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A Tauromachian Controversy over Identities:

The Mediation of Tourism Space in the Negotiation of Meanings[1]

Introduction

Anthropology is already an old social science whose object of study is amphibologically referred as culture, whose approach is comparative and holistic, and whose aim is to understand social groups in their becoming. Hundreds of definitions of culture have been made since Tylor's, but very few of them have been successfully implemented in tourism studies. Culture appears too often as a polysemous noun whose operational meaning is, in the best case, mutually presumed by the author and the reader or, at worst, cloaked by a post-modern writing style. However, if anthropology is to comprehend social life holistically, then the discipline must retrace itself back to *culture* and to its dialogical production/reproduction processes.

In accordance with this, what do I mean by culture? In plain terms, social anthropology is a scientific discipline that studies the diversity of human groups in all the

spheres of social life: their expressive and rational manifestations, the transformation of and their adaptation to territories, the modes of social relations, what is said and what is done. It analyses, in short, the compound of social practices, contexts, realities and facts that gives sense to the process of life in society. Culture is thus that compound of manifestations, modes, what is said, what is done, circumstances and contexts that *acquires its sense* within a specific group and *gives sense* to the social life.

The noun tourism is the discursive form given to the complex set of symbolic and technical *dispositifs* (devices) that, linking the visible and the expressible (Deleuze 1986), allows certain groups of people to spend their leisure time away from their quotidian, including what they do at those places and the processes induced. Anthropology should then allow for an important distinction in the way of approaching that complex set of *dispositifs* that have been textually reduced to one term: *tourism*. Tourism has been basically approached as a "business" or as a "phenomenon", and the issue about its precise meaning remains unsolved (Burns 1999: 23–37). In addition to a concentration on capital as a characteristic, the general agreement on which the four elements of tourism-related systems (travel demand, tourism intermediaries, destination characteristics and consequences) are to be studied does not elude the fact that the lack of precision seriously reduces the potentialities of anthropological analyses and their possibilities for implementation. I suggest that a more effective approach would be to see "tourism as a context" (Nogués 2003).

Within this conception of tourism as a context, explorers may find it interesting to privilege two lines of research among others. On the one hand, as Boissevain's edited book ethnographically demonstrated, to understand what tourism is and how intercultural processes work, social research should focus on one pole of the host-guest tourist continuum: "the so-called hosts, the people who both service tourists' needs and are the object of their attention" (1996a: 1). The second line of research would overcome the sterile debates on definitions. In its place, researchers should devote their analytical efforts to comprehending those practices that give meaning (content) to the labels and to the labelling process itself. The latter is the line of research followed in this article. Hence, applying the above definition of culture, the central question to be analysed in this paper is how objects acquire their meanings and give sense to social reality in tourism contexts through practice.

The analytical model followed stresses the study of mediations and the dialogics of the appropriation of tourism *dispositifs* through use (Martín-Barbero 1987). Specifically, this text outlines how the famous silhouette of the Osborne Bull may have acquired its mean-

ing as the symbol of Spain through the use made by both Spaniards and foreign visitors, mainly in a country where tourism has kept the balance of payments steady since the late fifties and where it has therefore become a main source of income for the state economy. The influence of this tourist image in the construction of a national motif has received responses in the shape of other zoomorphic identity signs such as cows, donkeys and sheep.

The Story Goes ...

