

Ratings and viewer numbers for bullfighting events and programs on television (2000-2020)

La audiencia de los espectáculos y programas taurinos en televisión (2000-2020)



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Abstract:

Bullfighting events are one of the cultural practices traditionally most associated with the image of Spain. However, media reach does not seem to match their symbolic importance. This paper presents exploratory research that aims to carry out an analysis of the structure of audience ratings and share of bullfighting events and programs on Spanish television over the last two decades. It is based on a quantitative analysis that makes use of open secondary data. The results show, firstly, that bullfighting television content is scarce and audiences are very low. Secondly, viewer profiles are similar to those of people who attend live events. And, thirdly, that audience sizes for bullfighting shows on television are greater in more rural areas.

Keywords:

Audience; Spain; bullfighting events; rurality; TV.

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Resumen:

Los espectáculos taurinos son una de las prácticas culturales tradicionalmente más asociadas a la imagen de España. Sin embargo, su proyección mediática no parece acompañar a esta importancia simbólica. Este artículo presenta una investigación exploratoria que trata de realizar un análisis de la estructura de las audiencias de espectáculos taurinos y programas dedicados a los espectáculos taurinos en la televisión española durante las últimas dos décadas. Se basa en una metodología cuantitativa que hace uso de los datos secundarios disponibles en abierto. Los resultados mostrarán, en primer lugar, que el peso de los contenidos taurinos y de las audiencias de estos contenidos es muy reducido. En segundo, que el perfil del telespectador es similar al del aficionado que acude a este tipo de espectáculos en vivo. Y, en tercer lugar, que existe una relación positiva entre ruralidad y un mayor tamaño de las audiencias de los espectáculos taurinos en televisión.

Palabras clave:

Audiencia; España; espectáculos taurinos; ruralidad; televisión.

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Viewers of televised bullfights are passive observers of a spectacle from which they are separated, a separation that is qualitatively much greater than that experienced by someone who watches sports on television or someone who listens to a concert or an opera on the radio. Watching a bullfight on television is much more of a second-hand experience, and the impact of the event is greatly reduced (Marvin, 1994: 171).

Television broadcasts live music concerts, football or basketball matches, Formula One races and, very occasionally, bullfights. Its visual nature makes television an ideal media for showcasing the *Fiesta*, an art that above is experienced through movement and colour. But bullfighting on television is increasingly rare. (Martínez Lucas, 2009: 53).

1. Introduction and background on the topic

Bullfights are intertwined with Spanish cultural life. They are part of our literature, songs, works of art, films and are even integrated into everyday language - for example, with expressions such as '*echar un capote*' (give someone a hand, literally 'throw a bullfighting cape') or '*cortarse la coleta*' (meaning to retire from something, literally cutting off one's topknot, something done by bullfighters when they retire) - (Hosseinpour, 2014: 22). Bullfights were also one of the first modern mass spectacles. That is, one of the first cultural consumer markets was formed around bullfighting. However, despite their symbolic and even economic importance, they are increasingly scarce on television screens. The past twenty years are particularly significant, since bullfighting content has been barely broadcast on television, and the little that has, seems to draw small numbers of viewers.

There is a great deal of literature on the world of bullfighting, but empirical research is less abundant. In fact, it has been considered one of the opaqueness sectors of the cultural world (López Martínez, 2014: 15). Bullfighting festivals and celebrations have been studied from different disciplinary perspectives. First and foremost, anthropological studies, which have placed great emphasis on its symbolism and its integration into overall Spanish culture (Desmonde, 2005; Median Miranda, 2014; Mitchell, 1986; Pitt-Rivers, 1997). Sociological studies are less abundant and have focused on the social structure in which they are inserted (Echegaray, 2005; Martín-Cabello, 2021). There have been good studies done in history and social communications of the bullfighting phenomenon which are close to media studies. They have been devoted to analysing bullfighting from the point of view of the emergence of the leisure market and modern commercial communications media (e.g., Schubert, 1999; Schubert and Sanchís Martínez, 2001; Serrano, 2010). The presence of bullfights on television, and in other types of communication media, has not been the main focus of interest in this type of study. Rather, they viewed it as a natural emanation of the existence of bullfighting.

The analysis of bullfighting television shows and programs in Spain has attracted, albeit limited, attention from the scientific community. Among these include work on TVE (De Haro de San Mateo, 2009, 2016a, 2016b, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2019), Telemadrid (Moncholi Chaparro, 2004), Canal Plus (De Haro de San Mateo and Hernández Pérez, 2011; García Sánchez, 2016) and Tele 5 or Antena 3 (De Haro de San Mateo, 2020a). This also includes work on bullfighting journalism (De Haro de San Mateo, 2011, 2013) and in the written press as a source of studying bullfighting content on television (2020b). In addition to analysing the situation of bullfighting in the 21st century (De Haro de San Mateo and Marvin, 2015). We also find research on the reasons behind watching bullfighting, although it uses a qualitative methodology that is far removed from the one proposed by this paper (Pérez-González and Marta-Lazo, 2014; Marta-Lazo and Pérez-González, 2016). However, there is no overall quantitative account

for the last two decades, nor a study that attempts to offer a comprehensive vision. This is precisely what this paper aims to cover. This study, therefore, is a contribution to the field of viewer studies, in general, and the popularity of bullfighting content on television, in particular, which will be expanded later.

