate bullfighting events?

The European Union  
 The Spanish Government  
 The region  
 The city, town, village  
 It should not be regulated

### 13. Bullfighting events

	I like it/them, and I actively participate	I like it/them and I go to see it/them	I am indifferent	I dislike it/them	I strongly dislike it/them	I do not know what it/they are
Corridas de Toros						
Becerradas						
Encierros						
Capeas						
Toros enmaromados						
Toros embolados						
Toro de San Juan (Coria)						
Toro Júbilo (Medinacelli)						
Toro de la Vega (Tordesillas)						

14. Participation in Toro de la Vega

	Always/Almost always	Sometimes/Rarely	Never
Older generations in my family participate as lancers/runners			
My friends participate as lancers/runners			
I participate as lancer/runner			
Older generations in my family participate as viewers			
My friends participate as viewers			
I participate as viewer			

15. If you so desire, you can further develop your opinion and experience regarding the previously mentioned bullfighting events (Open question)

**Part III "About your political opinion."**

16. Place yourself in the scale of political ideas where one means "very left wing" and seven means "very right wing"

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17. If you had to choose: Which political party is closer to your ideas?

Partido Popular (PP)

Partido Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)

Ciudadanos (C's)

Partido Animalista PACMA

Unidos Podemos (Izquierda Unida + EQUO + Podemos y sus confluencias regionales)

Other right-wing parties

Other left-wing parties

Other (specify)

18. Regarding Spain as a member of the European Union

	In favour	Rather in favour	Rather against	Against
Spain in the EU				

#### Part IV "About your values."

In the scale where one means: "I am identified", and seven means "I am not identified at all" give your opinion about these groups of values.

These groups of values have been made based on a social psychology theory, and they are indivisible in this survey. If you have doubts about why certain values are in the same group, you can explain your decision and dilemma in the open question at the end of this section.

19. In your daily life, place yourself in the scale where one means "I usually think about my own good" and seven means "I tend to think about the common good."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20. Social order, security, honour elders and respect traditions

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21. Authority, wealth, power

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

22. Independence, success, ambition, looking for social recognition

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

23. Pleasure, enjoy life, looking for an exciting and varied life

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

24. Freedom, creativity, curiosity, being open-minded

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

25. Equality, honesty, loyalty, looking for social justice

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

26. Peace in the world, protection of the environment and nature

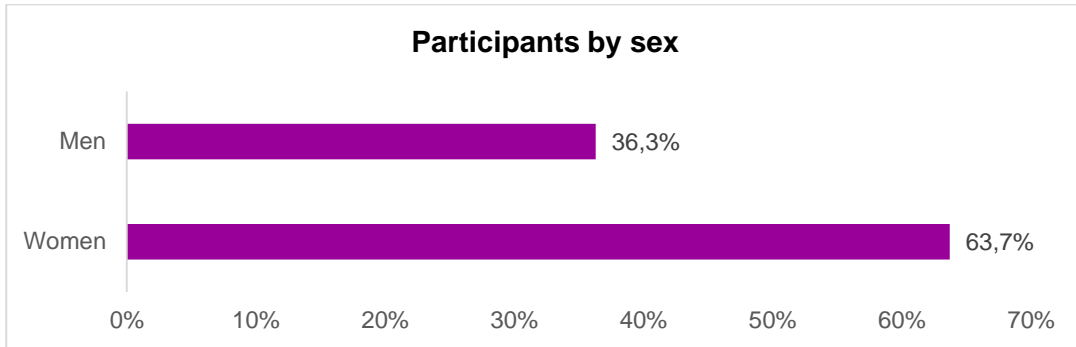
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

27. If you wish to specify anything in particular regarding this values classification you can do it here (Open question)