The most famous silhouette of a bull was designed in 1956 as an advertisement for the promotion of Bodegas Osborne's new brandy *Veterano*. In May 1957 the first bull was placed at km 52 of the N-1 Madrid-Burgos motorway, and could soon be found at the side of all the main roads in Spain. By the end of 1957 there were 16 bulls. From the original wooden 7 metres high, the Bull reached 14 metres of iron and steel in 1962. Today the Bull weighs 4 tons, measures almost 150 square meters and can be seen from 10 km away. During the next decade international tourist arrivals reached 18 million (in 1967), and the bulls reached the remarkable number of 500; at this writing there are 92. Strategically located on hills, valleys and curves, the unmistakable silhouette of the Osborne Bull soon "became part" of the Spanish landscape. And it also turned out to be the icon that kept alive the orientalist view of the Romantic Spain "discovered" by European travellers during eighteenth century (Herán 1983), who linked it with ancient Mediterranean cultures. So it was that in August 1972, the *New York Magazine* put the by then broadly renamed *Sherry Bull* on the front cover of the magazine in order to showcase a feature report on Spain. And still, in the latest Eurovision song contest in Belgrade (2008), the representative of the Spanish Public Television Corporation (RTVE) was kitschily introduced with a shrouded mystery dance of a bullfight.

In 1988 the General Law of Roads prohibited advertisements located by the roadsides; hence the name of the brandy was erased, but the silhouette remained. In September 1994 the Ministerio de Obras Públicas, Medio Ambiente y Turismo (Ministry of Public Works, Environment and Tourism) adopted a new normative requiring that the Bull be removed from the landscape. However, there was an unexpected popular and intellectual upswell against its removal.

The Junta de Andalucía (Autonomous Government of Andalucía) took the first step. In October the silhouette was catalogued as a Bien de Interés Cultural (BIC – Cultural Interest Asset) since "those bulls are already part of the landscape of Andalucía and, therefore, they deserve a different treatment from that of other advertisements", said the regional Ministry of Culture (*Huelva Información*, 14-X-94). Then, in October 2007, the Junta de Andalucía tried to raise the level of protection from that of BIC to that of monument. In the Autonomous Community of Navarra, where the national General Law of Roads cannot be enforced due to its special legislative regime, the Regional Ministry of Public Works confirmed that the bulls would remain in the roads.

The open debate was such that in November 1994 the Supreme Court suspended the removal of the popular figure. The Bull was *indultado*[2] while the court decided whether the silhouette was a commercial advert or "an artistic expression of Spanish culture". The Parliament also participated in the debate and the Commission of Infrastructures of the Congress of the Deputies, against the votes of Izquierda Unida (a coalition of left-wing parties) and Convergencia i Unió (the Catalan right-wing nationalist party), "approved a proposition impelling the government and the public administrations to maintain, as a landscape motif, the figures of the Osborne Bull" (*Diario 16*, 16. 11. 1996). Academia did not remain uninvolved. The Universidad Politécnica de Valencia asked Osborne to install one Bull at the open-air Contemporary Art Museum of the University because "the figure deserves protection given its artistic and cultural meaning".

The Bull was definitely *indultado* in 1997 by the Supreme Court given the "*aesthetic and cultural interest of the silhouette*". Since then, the Bull can be found everywhere:

2.
Indultar: to pardon. The privilege granted to a bull by the President of a bullfight to spare his life after showing exceptional bravery and nobility during the *corrida* (bullfight).

from boots to army barracks abroad, all the way through flags, bumper-stickers, t-shirts… and has arisen as an arena where different national identities are negotiated.
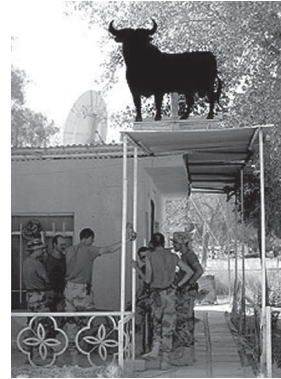
The Controversy in the Newspapers

However, it was in the daily press where the quarrel was better perceived and, most probably, constructed. This allows the possibility of another reading of the negotiation of meanings. There were hundreds of articles published in both local and national newspapers. Most of them had recourse to the kitsch equation of bull equals folkloric imagery and economic and cultural underdevelopment.