In relation to the terminology used, when the concept of “bullfighting” is used, reference is made to both formal bullfighting events (*festivales*) and popular bullfighting celebrations (*festejos*). In other words, they would include both bullfights held at bullfighting rings, normally held by professionals, and popular festivals, which usually take place inside or outside bullrings, but which usually include non-professional participants (Maudet, 2006). Obviously both types of events are different both in their organisation and in their conceptualisation. However, for the purposes of this study they can be categorised as ‘bullfighting shows’ since they are part of the same symbolic universe and, in addition, are conceptualised within the genre of ‘bullfights’ when analysing the television channel programming and audience ratings. And when the study refers to ‘bullfighting programs’ we refer to television programs that are dedicated to commenting on ‘bullfighting shows’ and the entire universe that surrounds.

2. Objectives, hypotheses and methodology

The overall objective of this study is to carry out an analysis of the structure of the audiences of bullfighting shows and programs dedicated to bullfighting shows on Spanish television. This analysis will focus on the first two decades of the 21st century. The temporal delimitation is due to the fact that although bullfighting events grew constantly until 2007 (López Martínez, 2014: 19-21), their share of airtime on television began to decline at the end of the 1990s (From Haro de San Mateo, 2020; Echegaray, 2005; Martínez Lucas, 2009). Therefore, the aim is to explore the structure of the viewing audiences of bullfighting shows in this period of media contraction.

Therefore, we intend to carry out an exploratory study that aims to shed light on three fundamental hypotheses. Firstly, there seems to be a trend towards a clear decrease both in the programming of bullfighting shows and programs about bullfighting shows on television, as well as their viewers over the period studied (H1). Secondly, we believe that the profile of bullfighting spectators at live events is similar to that of TV viewers (H2). And, thirdly, we believe that TV bullfighting viewer numbers will be greater in more rural Spanish autonomous regions and, therefore, lower in the more urban ones (Martín-Cabello, 2021). Consequently, viewer numbers will also be higher in rural autonomous regions and lower in urban ones (H3).

Secondary available data will be used to explore these hypotheses. The study will use all statistical sources available in open format, with the aim that the results can be replicated in future research. First among these is the *Encuesta de Hábitos y Prácticas Culturales en España* (Survey of Cultural Habits and Practices in Spain). This has been carried out in five waves, in 2002-2004, 2006-2007, 2010-2011, 2014-15 and, the most recent, in 2018-2019. This is the best survey available using large samples ($n = 12,180$, $n = 16,408$, $n = 16,408$, $n = 16,576$ and $n = 16,520$ respectively for the aforementioned years) and the only reliable source of data on attendance at bullfighting events, therefore, as López Martínez stated: “When trying to compile a Spanish bullfighting statistic, we find ourselves faced with one of the most opaque economic sectors (...). At present, we still cannot analyse data on financing, including the number of spectators attending the different bullfighting shows, takings from ticket sales, as well as other income corresponding to public subsidies, fees paid for television broadcasts” (2014: 15). Also included are the specific surveys available in sociological studies on attendance at bullfighting shows, which will be cited in the paper.

Regarding open data on viewer numbers, the study uses data provided by Barlovento Comunicación and those extracted from the reports by the *Sociedad General de Autores*, which focus particularly on the presence of bullfighting on the television and include viewer numbers for each channel. The study also uses data on viewer numbers that are usually paid for but in this case have been made available to the researcher for free due to the academic nature of this paper. These data will be analysed using a simple analysis of absolute or relative frequencies, which is all that can be done given the level of aggregation of the available data. When necessary, and possible, said data will be reclassified into new categories set up for the study. The methodology, consequently, is fundamentally quantitative, although it will be framed by the qualitative research of the phenomenon.

3. Bullfighting shows on television and viewer numbers

Bullfights have been shown on Spanish television since it started broadcasting. Already in 1948, the RCA company carried out an experimental broadcast of a bullfight from the Círculo de Bellas Artes in Madrid (Domínguez Lázaro, 2010). It is worth asking, on the one hand, how much airtime has been given to bullfighting events on Spanish television. And, on the other, we should carry out an analysis of the consumption of bullfighting shows by viewers.

