

# Television programming during late francoism: propaganda in entertainment and disclosure emissions\*

La programación televisiva del tardofranquismo: la propaganda en las emisiones de entretenimiento y divulgación

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## Resumen

El objetivo de esta investigación es determinar en qué medida la programación televisiva tenía elementos que reforzaban la figura del Estado, en el periodo denominado Tardofranquismo, en el entretenimiento y la divulgación. Esta etapa se inicia simbólicamente con la designación de Juan Carlos de Borbón como sucesor de Franco en 1969 y concluye con el fin de la dictadura, por lo que se ha establecido como fecha final el 20 de noviembre de 1975. Para ello, el objeto de estudio seleccionado son las parrillas de programación, como fuente primaria. La hipótesis afirma que la televisión era un escaparate para mostrar que la modernidad había llegado a España. El análisis detecta qué tipo de espacios estaban dirigidos a ese fin, en este periodo que comienza con una tímida apertura cultural. Los espacios formativos televisivos fueron muy limitados y los únicos permanentes son los de divulgación de la fe católica. Todos estos elementos no son diferentes a los de otros países europeos. La única salvedad eran los espacios informativos, que mantuvieron un férreo control, y las temáticas moralmente controvertidas o que criticaban al Régimen.

## Palabras clave

Televisión Española (TVE), Programación, Tardofranquismo, Propaganda, Entretenimiento, Espacios Formativos.

## Abstract

The goal of this communication is to determine the extent to which the television programming supported the Spanish government image during Late-Francoism. This period symbolically started with the designation of Juan Carlos de Borbón as the natural successor of Franco in 1969, and ended with the death of the dictator. The object of study are the programming lists (the grills), as the primary source. The hypothesis is that the official television message was to show that modernity had come to Spain. The analysis aims to identify what kind of spaces were intended for that purpose. In this period a timid cultural openness begins. The formative spaces were quite limited and the only ones who remained were the programs focused on the divulgation of the Catholic faith. All these elements are no different from other European countries. The only exceptions were the newscasts, which maintained a tight control until the end, when morally controversial themes or criticisms to the Régimen were concerned.

## Key words

Spanish Television (TVE), programming, Late-Francoism, Propaganda, Entertainment, Formative programs

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## 1. Introduction

On October 28, 1956, regular broadcasting on TVE began. The television channel arrived in a Spain that was beginning to prosper after twenty years of misery. The Civil War (1936-39), the postwar, political revanchism and international isolation made Spanish's main concern that of covering their basic needs for two decades. Survival. The end of the economic autarchy and the plans for development put into action in the 60s, as well as the arrival of foreign currency coming from emigration, caused the Spanish economy to take off in the seventies (Tamames, 2005). During the official act of the opening of the airwaves, the director of TVE Programs and Broadcasting, José Ramón Alonso affirmed that television would start precisely on October 26, being the day of the Feast of Christ the King celebration and that the two purposes set forth by the directors at TVE were to "serve God" and "Spanish politics"<sup>1</sup>. In those years, television was the symbol of consumer society and social change (Montero, 2014). It was a good that appeared as a luxury item, its price being unaffordable for most of the population<sup>2</sup>, with very limited programming in time and space. There were only three hours of daily programming and its signal arrived only to Madrid and surrounding areas, during its first months (Antona, 2016). In less than a decade, the number of televisions in households multiplied exponentially<sup>3</sup>, broadcasts covered almost the entire day (except at night) and the signal was received in the majority of national territory. Moreover, a second channel was added, La 2 (in 1966), and thanks to international agreements, TVE had access to the content of the Eurovisión Network and could connect via satellite with the other side of the Atlantic (Baget, 1992). Television in the seventies represented the change in a new generation of Spanish that grew up as part of that consumer society. At the end of the 60s, the authoritative dictatorship was preparing for the political continuity, given that logically there would have to be a successor for Franco (Montero, 1998). Within this context, this article will focus on the final stage of television during this period that is called Late Francoism and that symbolically begins with the swearing in of Juan Carlos de Borbón at the beginning of the National Movement and his designation as the successor of Franco on July 22, 1969 before the courts.

In this context, the new communication media was a very powerful tool in terms of the public opinion. The objective of this article is to analyze if television was a tool of service of the Regime in this political movement. This article verifies if TV had the mission to shed a favorable light on the continuation of the Regime and to perpetuate the values that the State stood for: the Military, the Church, the family and the traditions<sup>4</sup>.

### 1.1 Background

Television in Spain evolved in the first decade, as well as its context. On one hand, the technical advances, like the arrival of recording equipment systems that facilitate recording, that now do not have to be in real time (Palacio, 2001) like in the beginning. Also the very experience of the employees, as well as the arrival of new professionals like Narciso Ibáñez Serrador and Valerio Lazarov (Baget, 1992) little by little helped the medium achieve the status of other European channels. Politics was a different story. In the 60s, the end of the economic autarchy and international emigration (causing the arrival of foreign currency) helped the consumer society take off little by little (Montalbán, 1973). The evolution of television is a symbol of this change: society begins to take hold of capitalism, but continues to be cautious of a personalist military dictatorship, that is in its final stages.

The chosen object of study is the programming listings, as a first source, between the years 1969 and 1975. The programming is the dialogue that the network maintains with its audience (Gómez, 2003), for which it is necessary to analyze all the elements that make up this dialogue, in order to determine to what degree the spaces that try to influence public opinion are relevant due to their presence on air. This investigation will encompass three key variables that are framed in the composition of the television offerings: the weight of the television offering made for propaganda purposes, the time of day in which they appeared and the type of programs they were. The latter will be focused on the themes of the broadcasts found in the listings.