> The Osborne Bull might be as beautiful as you may want, but it is a symbol of ruralism, of a feudal Spain of "charanga y pandereta"[3] and dashing cavalrymen of swift steeds born out of the social class that used to spear bulls in the vast lands of Iberia. (*Lanza*, 29. 10. 1994)

Other newspapers, mainly those in autonomous communities with a strong national identity (Catalonia, Basque Country and Galicia), tended to explain the Bull as a symbol of Spanish nationalism:

> What has really impressed me is that this advertisement has gained recognition as a "*cultural and artistic heritage of the people of Spain*" /…/ the fact is that if nobody stops this, the Osborne Bull will

become part of the cultural and artistic heritage "of the people of Spain". In all modesty, I think that to impose over all the peoples the obligation to guarantee the preservation of that silhouette it is an outrageous decision. /.../ Without the brand,[4] the presence of the bulls is in line with a tourist promotional campaign based upon platitudes, and the foreigners who come here might very well interpret it in such a way[5] /.../ To substitute the explicit reference to Osborne by a symbolic Spain seems an abuse of power. Moreover, as the name actually indicates, this bull is English[6] to me. (Original in Catalan) (*Avui*, 18. 11. 1994)

In Galicia, another journalist wrote:

The chronic lack of identity of this country ended up converting the Osborne Bull into nothing less than a symbol of Spain /.../ That Imperial Spain which does not differentiate between ideologies[7] has gone against the removal of the Bull with the excuse that the national identity is threatened and that it may negatively influence our balance of payments regarding tourism income. /.../ It simply happens that Spanish nationalism, like any other nationalism, pays more attention to the symbols and idealisations upon which they build up their own country, rather than to the people, animals and real landscapes that make them up. It is a primitive type of jingoism that takes us back to the tribe and, consequently, it is in need of signs, symbols, and totems to identify with. (*Faro de Vigo*, 15. 10. 1994)

However, the most commonly employed argument was that of central role played by Andalucía in the construction of the image of Spain abroad, which conceals all the rest of the national cultures, as this Catalan columnist emphasises:

The *corridas* (bullfights) sound like something foreign, *typically Spanish*[8] exactly like the mega-bulls of Osborne that watch vehicles passing by along the roads of the *bull-hide*,[9] and that have just been included by the Junta de Andalucía in the catalogue

4.
In the beginning the name *Veterano* appeared, the brand of brandy advertised. Later it was changed to Osborne.

5.
In many blogs you find references to the link between Spain and the Osborne bull. See for instance the following one in English and Dutch: http://flanders-inside.skynetblogs.be/post/4569889/osborne-sherry-stier~osborne-sherry-bull-ext (last entry: October 2007).

6.
The Osborne family originally comes from England.

7.
The term *Imperial Spain* refers to the argument put forward by Franco's discursive nationalism. According to Primo de Rivera, the *Falange* founder, Spain was "a unity of fate in the universal", hence going beyond internal differences such as regions, ideologies or classes. This idea can still be found in most of the conservative arguments that defend the unity of Spain and the breakdown of ideologies.

8.
The mottoes *typical*

of cultural assets [see above]. For this reason they deserve legal protection as if they were the Mosque of Cordoba, the Giralda of Sevilla or the Alhambra of Granada, the tits of Rocío Jurado[10] or the widow's tears of La Pantoja during the *cogida*[11] /.../ that's it! The Bulls are part of the Andalusian physical and symbolic landscape. (Original in Catalan) (*Segre*, 30. 10. 1996)

The comments in favour are summarised by the following observer from Galicia:

Those who want to spare (*indultar*) the bull of the brandy *Veterano* say that it is not an advertisement but a national emblem, something that is part of our lives already (Original in Galician). (*La Región*, 24. 10. 1994)

Constant allusions to a glorious past drive the history of the bull-hide back to its beginning, through the usage of Francoist-like rhetoric:

This zoomorphic figure, that totemic animal of the Spaniards, was sculpted in granite during ancient times, even in a herd, as "the bulls of Guisando".[12] Nowadays, modern iconography represents the bulls in other materials more easily handled by artists. For instance, made of metal is that black silhouette of the Osborne Bull that majestically is exalted above the knolls flanking roads and highways. It is an imposing figure, a symbol of the beliefs and traditions of that Hispanic race that knew very well how to transmit it to the nations of America. For no other reason has this bull that salutes a good glass of sherry been *indultado* from slaughter. (*El Adelantado*, 16. 7. 1995)

Tourism and the Process of Signification

What are the relations between tourism promotional campaigns and the way local people perceive their own culture? Does tourism influence the way people see them-

Spanish and *Spain is different* promoted by the *Ministerio de Información y Turismo* were the pillars for the whole development of tourism during the sixties.