During the Franco dictatorship, bullfighting events were given little airtime, in quantitative terms, but were given significant weight in the broadcasts by TVE, the only channel on air at the time:

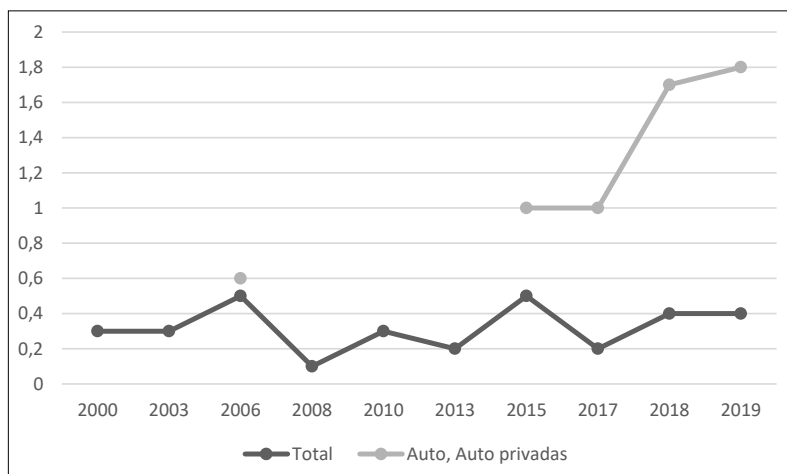
The total number of televised bullfighting celebrations between 1956 and 1975 (216) is a tiny fraction of the total of those celebrated (18,864), accounting for just 1.14%. The average in this period is 11 televised celebrations per year. This number was only exceeded in 1968, but the average was higher (between 15 and 16) from 1964. Taking into account that a standard broadcast usually lasted an average of two hours, we have computed 25,920 minutes (432 hours) of bullfighting broadcasts on TVE throughout this period. (From Haro de San Mateo, 2016: 77).

Added to these should be the programs devoted to bullfighting, which according to the same author made up an hour of weekly transmission. 'Bullfighting programming,' therefore, 'on TVE between 1956 and 1975 was testimonial compared to other types of programs over the same stage' (De Haro de San Mateo, 2016: 78). And yet, it was actively used by the regime as a means of propaganda and mass control (Shubert, 1999: 214). The fact that bullfighting was given scant airtime does not run contradictory to its political use. Some events that are annual, such as the San Fermín running of the bulls in Pamplona or the Fallas in Valencia, occur once a year and, nevertheless, the regime used them as prime propaganda.

Subsequently, the first private television channels (Antena 3, Tele 5 and Canal Plus) began broadcasting in Spain in 1990. In this sense, during the final decade of the last century, private television channels such as Antena 3 and Tele 5 included bullfighting in their schedules. In fact, at that time there was a degree of competition between these channels for this type of content. Later, they disappeared from television programming schedules, making an occasional sporadic and shortlived comeback (De Haro de San Mateo, 2000). Canal Plus also aired bullfights as a paid cable channel. A few years later, in 1997, Via Digital appeared as a satellite television channel and took over the broadcasting rights of the main bullfights (Beceiro Ribela, 2010: 135). Therefore, it is possible to say that as TVE maintained its bullfighting programming, during the 90s practically all television channels had programs dedicated to bullfighting, even during primetime. Although these, on the other hand, seem to represent a very small percentage of airtime.

In the last two decades, bullfighting shows as a genre have had a marginal presence on general television programming schedules nationwide and also, although with slightly higher figures, in regional ones. As can be seen in Graph 1.1., since 2000, programs related to bullfighting have not accounted for more than 0.5% of those broadcasts on all television channels. Furthermore, they did not exceed 2% of the regional channels scheduling. Among the main national television channels, between 2005 and 2010, TVE was the only one that included bullfighting on its programming schedule, although it gave it very little airtime, highest figure was 0.4% in 2006. Telecinco did not broadcast bullfighting shows and A3 only did so in 2006, with 0.1% (Roel, 2020: 752). In 2019, the last year that we have data available on this television genre, bullfighting shows only accounted for 0.5% of the programs broadcast on television, up to 1.8% in public and private regional channels (Barlovento Communication, 2019: 66).

Figure 1.1. Percentage of bullfighting on television programming schedules



Source: Prepared by the author from reports by Barlovento Comunicación, 2006, 2008, 2015, 2017, 2018 and 2019; and SGAE, 2005, 2015

At present, very few of the bullfighting programs broadcast by the generalist national television channels of the 1990s are still being broadcast and, when they are, they have been relegated to off-peak times. On TVE, for example, the program *Tendido Cero* continues to be broadcast, although with continuous variations in its timeslot. On paid television, the Canal Plus dedicated bullfighting channel continued under various names, now known as 'Toros' and broadcasting on the Movistar Plus platform. Regional channels, however, offer greater coverage of bullfighting shows, both by broadcasting the events themselves and through specialised programs: *Tiempo de toros* on Castilla-La Mancha Televisión or *Toros para todos* on Canal Sur. Bullfighting shows, in short, have gone from being considered a mass spectacle by generalist televisions, to a specific niche in the television content market.