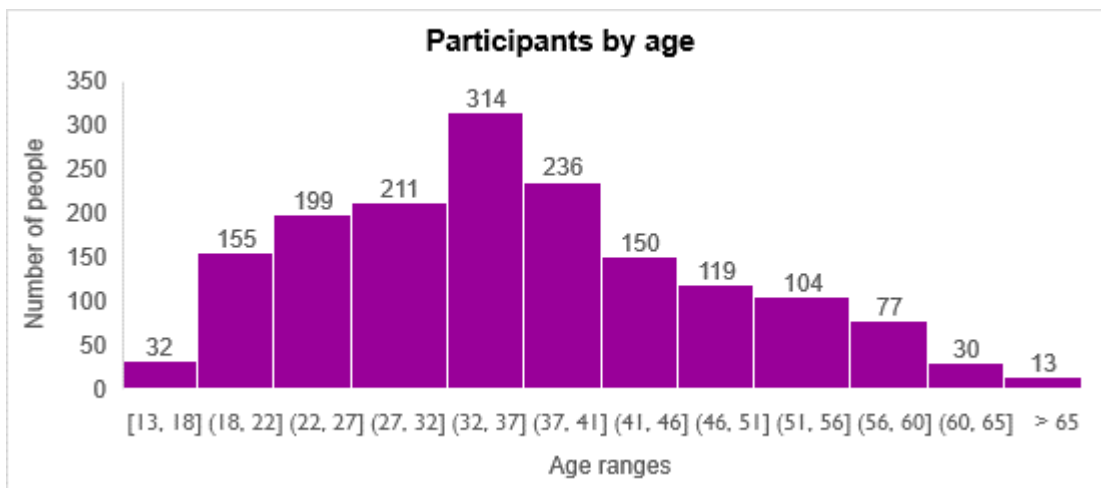
#### **Part V "Contact information."**

28. If you desire to receive information about the survey results, please write your email (Voluntary)

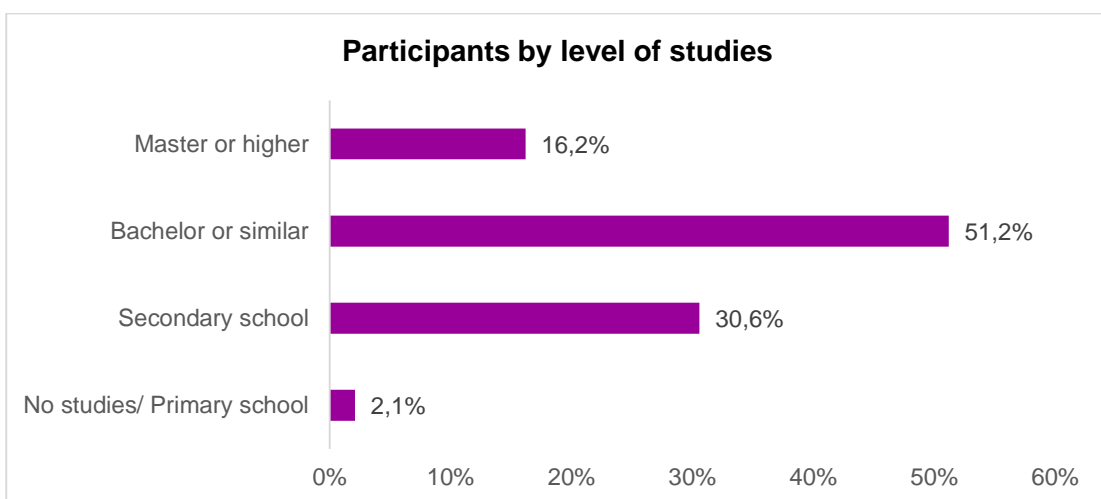