9.
Piel de toro: According to the Greek geographer Strabo, "Iberia is like an ox-hide extending in length from west to east, its fore-parts toward the east, and in breadth from north to south." However, depending on the translation of the Greek word βύρσῃ, in Spain it is always referred to as a bull-hide, while in Portugal it is "pele de boi" (ox-hide).

10.
Rocío Jurado, nicknamed "the Greatest", was one of the most famous singers of Spanish songs. Born in Andalucía, she was celebrated both for her marvellous voice and the size of her breasts. She was originally married to a boxer and, at the time of her death in June 2006, she was married to a bullfighter.

11.
Isabel Pantoja is the perfect example of the Spanish myth: a gypsy singer, born in Andalucía, who married a bullfighter who died in the Plaza. The *cogida*

selves? These questions have to a certain extent guided my anthropological interests since I started my ethnographic research in tourism contexts, and realised that locals were beginning to understand their own villages through the visitors' eyes (Nogués 1996).

However, anthropologists have not dialogically approached the role played in signification processes by this complex set of activities that, in its shortest textual form, we call tourism. Particularly among classical anthropologists and sociologists, tourism has been mostly analysed in terms of clashing societies or cultures (Nuñez 1963; Smith 1977; Rojek and Urry 1997 and to some extent Robinson 1999). Acculturation theory ontologically conceives cultures mainly in their territorial (spatial) dimension and, consequently, also as mere recipients where tourists land for "grazing",[13] and the tourism industry, encouraged by capitalist forces to foster and preserve underdevelopment, creates "peripheral enclaves" (Britton 1982). This reductive vision of what a culture is has caused tourism research to be theorised in terms of static models (Meethan 2003) and has kept tourism researchers focusing on dialectics rather than on dialogics; in so doing, the anthropological understanding of socio-cultural processes in tourism contexts is reduced. On the contrary, many ethnographic accounts demonstrate how tourism-receiving societies daily structure their interaction with outsiders and cope with tourism and tourists in many diverse ways (Boissevain 1996a), and lead us to acknowledge that an anthropological perspective on tourism must also pay attention to the production and reproduction of meanings.

The Dialogics of Tourism Space

The scheme proposed helps to understand socio-cultural processes in tourism contexts. It analyses the dialogic relations that exist between, on the one hand, the macro-social conditions imposed (a) by the physical presence of the tourism industry in the form of lodgements (hotels, apartments, urbanisations), restaurants, leisure enterprises or transport companies, (b) by the symbolic presence of the *dispositifs* of ideological dominance that condition the desirable, and (c) the instruments of institu-

refers to the death of her husband Francisco Rivera "Paquirri", one of the most legendary toreros, who was killed by a bull during a *corrida* in September 1984.

12.
Toros de Guisando: three Iberian sculptures of bulls from the 3rd c. BC located in El Tiemblo - Ávila.

13.
Zygmunt Bauman updates Boorstin's classical view and coined the term "tourist syndrome" as being characterised by "looseness of attachment" with the place visited, the "grazing behaviour" of the consumption of "pure relationships", and the "frailty of relationships" wherever they go (Franklin 2003).

tional power (governments, city councils, mass media, entrepreneur associations, etc.) that condition the feasible, and, on the other hand, the possibilities generated from the microsocial as shown in what is said and what is done by the people. *Tourism space* is the outcome of the relationship between these macro-social structures, theorised as constrictive, and the microsocial practices, considered as competent. This reminds us of Chadefaud (1987) for whom tourism space represents the projection in time and space of the ideals and myths of global society, and converts goods into tourist products and territories. Therefore, it appears as a referential frame, furnished by those images and values that *give sense* to everyday life, through which social practices are understood.