Some authors have argued that the scarce –albeit residual– and fragmentary presence of bullfighting shows on television has been replaced by specialised print media and blogs and internet spaces (Haro, 2009). However, and as we will see below, the percentage of fans who follow bullfighting shows online is very small. In any case, it is significantly lower than on television.

To initially look at the consumption of televised content devoted to bullfighting programs we can start with the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits in Spain. In its last two editions, it asked whether people had seen any bullfighting shows or celebrations on television or the internet in the last year¹. In 2014-15 17.4% of those surveyed said they had watched them, while in 2018-19 the figure was 13.4%. By media, television was the most common media compared to the internet (Table 1.1). These data, however, do not reveal the degree of loyalty and permanence of viewers, since it counts both someone who watches occasionally and a fan who assiduously follows a program or bullfighting event.

Table 1.1. Percentage of people who said they had seen a bullfighting show or celebration in the past year or so, 2014-15 and 2018-19

2018-2019			2014-2015		
Total	TV	Internet	Total	TV	Internet
13.8	13.4	2.3	17.6	17.4	1.3

Source: Author's work based on the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits in Spain 2014-15 and 2018-19. MECD, 2015. MCD, 2019

A more precise approximation, however, could be obtained by measuring the weight of spectators of bullfighting shows with respect to the total of the viewer numbers of each television channel. During the first two decades of the 21st century the only channels to broadcast bullfighting were the different TVE channels (La 1, La 2 and 24H) and Canal Plus until it disappeared, and they never accounted for more than 1% of audience numbers. On regional channels, only in Andalusia, Aragon and, in particular, Castilla-La Mancha, was this number higher than 1%. The regional Castilla-La Mancha television channel (CMT / CMM) stands out, with viewer numbers for bullfighting shows standing in a range between 5% and 8.9% of the total audience numbers (Table 1.2.).

Table 1.2. Contribution of the bullfighting genre to the ratings of each channel, in percentage, 1999-2019

TV channel	Scope	1999	2004	2010	2014	2019
La 1	National TV channel	0.8	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
La 2	National TV channel	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.8
24 H	National TV channel			0	0.2	0.2
T5	National TV channel		0	0	0	0
A3	National TV channel		0	0	0	0
C+	National TV channel	0.5	0.7			
Cuatro	National TV channel			0	0	0

¹ In the three previous editions this question was not asked, those surveyed were only asked about attendance at bullfighting shows or celebrations.

La Sexta	National TV channel			0	0	0
Canal Sur	Andalucía	1.4	1.5	2.6	1.2	1.4
Canal Sur 2/ AND TV	Andalucía			0.3		1.7
ETB1	Basque Country	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1
TVM	Murcia	0.7	0.7			
La7 TV	Murcia					0.1
Telemadrid	Madrid			0.9	0.3	0.5
Canal 9	Valencia	0.5	0.6	0.4	0	0
Punt Dos/Nou Dos	Valencia	0.8	0.5	0.4	0	0
CMT/CMM	Castilla-La Mancha		6.6	5	8.9	7.3
Aragón TV	Aragon			3	1.5	0.8
CYLTV-La 7	Castilla and León				0.6	0.4

Source: Author’s work from the *Anuario SGAE de las Artes Escénicas, Musicales y Audiovisuales*. SGAE, 2000, 2005, 2011, 2015 and 2020

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In 2014, the paid channel *Canal Toros* had a 0.1% average annual share, compared to 12.4% for this type of channels (SGAE, 2015: 41-42). Subsequently, *Toros TV* in 2019 had a 0.1% annual average share, in this case 15.4% being the annual average share for this type of channels (SGAE, 2020: 40-41). Therefore, it can be said there is a continued low audience share for channels devoted to the world of bullfighting.

If the absolute viewer numbers for bullfighting shows are reviewed from the end of 2018 to the present, we see that the average audience of this type of shows for all channels was about 65,000 viewers (Table 1.3)². However, there is a lot of variability. The two national channels that broadcast bullfighting shows over that period, TVE and A3, had average viewer numbers of 397,000 and 306,000 viewers. Although in both cases bull runs were broadcast, TVE broadcasting the San Fermín from Pamplona and A3 those of San Sebastián de los Reyes in Madrid, and not bullfights as such.

Local television channels had much more modest audiences, mostly broadcasting *corridos*, *novilladas*, and bullfighting fairs. Canal Sur had average viewer numbers of 99,000 viewers, Castilla-La Mancha averaged 52,000, Telemadrid 46,000 and La 7 de Castilla y León 12,000. The Valencian and Aragon regional television channels only broadcast bull runs and Basque television shows *recortadores*.