## 11.2 SURVEY RESULTS GRAPHS



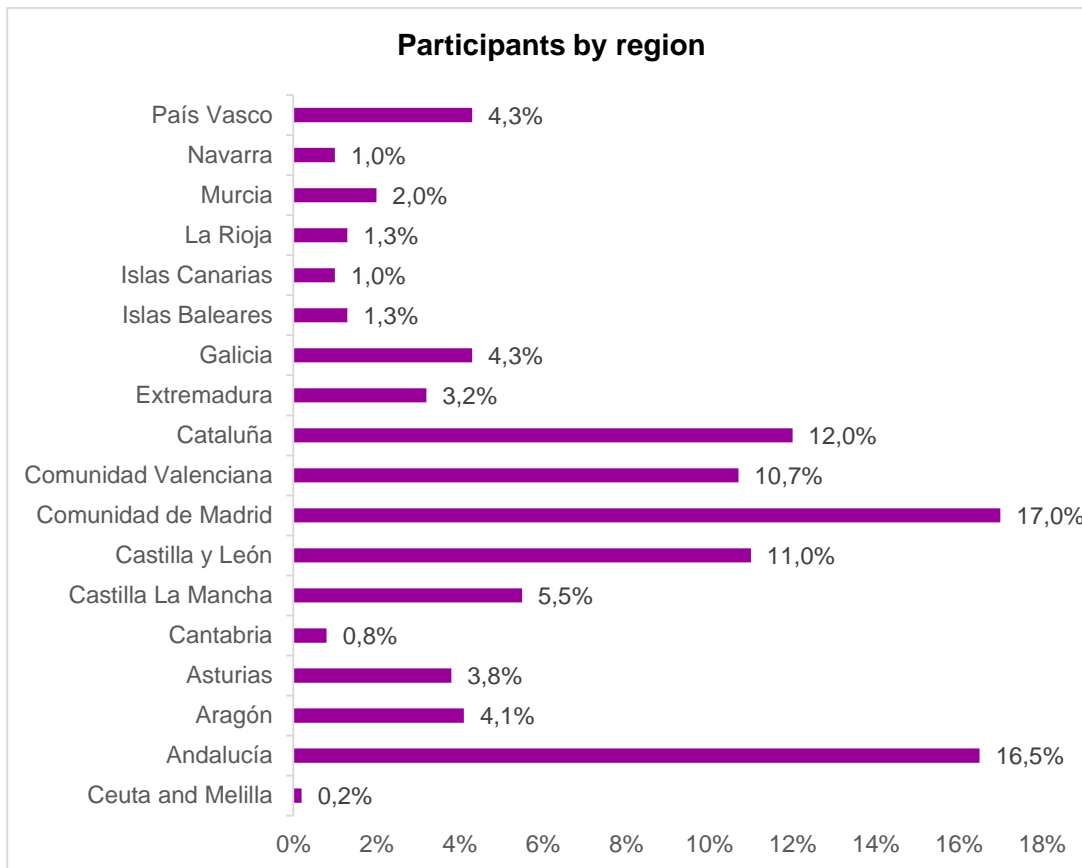
Graph 1: Survey participants by sex



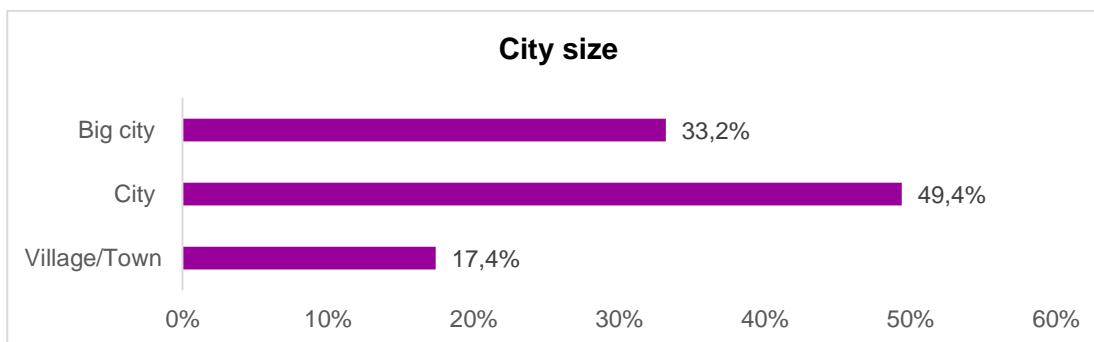
Graph 2: Survey participants by age