Understanding this dialogical model requires partially overcoming the centrality of the equation 'culture equals territory' (derived from the acculturative perspective and the *hic et nunc* functionalist axiom), and distinguishing the spatial – locative – dimension (the "tourism environment") of a society from that of the expressive dimension of culture (Bakhtin 1965). Consequently, social theorists ought to differentiate (therefore, name) both dimensions methodologically, to arrange the data (actions, practices) observed and collected during fieldwork, and to analyse them in their proper context.
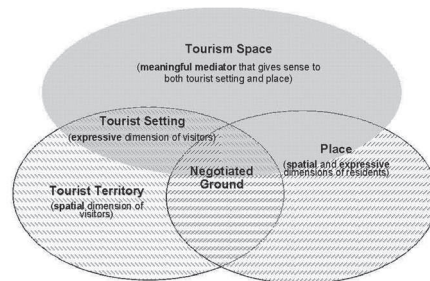

Figure 1 Theoretical model of the "conversion of place through tourism space".

The figure charts the model: imagine a dynamic graph progressing from left to right. Imagine that visitors land in a place where there is already an existing society. Imagine now that the place shrinks as tourists gradually consume "quality space" by means of services and accommodations facilities for visitors. Then, in the spatial dimension I propose to distinguish between (1) a "tourist territory" where to locate these premises on a map, and (2) a "place", that indicates where residents dwell. But tourism also consumes local culture; therefore, in that Bakhtinian expressive dimension of culture we might differenti-

ate (1) a "tourist setting" from where tourists are seduced to find their motivation to travel, and (2) a "place" through which locals express themselves as a meaningful group (i.e. community). The resulting "negotiated ground" in both the spatial and expressive dimensions suggests the dialogics and the diachronics of the model. The corollary of the conversion – neither simple transformation nor occupation – of the place through the mediation of tourism space occurs when the "place" is perceived, experienced, interpreted and understood through the perceptual and expressive world of the visitors; when, progressively, tradition vanishes through cultural amalgamation and is managed for residents in the same way as it is for visitors; when, in the end, the "place" converts to "tourism space" and the profitable meanings of the tourism industry appear as hegemonic discourse in the most diverse cultural, social, and economic daily activities and locations (Nogués 2006).

I argue that the generation of *tourism space* cannot be analysed as a mechanical reflection of any infrastructural or discursive determination, nor as a dialectical synthesis of the inner contradictions of the tourism system, but should be analysed as a dialogical process. As stated at the beginning, the working hypothesis states that tourism space is neither a product directed against the native population of a certain destination defined as peripheral by the neo-colonial ideology of capitalism; nor the resistance soil of imagined communities that reacts against the invasion of their homeland and *their* culture; nor the space created by Frankfurtian-like contrivances that alienate hyper-industrialised societies through leisure time management. To understand the transformative (hence, regenerative) capabilities of the dialogical processes of meaning which give content to tourism space, anthropologists must attend to their reception. That is, to deeply comprehend the cultural dynamics in tourism contexts, academics concerned about the implementation of tourism projects as a means of social development cannot analyse only the tourism process as coming *from the outside* (be they tourist agents, neo-colonial capital, hotel chains, or cultural tourism experts) and think of it only as something *towards the outside* (be it tourists or incomes). Much to the contrary, anthropologists must look at how the residents of the destinations *make sense* of their own processes in society – "popular culture", and, additionally, how they themselves appropriate (absorb) those *dispositifs* that construct the masses (be they either tourism, mobile phones, the Internet etc.) through their use, and avoid the dissolution of that popular culture implied in the very same construction of the masses (Martín-Barbero 1998).