2 In this case, only viewer numbers for bullfighting shows themselves are offered, not for the programs devoted to bullfighting that were included in the previous tables.

Table 1.3. Average viewer numbers of bullfighting shows by television channel and type from 1-9-2018 to 4-4-2021

	Scope	Type of event *					Average viewer numbers (x1000)
		<i>Encierro</i>	<i>Corrida</i>	<i>Novillada</i>	<i>Rejones</i>	<i>Recortadores/ Others</i>	
La1/24H	National TV channel	8					397
A3	National TV channel	8					306
Telemadrid/ La otra	Madrid		19				46
Canal Sur - AND TV	Andalucía		23	49	4		99
A Punt	C. Valenciana	6					52
TV Mediterráneo	C. Valenciana	22	1				20
Aragón TV	Aragon	32				9	30
CMM	Castilla-La Mancha	8	281	34	26	13	52
La 7 TV	Murcia	2	4				6
La 7	Castilla and León			7		1	12
ETB1	Basque Country					4	25
Total		86	328	90	30	27	65

* The program leading up to the bullfight is counted as part of the overall show. We count the broadcast of live events, airing pre-recorded events and highlights programs.

Source: Author's work based on data from Barlovento Comunicación, 2021

The regional channels of Castilla-La Mancha and Andalusia are particularly noteworthy, since between them they broadcast 78% of the bullfighting shows on television in that period. However, the average viewer numbers were not large, 99,000 viewers on Andalusian television and 52,000 on Castilla-La Mancha television. It is interesting to compare them with the contribution to the total viewing figures for bullfighting during 2019, which represented less than 2% in the first case and a little more than 7% in the second (Table 1.2).

Viewing figures, therefore, tend to be low on both free and paid channels. When in 2010 the CIS (Spanish Centre for Sociological Research) asked Spaniards about their favourite television programs, only 0.1% of those surveyed said that they included bullfighting. A total of 0.4% placed bullfighting shows in second place and 1.5% in third place (CIS, 2010).

4. The profile of bullfighting television viewers

Over the past 20 years the percentage of Spaniards who attend bullfighting shows has remained stable. According to the Survey of Cultural Habits and Practices, slightly less than 10% said they had attended at least one bullfighting show during the last year (MC, 2003, 2007, 2011; MECD, 2015; MCD, 2019). In the 1990s, a study found that people attracted to bullfighting shows tended to be older men, having left formal education before baccalaureate or the final two years of secondary school. On the other hand, young people and women tended to not be interested in these shows (De Miguel, 1996: 208-209).

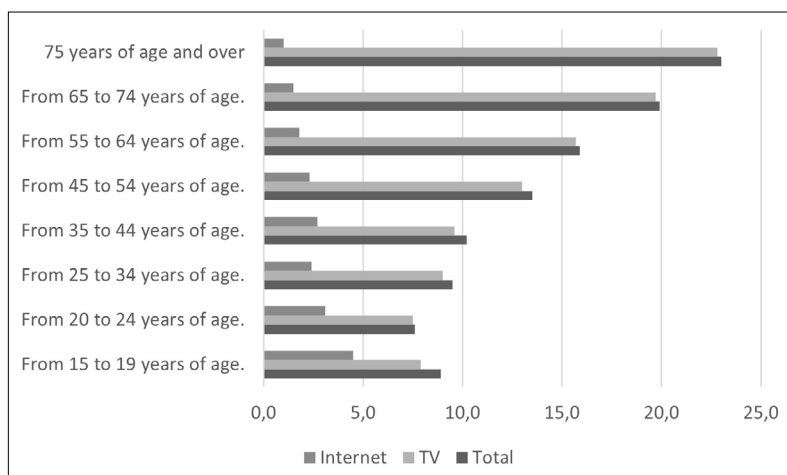
More recent studies have shown that attendance at these types of shows is highly masculine (Ariño 2010: 147; Also, for Valencia, Ariño and Llopis, 2017: 24). A recent study carried out in Zaragoza found that the most common profile of bullfighting fans was that of elderly, retired and rural men (María *et al.*, 2017). According to the latest Survey of Cultural Habits and Practices, 2018-19, 10.2% of men claimed to have attended a bullfighting show in the last year, while only 5.8% of women did. However, there were no major differences by age group or by educational level. However, greater numbers of spectators came from population centres with less than 50,000 inhabitants than from larger ones (MCD, 2019: 466). In another recent study, it was shown that both the organisation and the attendance to bullfighting shows was, in general terms, much higher in rural areas of the country than in more urban areas (Martín-Cabello, 2021). There were peculiarities in some urban regions, but the relationship between rurality and bullfighting shows was remarkable. Consequently, the current profile of the fan of bullfighting shows is that of an elderly man who lives in (or comes from) the most rural areas of the country.