Graph 3: Survey participants by level of studies

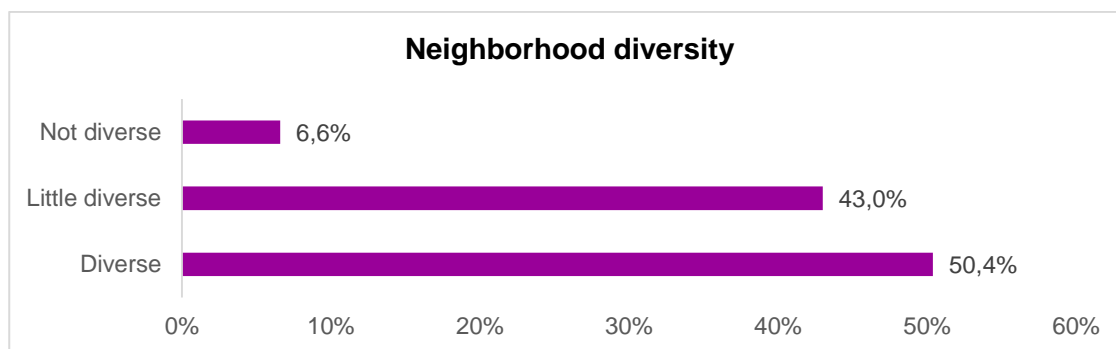


Graph 4: Survey participants by region

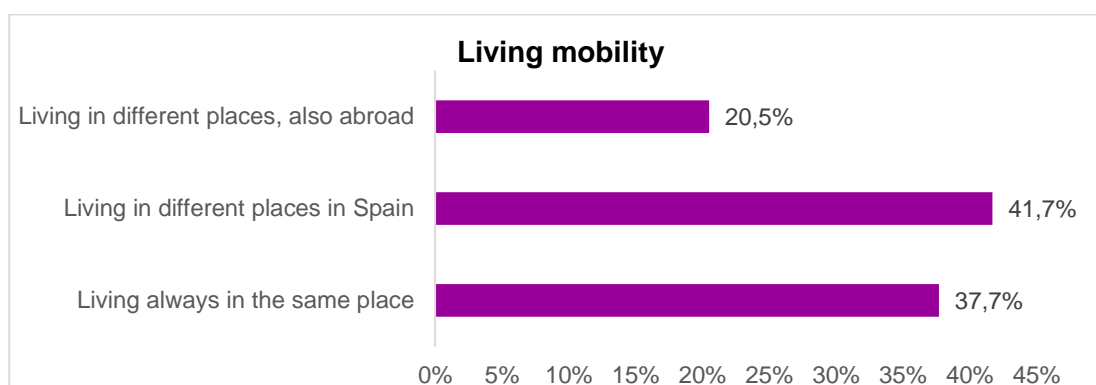


Graph 5: Survey participants by residence city size