Following this, the model can explain even those cases where

happens "a state is characterised by an axiological confusion between what belongs to culture and what pertains to tourism" as Balinese authorities themselves call *kebudayaan parawisata* (tourist culture) (Picard 1995: 57). The case of the Osborne Bull resembles this case, since it is very difficult to distinguish what belongs to the ancient taurine tradition in Spain and what pertains to the tourism promotional campaigns. Yet the working hypothesis argues that tourism has enhanced the original meaning of what the Bull means, attaching it to national identity.

How is it that Spain *Became* Andalucía?

In 1956, Bodegas Osborne asked Azor, its advertising agency in Madrid, for a design for the new brandy *Veterano*. At that time "artist, painter and illustrator" Manolo Prieto (1912-1986) was the art director (Pérez Mulet 2004). Probably not surprisingly, both Bodegas Osborne and Manolo Prieto come from the same Andalusian town: El Puerto de Santa María, at the mouth of the Guadalete River in the Bay of Cádiz. Apparently, Prieto did not need to go too far to find a successful image. Tauromachy was ever-present in ancient Mediterranean cultures, as well as in many other Western European countries during modern times, especially in Spain (Romero de Solís et al. 1998; Traimond 1996). Fifty years later, the black figure is highly recognised as something more than a commercial. Though Bodegas Osborne is well aware of this and, obviously, takes promotional and significant economic advantage of it, the cultural and political implications of this silhouette goes far beyond the calculating capabilities of the Osborne Group.[14] How can anthropology explain this?

The *toros* and *flamenco* were the main myths upon which tourism promotional campaigns were based during the sixties and most of the seventies in Spain. The powerful aesthetic of both cultural expressions was easily conducted by the Ministerio de Información y Turismo to market Spain as a prominent international tourism destination. The *corridas* and the *tablaos* (originally a tavern with a flamenco show) became tourist settings par excel-

14.
The ordinary income of Grupo Osborne reached 37 million euros in 2007. Their products range from sherry wines and spirits to mineral water, fruit juices, soft drinks and Iberian pork products.

lence, and no single foreign visitor of those decades, be they Ernst Hemingway, Ava Gardner, Orson Welles or John Doe, missed them. Since locals neither in the sixties nor today frequented these *tablaos*, regarded as "typically Spanish", the *tablaos* become a proper ethnographic example of what a tourist territory is. On the contrary, more than three million people attended the *corridas* held in Andalucía during 2007 and 31% of the Spanish population were interested in the *corridas* according to a 2002 Gallup Institute survey.[15]

Observing culture as that compound of manifestations and contexts that acquires its sense within a specific group and gives sense to the social life, the controversy around whether the silhouette should be considered an infomercial, and thus removed from the side of the roads, become an anthropological research issue when these black figures started to be used as a plank for the political claims of other Iberian nationalisms, and many other zoomorphic animals entered this new symbolic arena for the construction of cultural identities.

I argue that this process of acquiring meaning cannot be understood in its whole dimension without considering the significative mediation played by tourism space, and the way this latter was generated. There is a diffused dialogical tension between the taurine tradition in Spain, the tourism promotion campaigns and the industry interests, and the cultural and political identities involved in the signification of the symbol. In other words, "what belongs to culture and what pertains to tourism?"

Contrasting the discourses employed and doing par-

15.
In the 1970s, bullfighting interested 55%: see http://www.gallup.es/encu/toros06/intro.asp.

ticipant observation in some anti-tauromachian manifestations like those held previous to the *corridas*, there are animal protectionist arguments supported by ecological associations along with more direct political attitudes. The demonstration held on June 17th 2007 in front of the *Monumental* of Barcelona – the bullring – coinciding with the long-awaited reappearance of José Tomás, was headed with a poster in Catalan saying: "Toros out of Catalonia and everywhere else too!" Actually, the duality of this discourse is well represented by the pro-independence left-wing party Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) which has repeatedly attempted to prohibit the celebration of bullfights in Barcelona while defending some traditional taurine festivals celebrated in the Southern *comarcas* (counties) of Catalonia.