Regarding the profile of the audience of bullfighting shows, in the aforementioned Survey of Cultural Habits and Practices in Spain 2018-19 (MCD, 2019), 13.8% of people said they had seen a bullfighting show or celebration on television or online in the last year. A total of 13.4% said they watched on television and 2.3% on the internet. The audience was clearly more masculine, since only 9.9% of the women said they watched them, compared to 17.9% of the men who claimed to have done so, almost twice as much.

By age groups, the elderly watch bullfighting shows much more than the young. Only 10% of people between 15 and 44 say they watch bullfighting shows on television or the internet³. This is compared to 20% or more from the age of 65. Therefore, it seems like a type of event has an ageing audience (Figure 1.2). To this, we should add that Internet use is more common among younger cohorts and, on the contrary, much less frequent among the older ones. In line with the age structure of the audience of bullfighting shows, people who said they were more frequent viewers of this type of shows on television or on the internet were usually people married with children over 18 years of age or with children who have left home, which would coincide with the older generations.

3 Studies in specific regions show a preference for this type of content among older audiences. See for Andalusia: Olmo López and Navarro Moreno, 2015.

Figure 1.2. Percentage of people who have seen a bullfighting show or celebration in the last year according to average by age, 2018-19



Source: Author's work based on the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits in Spain 2018-19. MCD, 2019

Retired people said that they watch bullfights on television and the Internet almost twice as much as active workers (21.5% compared to 11.8%); and twice as many people who said they watched bullfighting completed formal education up to the first stage of secondary or below compared to those with higher education qualifications (17.9% versus 8.7%).

Finally, if we take the typology proposed by Martín-Cabello (2021) in a study on attendance at bullfighting shows based on the degree of rurality of the autonomous regions⁴, depopulated Spain, mixed urban/rural Spain and urban Spain, we can see that viewers in the more rural autonomous regions see bullfighting shows on television and the internet twice as much as those with more urban populations (Table 1.4). While viewers in mixed rural/urban autonomous regions occupy a middle ground between the two.

⁴ The typology is based on the density per square kilometre, the percentage of the population dedicated to agriculture and the percentage of the population living in municipalities with less than 10,000 inhabitants compared to the national average.

Table 1.4. Percentage of people who reported watching bullfighting shows on television and on the internet in the last year by autonomous region and by autonomous region type, 2018-19

Depopulated Spain	Castilla-La Mancha	29.6
	Castile and Leon	19.2
	Extremadura	20.7
	Aragon	14.6
	Navarra	25.5
	La Rioja	16.7
	Total	21.7
Mixed rural/urban Spanish regions	Galicia	5.0
	Andalusia	22.4
	Asturias	5.7
	Cantabria	9.6
	Murcia	14.4
	Total	16.4
Urban regions of Spain	Region of Valencia	10.7
	Catalonia	5.1
	Balearic Islands	7.6
	Canary Islands	5.4
	Basque Country	9.2
	Madrid	16.9
	Total	9.9

Source: Author's work based on the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits in Spain 2018-19. MCD, 2019

Consequently, it is possible to extract a profile of the person who claims to watch bullfighting shows on television (and much less on the internet). It would be that of a man, of advanced age, married and with older children or children who have left home, retired or close to retirement, with studies no higher than compulsory secondary education and residing in a rural environment. In this sense, viewer profiles for bullfighting shows on television are similar to those that attend live events.

5. Attendance at live bullfighting events and television broadcasts: an ambiguous relationship

In general terms, bullfighting fans said they saw more bullfighting shows or celebrations on television than attending live events. Around 5.4% more watched televised bullfighting. The difference increases for men and decreases for women. Older people watch more bullfighting shows on television than young people. Consequently, families with older children watch more bullfighting shows on television. In terms of employment, people who said they were retired and dedicate themselves to housework watch more bullfighting on television. Furthermore, people with lower education levels also watched the most bullfighting shows on television (Table 1.5).

Table 1.5. Percentage of people who say they watched a bullfighting show on television in the last year, 2018-19

	TV	Attendance	Difference
TOTAL	13.4	8	5.4
Men	17.3	10.2	7.1
Women	9.7	5.8	3.9
From 15 to 19 years of age.	7.9	10.5	-2.6
From 20 to 24 years of age.	7.5	8.1	-0.6
From 25 to 34 years of age.	9	8.4	0.6
From 35 to 44 years of age.	9.6	7.6	2
From 45 to 54 years of age.	13	8.6	4.4
From 55 to 64 years of age.	15.7	8.8	6.9
From 65 to 74 years of age.	19.7	7.6	12.1
75 years of age and over	22.8	4.6	18.2
Single living with parents	9.1	9.2	-0.1
Independent single, divorced, separated or widowed (with or without children)	12.6	6.3	6.3
Married or with a partner without children	14.2	7.3	6.9
Married or with a partner with children under 18 years of age	11.9	8.7	3.2
Married or with a partner with children 18 years and older at home	17.1	8.8	8.3
Married or with a partner living alone (older children)	20.1	9	11.1
Others	11.6	3.4	8.2
First stage of secondary and lower:	17.6	7.9	9.7
Second stage of secondary education:	11.4	8.4	3
Higher education:	8.2	7.7	0.5