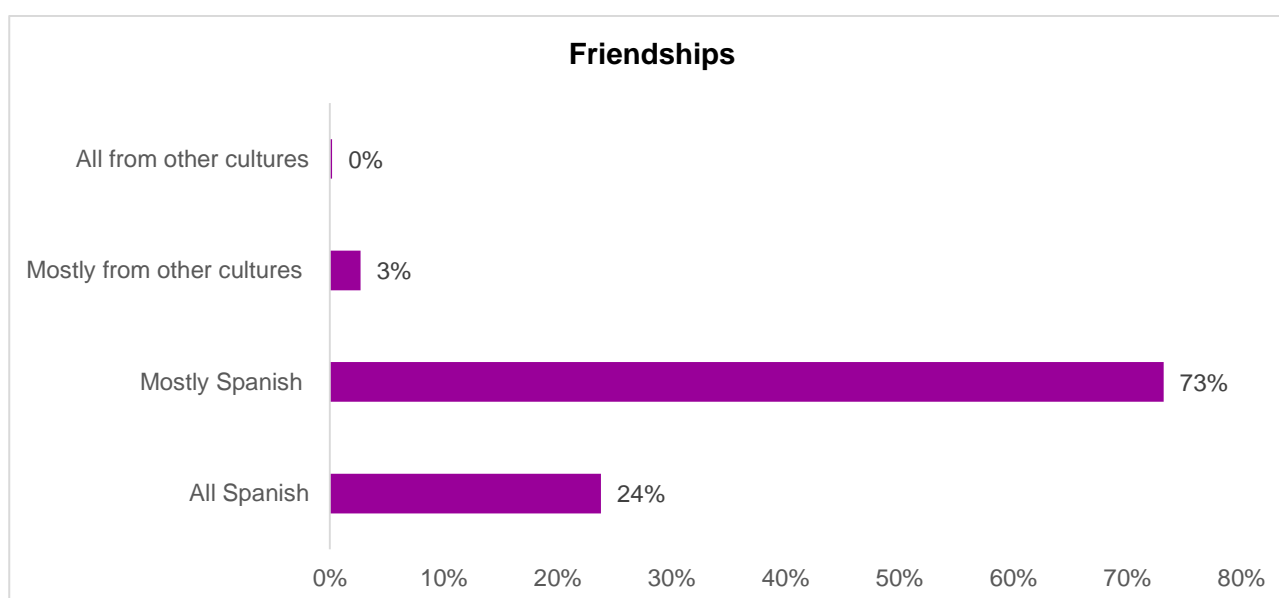




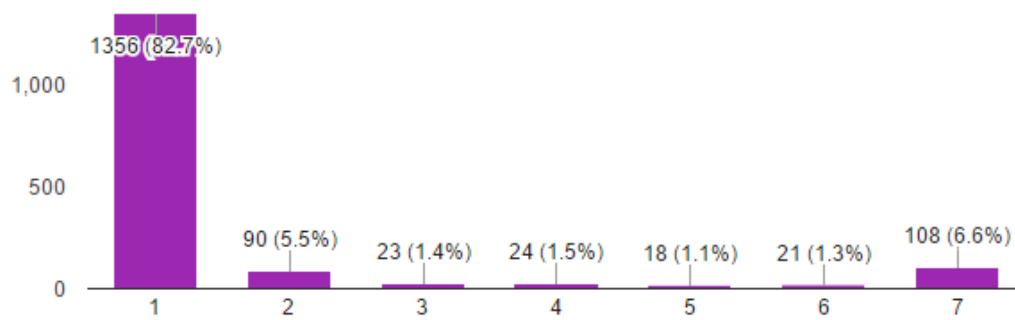
*Graph 6: Survey participants by neighborhood diversity*



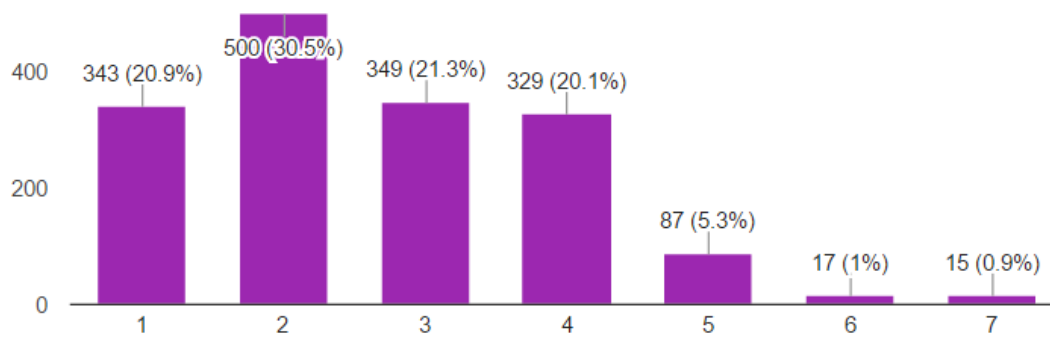
*Graph 7: Survey participants by living mobility*