The black figure is rooted in the Spanish collective imaginary as the symbol of a united Spain. During the 2002 final game of the Copa del Rey (the King's Football Cup) between Real Madrid and Deportivo de la Coruña, a nationalist artist created a "Galician cow against the Spanish bull" over the blue banded white flag. Sport in general, and football very particularly, is a splendid arena for identity struggles and nationalist symbols. Indeed, the *national sportive flag* has substituted the royal emblem with the black silhouette in every single meeting where Spanish sportsmen and women play some role: from water polo to F-1 races, through to any athletics competition. Some weeks later in the *comarca* of Banyoles the *burru català* (Catalan donkey) appeared as a response both "against the uniformalising centralism expressed in such symbols as the bull and the license plates".[16] Mainly used on car boots, another motif joined this nationalist form of stickers in 2004. A group of friends from the Basque country came up with the *ardi latxa*: an autochthonous breed of sheep. Far beyond being a nationalist aesthetic game of modifying cars, these stickers represent the appropriation of a symbolic "we" upon which identity can be displayed.

16.
See www.burrocatala.
com.

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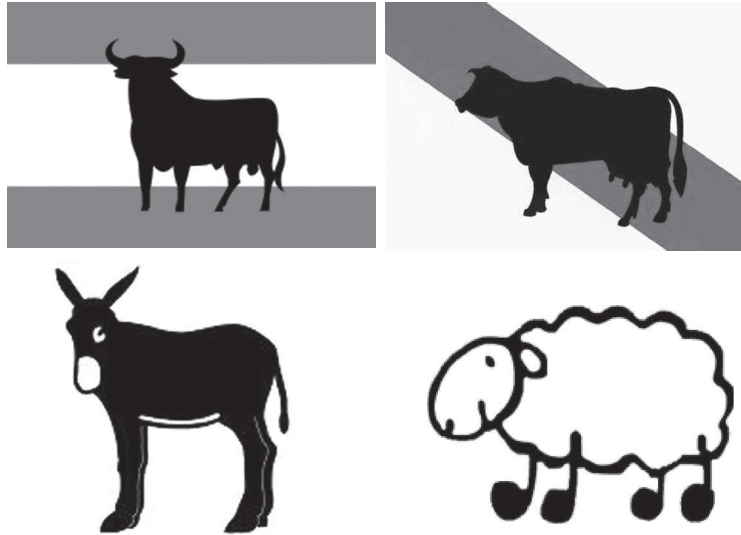
Paradoxically, this struggle began as a struggle against the imagery of Spain created by foreigners and for foreigners. These findings closely remind one of other tourist destinations where a native population identity emerges in opposition to visitors while, at the same time, reflecting the image others have of them (Bruner 1991: 247). Still, the Andalusian image of Spain was constructed long before any tourist, as such, had arrived on the coasts. Herán analysed how foreigners regretted the change in customs because they were the things which held the truth about Spain; a truth based upon a standard view of Andalucía: *flamenco*, gypsies, *bandoleros* (bandits), *corridas de toros* (bullfights), *procesiones* (Holy Week processions), houses whitened with lime and *patios* (courtyards) with lots of rosemary, carnations and geraniums, and how this representation prevailed against the one portrayed by novelists like Azorín or Blasco Ibañez about the underdeveloped and peripheral Andalucía (Herán 1983: 50-1). Besides, this orientalist view worked also for internal consumption, and in the process it masked many other cultural manifestations from other regions. Even a recognised anthropologist like Caro Baroja pointed out that "an Andalusian village is a living museum with features from the Neolithic up to recent times" (1981: 301).

Probably the best example of this Andalusianised Spain is the film Bienvenido Mr. Marshall, directed by Luis García Berlanga in 1952. It is a burlesque, satirical and merciless photograph of how Spain was rejected by the allies after the Second World War.