Employment	11.2	8.8	2.4
Unemployed	12.3	7.7	4.6
Retired	21.3	6.6	14.7
Student	7.9	9.4	-1.5
Domestic worker	13.6	4.9	8.7
Others	12.7	5.9	6.8

Source: Author’s work based on the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits in Spain 2018-19. MCD, 2019

In terms of the autonomous region of residence and the environment (rural or urban, according to the proposed typology) those surveyed lived both in the most rural and in the most urban autonomous regions, the difference between the people who watch bullfighting shows on television and those who attend live events is below the total difference for Spain overall (Table 1.6). In the depopulated Spanish regions, such as Castilla-La Mancha and Extremadura, the national average is exceeded by 8.2 and 7.4 points respectively. That is to say, in these autonomous regions a greater number of people said they had seen bullfighting shows on television than had attended live shows. In more urban Spanish regions, only the Balearic Islands, which slightly exceed the national average, and Madrid, which does so widely, stand out in this category. Particularly in the case of Madrid, where the number of people who say they had watched bullfighting shows on television is twice as high as those who say they had attended live shows.

In mixed urban/rural Spanish regions, the difference is of 9.4 points, clearly higher than the national average. In this case, the difference is accounted for by the results from Andalusia, where the difference is of 13.5 points. In that autonomous region, people who said they watch bullfighting shows on television is 2.5 times more than those who said they attended live events.

Table 1.6. Percentage of people who watched a bullfighting show or celebration in the last year on television and percentage of people who attended a live bullfighting show or celebration in the last year by autonomous region and by autonomous region typology, 2018-19

		TV	Attendance	Difference
Depopulated Spain	Castilla-La Mancha	29.6	21.4	8.2
	Castile and Leon	18.3	20.0	-1.7
	Extremadura	20.6	13.2	7.4
	Aragon	13.9	11.8	2.1
	Navarra	23.8	25.5	-1.7
	La Rioja	16.1	15.2	0.9
	Total	21.1	18.4	2.8

Mixed rural/urban Spanish regions	Galicia	4.9	0.4	4.5
	Andalusia	22.0	8.5	13.5
	Asturias	5.3	2.9	2.4
	Cantabria	7.9	8.1	-0.2
	Murcia	13.2	8.5	4.7
	Total	15.9	6.5	9.4
Urban regions of Spain	Region of Valencia	10.4	9.3	1.1
	Catalonia	4.8	1.9	2.9
	Balearic Islands	7.4	1.9	5.5
	Canary Islands	5.1	1.2	3.9
	Basque Country	8.8	6.4	2.4
	Madrid	16.6	8.8	7.8
	Total	9.6	5.6	4.0

Source: Author's work based on the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits in Spain 2018-19. MCD, 2019

Consequently, in general terms, the figures for people who said that they watch bullfighting shows on television are slightly higher than those who attend live events in all categories of autonomous regions. However, there is a higher-than-average difference in favour of television broadcasts with respect to live shows, especially in mixed rural/urban Spanish regions and in some specific autonomous regions.

6. Discussion and conclusions

The study proposed in this paper hinged on three exploratory hypotheses. In the first, there was a trend towards a decrease both in the programming of bullfighting shows and programs about bullfighting shows on television as in their viewers over the period studied (H1). If the available qualitative studies are to be believed (De Haro de San Mateo, 2000; Echegaray, 2005; Martínez Lucas, 2009), following a decade of prominent presence of bullfighting shows on television during the 90s, the subsequent two decades saw a notable decline in airtime. We do not have quantitative data for the 1990s to compare with the figures for the last 20 years, but there has been very little airtime given to bullfighting shows and programs on television over the past two decades.

It is possible to say that during the period studied the presence of bullfighting shows and programs has been especially low on the programming schedules of national television channels and only slightly higher in some regional ones. In addition, bullfighting content contributed very little audience share to the different television channels. This type of content did not account for more than 1% of audience share for national channels and for some regional channels (Andalusia, Aragon) it was around 2% and in a special case (Castilla-La Mancha) it exceeded 5%. Therefore, both the presence of bullfighting content and its viewer numbers

are clearly residual on national televisions and in most of the regional ones, and very limited in other regional channels. The only exception was from the broadcast of bull runs, particularly the San Fermín bull runs, which do have high viewer numbers, but viewer numbers for all the other bullfighting shows on regional television channels are certainly limited.