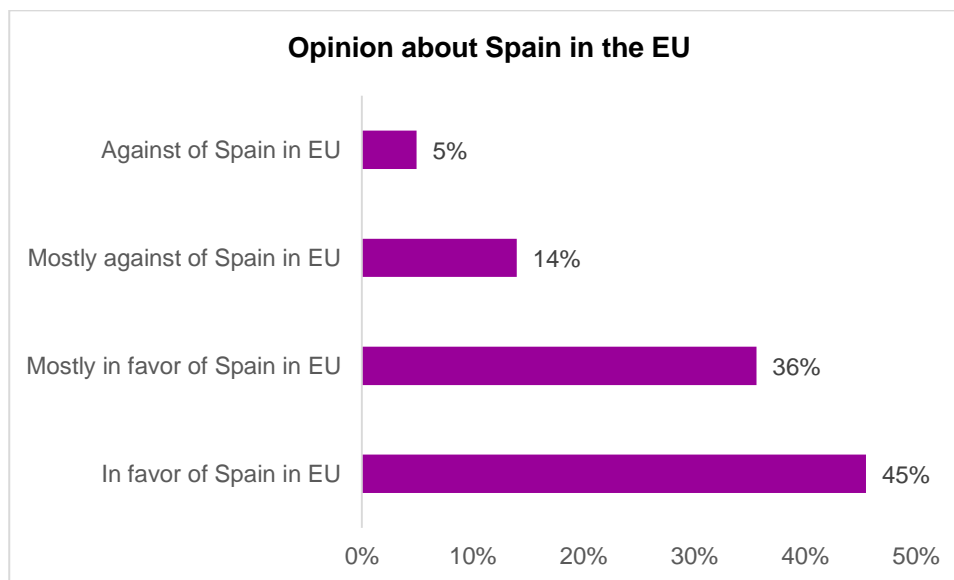
*Graph 8: Survey participants by friendships*



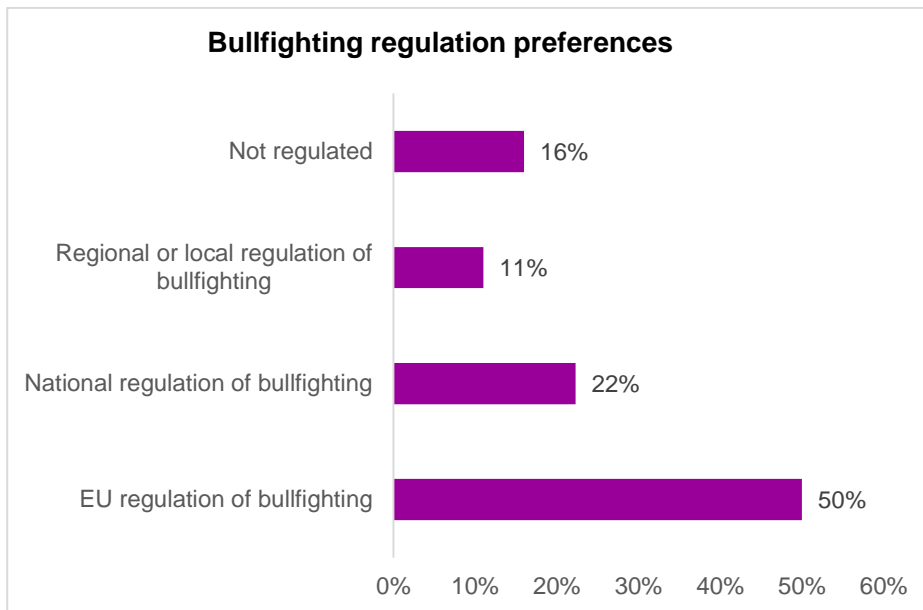
Graph 9: Survey participants Likert Scale Antitaurino VS Taurino



Graph 10: Survey participants Likert Scale political views left VS right



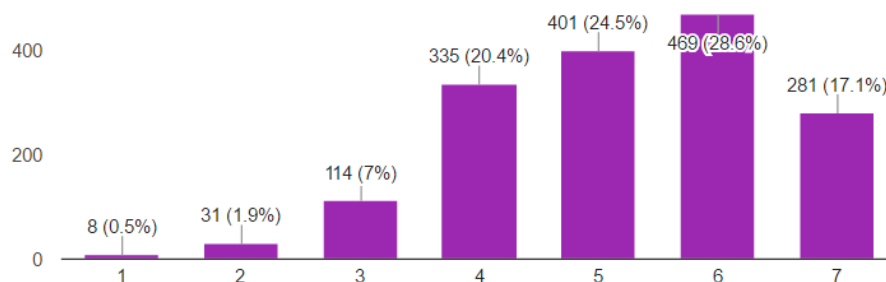
Graph 11: Survey participants and their opinion about Spain in the EU



Graph 12: Bullfighting regulation preferences

On the scale: 1 means “I tend to think about my own good” and 7 means “I tend to think about the common good.”