The European Recovery Programme, popularly known as the

Marshall Plan, promoted by the US State Department in the period 1948-1953 to help the recovery of selected Western European countries, never reached Spain. But everyone in Villar del Río, the imaginary village located somewhere in the central region of Spain, was anxiously waiting in line for it and pinning their dreams on the notebook where the municipal secretary was diligently recording their petitions... Overanxious to please, they staged the modality of the Spanish culture which the American diplomats would have been most familiar with. The people of Villar del Río worn Andalusian costumes, anachronous and out of context, got a renowned *cantaor* (flamenco singer) and decorated their town in the most typical Andalusian style. The cruel hegemony of the Andalusianised Spain is best shown when, faithful to history, the US train to progress did not stop. The people of the Castilian village, disguised in fancy clothes, covered by the dust raised by the speeding cars, throwing the *attrezzo* out and returning to their chores, created a surrealist final panorama. If MacCannell (1989) had paid a bit more attention to non-English literature, he would have used this motion picture as a paradigmatic example of his most quoted "staged authenticity".

This type of symbolic construction of the product *Spain* radically changed after Franco's death. There was a re-emergence of the various national cultures that form political Spain. Ironically, this process also influenced the way Andalucía thought of itself, and the stereotype was rejected even in those places where they were born, and labelled as *kitsch*. But following the tauromachian controversy, I maintain that the meaning of the Bull had already been culturally internalised all over Spain and, sometimes embodied, through the mediation of tourism space in the signification process.

Conclusion

As the tauromachian controversy illustrates, tourism must be included in the analysis of the social and cultural dynamics. The pros and cons of the debate can be summarised as follows: On one hand, the Bull must be removed from the roads, for it is time to eradicate the false image of a homogenous Spain; on the other, the Bull must remain in its place not only because it is a work of art, but also a symbol of the Spanish cultural identity.

Both reasonings derive from the same logic. A logic born "out of the folkloric image of Spain, the romantic image of Spain, the composite that makes Spaniards feel that, when travelling abroad, foreigners still think that as Spaniards we are Andalusians; and,

therefore, we must know how to dance flamenco and that we do like bullfighting. All this still has a lot of strength in the international popular imagination, and it was sketched out in the period between 1830 and 1860" (Calvo Serraller 2004: 101), and crystallised during the sixties and seventies as a direct consequence of tourism development.

According to the model of the conversion of place, locals perceived, experienced, interpreted and understood the place through the perceptual and expressive world of the visitors (i.e. Spain as an enormous ring emerging around the black silhouette of a bull). And, progressively, the meanings of whatever was traditional vanished into cultural amalgamation and are managed for residents in the same way as they are for visitors (i.e. the confusion between the commercial ad and the cultural identity symbol).

In a multinational country like Spain the daily construction of national identities found a subtle arena in which to express the negotiation of cultural meanings through the creation of new totems. Using the *bandeira galega* (Galician flag), the *ikurriña* (Basque flag) or the *senyera* (Catalan flag) would have driven the confrontation into the official sphere in a battle of flags, as usually happens in some town halls and other official buildings in Catalonia or the Basque Country. However, the appropriation of a zoomorphic figure as a national symbol made by tourist practices and tourism merchandising, attached other meanings to the black Bull in the local expressive dimension. As occurs with Maltese festivals, "the commoditization is not destroying them; on the contrary, it has imbued them with new meaning" (Boissevain 1996b: 116). Through its popular use in bumper-stickers, sport supporters flags and t-shirts, the Bull achieved a powerful dimension. This provoked the creation of a distinctive set of nationalist totems: cows, donkeys and sheep. Hence, former *meaningless* objects for the expressive dimension of locals (place), become either tourist objects (merchandising) for the tourist setting, or achieve new meanings through the mediation of tourism space.

Culture in tourism contexts is constructed dialogically through the negotiation between visitors and residents, and also among the different social and cultural groups that comprise the homogenised local population. Thus, I maintain that if anthropology attempts to return to culture in order to comprehend it in both the spatial and the expressive dimensions, it must pay attention to the mediation of tourism space when fieldwork is carried out in tourist destinations.

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