The lack of published quantitative data from the previous period as far as this author has managed to find, however, prevents a comparison with this that quantifies the distance between the first popular period and the current meagre figures. Therefore, it is not possible to fully confirm the initial hypothesis and certify the decrease in the presence of this type of content on television or viewer numbers. It is simply possible to verify that there is little airtime given to this type of content and the reduced weight viewer numbers.

It is possible to venture that the decrease in programming and viewers of bullfighting shows and programs on television is linked to profound changes in Spanish social structure and in the values shared by the population. Animal rights and anti-bullfighting movements could be due to the acceptance by the younger, urban and dynamic layers of the population of post-materialist and self-realization values, typical of postmodern societies (Inglehart, 2018). In any case, this is a hypothesis that should be tested in future research.

Perhaps the second of the starting hypotheses, namely, that the profile of bullfighting spectators who attend live events will be similar to that of the audiences of the corresponding television content (H2) more closely matches reality. Both spectators of public of bullfighting events and viewers of bullfighting programs and shows on television are characterised by being male, older, with a low level of education and living in rural settings. Perhaps the only difference is that profile features are accentuated among viewers, since older men tend to attend fewer live events and have lower levels of education.

The third of the hypotheses, which stated that there was a congruence between attendance at bullfighting events and the enjoyment of bullfighting shows on television among residents of rural or urban autonomous regions (H3) is the most problematic. In principle, there are different levels of attendance or viewing of bullfighting content between the more rural autonomous regions (depopulated Spain) and the more urban autonomous regions. In general, the former figures triple the number of attendees and double the number of viewers. Therefore, the relationship between rurality and cultural practices associated with bullfighting shows is proven, although more people follow bullfighting shows on television than attend live events.

This, generally speaking, could be tied to the high cost of attending live events. However, only 4.8% of those interviewed in the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits in Spain 2018-19 said that ticket prices influenced their decision not to attend live events. Even among the older age groups it was not the main obstacle. In fact, only 1.1% stated that the reason was that they preferred to see bullfighting on television (MCD, 2019: 470-471).

Some autonomous regions stand out because the percentage of people who said that they watched bullfighting shows on television compared to those who said they attended live events exceeds the average difference for the entire country. Castilla-La Mancha and Extremadura stand out among the less populated areas of Spain, Andalusia among the regions with an intermediate level of urban population and the Balearic Islands and, above all, Madrid among the densely populated urban regions. This could be due to several interrelated factors.

In the first place, the non-availability of live bullfighting events could affect the greater degree viewing figures for this type of content on television. In the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits in Spain 2018-19, 6.1% indicated the lack of live events in

their area as one of the reasons for not attending more. Although in regions such as Extremadura, 15.3% mentioned this problem, compared to 8.2% in the Canary Islands and 3.3% in Catalonia, regions where bullfights are not held (MCD, 2019: 470).

Secondly, the existence of regional television channels that regularly program this type of content, as is the case in Castilla-La Mancha or Andalusia, could be a reason that a higher percentage of individuals said that they watch bullfighting shows on television. Furthermore, this type of content represents a higher percentage of the overall audience of these channels in the case of Andalusia, Aragón or Castilla-La Mancha, than for channels in the rest of the country. In any case, the relationship is not direct either, since this local audience could access bullfighting content on national televisions (TVE or Toros TV) or access the content of regional televisions on the platforms that include them.

And, thirdly, and without attempting to compile an exhaustive list, the fact that the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits in Spain asks about people who had seen 'somekind' of bullfighting show in the last year may over-represent the real viewer numbers for this type of bullfighting programs. Some specific bullfighting events, for example, the San Fermín running of the bulls or a specific bullfight at the San Isidro Fair in Las Ventas, could greatly skew the results, since the viewing of 'some' bullfighting content does not imply a faithful and stable following. The average viewer figures for bullfighting content on the different television channels seem to indicate that the data from the Survey of Cultural Practices and Habits overvalues these types of viewers.

In short, the available data shed light on the situation of bullfighting shows on television, although there are also areas with less data that should be addressed in future research. It is difficult to envision the future of this type of content but viewing figure trends do not lead us to be very optimistic. Ageing audiences, less acceptance of this type of content among young people and audiences coming from more rural and scarcely populated regions lead us to conclude that the possibility of television airtime for bullfighting shows and programs will not increase. On the contrary, the logical trend would suggest it should decrease, at least on generalist television. Its survival in the short and medium term will be on regional and local televisions, in the most rural regions, and on paid channels, where bullfighting shows will become a small specific market niche, bearing in mind the difficulties for internationalising and expanding this type of content.

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