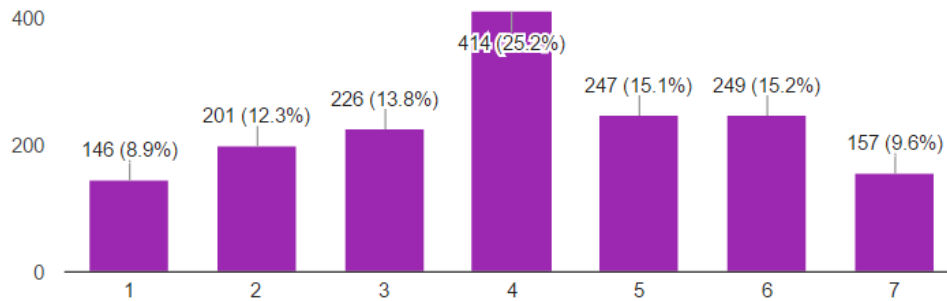
En tu día a día, sitúate en la escala donde 1 significa "tiendo a pensar en mi propio bien" y 7 significa "tiendo a pensar en el bien común"  
(1639 responses)



Graph 13: Individualism VS Collectivism

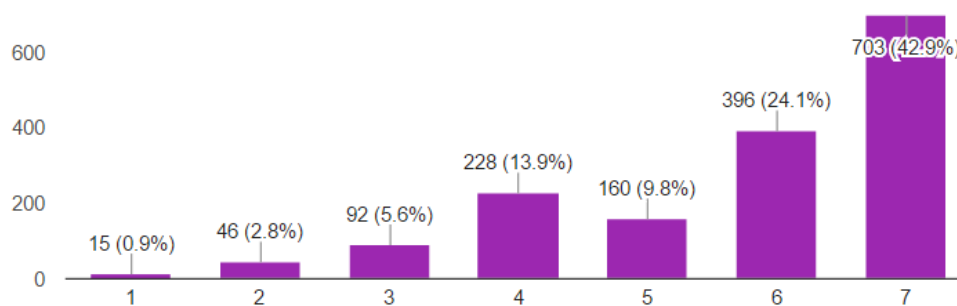
In the next seven bar charts, the scale is gradual, where 1 means “I very much identify with the values”, and 7 means “I do not identify with the values at all.”

### Orden social, seguridad, honrar los mayores y respetar las tradiciones (1640 responses)



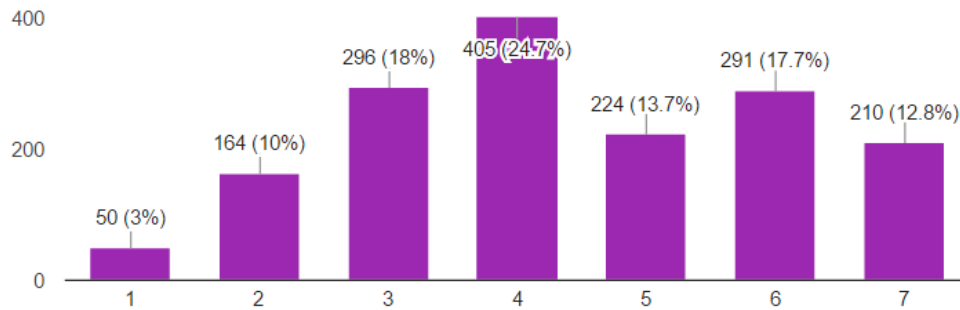
Graph 14: Embeddedness orientation

### Autoridad, riqueza, poder (1640 responses)



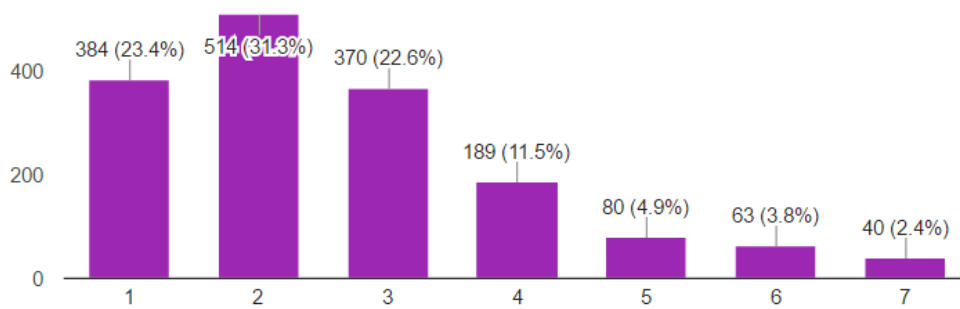
Graph 15: Hierarchy orientation

### Independencia, éxito, ambición, búsqueda de reconocimiento social (1640 responses)



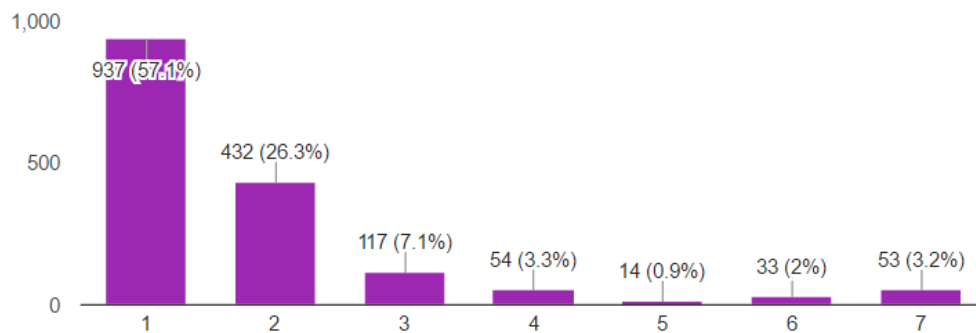
Graph 16: Mastery orientation

### Placer, disfrutar de la vida, búsqueda de una vida variada y excitante (1640 responses)



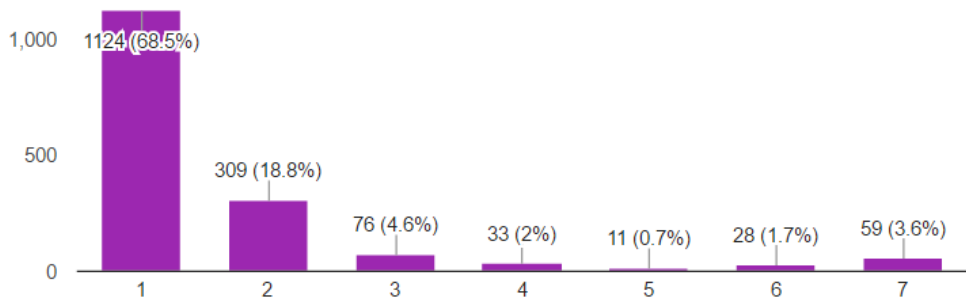
Graph 17: Affective Autonomy orientation

### Libertad, creatividad, curiosidad, ser abierto/a de mente (1640 responses)



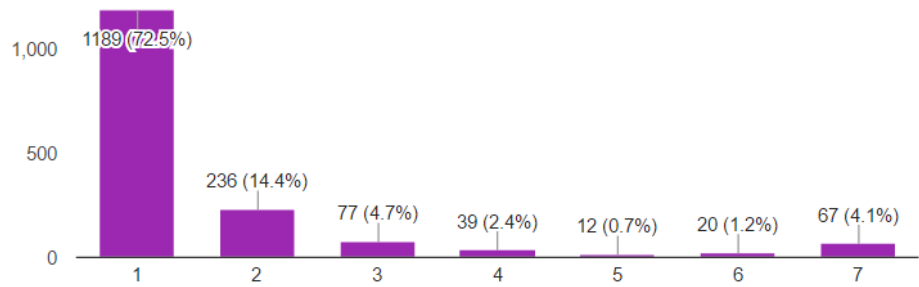
Graph 18: Intellectual Autonomy orientation

Igualdad, honestidad, lealtad, búsqueda de la justicia social (1640 responses)



Graph 19: Egalitarianism orientation

Paz en el mundo, protección del medioambiente y la naturaleza (1640 responses)



Graph 20: Harmony orientation