The initial hypothesis of this study is that the official message of the television during Late Francoism was to show and demonstrate that modernity had arrived to Spain. In other words, it was a message aimed at extending the idea of political continuity and its normalization.

The person in charge of putting these new ideas on television was Adolfo Suárez<sup>5</sup> after his arrival to the General Director's Board of RTVE between 1969 and 1973 (Baget, 1992). The television of the 70s has a very established programming model, resulting from the very evolution of the medium that thanks to the technological advances and the training of the workers, it adjusted itself to the tastes of the audiences (Antona, 2016). Thus, the second hypothesis is that Late Francoism was not, at least not exclusively, a tool of service for the dictatorship, but rather is the result of the implementation of the new medium of communication in a society and, in essence, is very similar to the development process of many coetaneous networks all over Europe. Thus, the initiatives that exalted the values of the Church, the State, the family and tradition were minor and consequences of Spain's own idiosyncrasy.

Having clarified this point, the objective of the work is to determine to what degree the programming of the last years reflected the Spanish political situation: a country that had experienced thirty years under a personalist military dictatorship that was irremediably in its final stages due to the health problems of the Chief of State, but that was trying to be perpetuated by the naming of Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón as successor.

In regards to a study of programming, two levels of analysis can be established. The first is that referring to the composition of the listings, which programs are included, when are they shown and their relevance at the time of showing. The second is that which delves into the program content. This study is focused on the first level. Nevertheless, the study has listed bibliographic references in order to give an idea of the type of programs (especially those of fiction) that were broadcasted. Finally, the history of the programming can (should) be completed with the audience profile. This study has included primary sources in terms of reception.

## 2. Argument

The television message, programming, is supplied with in the reception (Fiske, 1997: 40). For this reason, each program can mean different things based on not just the receptor, but also the time of day at which it is seen, given that each one of the viewers will interpret what he or she sees based on his or her own ideology, beliefs and experiences. Thus, the first level of analysis must detect at what time of day shows are broadcasted in order to determine to which type of viewers they are directed.

There is no data in terms of real audiences but there are opinion polls published that were carried out by Spain's public opinion institute (Palacio, 2001), and its official newspaper, *Telediario* (*Tele Radio*, as of 1960), that from the beginning of television inquired as to what television viewers thought about the medium and its programming<sup>6</sup>.

This study is unique in that in the traditional studies of the past on Spanish television, researchers have focused on political (Vázquez, 1973; Munsó, 2001), cultural, and economic aspects (Bustamante, 2013; Palacio, 2001). And sources of information used for these past reviews were based on, on many occasions, memory and bibliographic review, not on analysis of primary sources (from Baget, 1992 to Lorenzo Díaz, 2006, among many others). The study of programming has an original focus for Spanish researchers. There are works that have used the listings as a source of analysis. For example, there are the partial approximations of the programming (Gómez-Escalonilla, 2003) and of a limited period of time (Carreras, 2012). There are also others that have addressed transversal issues like sports (Bonaut, 2006), bull-fighting (De Haro, 2016), game shows (Moreno, 2014), documentaries (Cabeza, 2013) and children's programming (Paz & Martínez, 2013). This study falls within the Television Studies framework and aims to provide an epistemological model of historical reproduction that can be used in future investigations.

### 3. Methodology

This article has used the analysis results of the published program listings, taken from and focused on three print media: *ABC*, *La Vanguardia*, and *Tele Radio*. The result is a database of all the TVE programming shown from January 1, 1969 to November 20, 1975. The start date marks the beginning of the period analyzed by complete year, although the official designation of the succession did not occur until June. The end of the sample corresponds to the day of Franco's death. All programs shown have been classified into three categories that coincide with classic TV functions (Camacho, 2005): inform, entertain and disseminate. This investigation will focus on the programming that belongs to the dissemination and entertainment categories. Informative programming and those shows dedicated to current events at the end of the 60s represented practically 25 percent of total broadcast time (Table 1). Nevertheless, in order to determine in what ways informative shows served as a vehicle of political propaganda, it is necessary to carry out an analysis of their content, which deserves a separate study<sup>7</sup>. Either way, it will always be done via a partial approximation, because only (some) parts of the programming are saved, not the filming of these shows. Censorship and the informative control that TVE experienced until the end of the dictatorship is beside the point. Thus, this article will only address some types of entertainment content (whose category had approximately 63 percent of broadcasting time) and that of the dissemination programs (with 11 percent). Distribution of time was not equal during each period, and is reflected in the following table:

Entertainment and dissemination categories have been divided into types of programs<sup>8</sup>. Within the dissemination category there are documentary, cultural, religious, educational and training programs. This study will focus on analyzing the total programming of the time slots in this category between 1969 and 1975, with special attention on those of training and education. In addition, the themes of cultural and documentary programs will be analyzed.

On the other hand, within the entertainment category, general themes will be analyzed (located via the bibliography, or online databases) of the national production programs: made-for-television shows as well as films broadcasted on TV. Initially, we searched for a show that would have aspects contrary to the traditional Francoist perception of society, based on tradition or religion or culturally liberal (like adaptations of works or cinema from filmmakers that at another time in the dictatorship had been banned) in order to determine if its presence is representative or on the rise, or isolated. Nevertheless, the programming search results were negative. Then, after the bibliographic review, common lines of arguments were identified in fiction (family content, local everyday life, focused on the upper-middle class) and a specific time slot with original script of TVE whose initial purpose was the dissemination of *El Fuero de los Españoles* (1945): *Crónicas de un pueblo* (1971-1974)

Graph 1: Percentage of Category Distribution 1969-1975

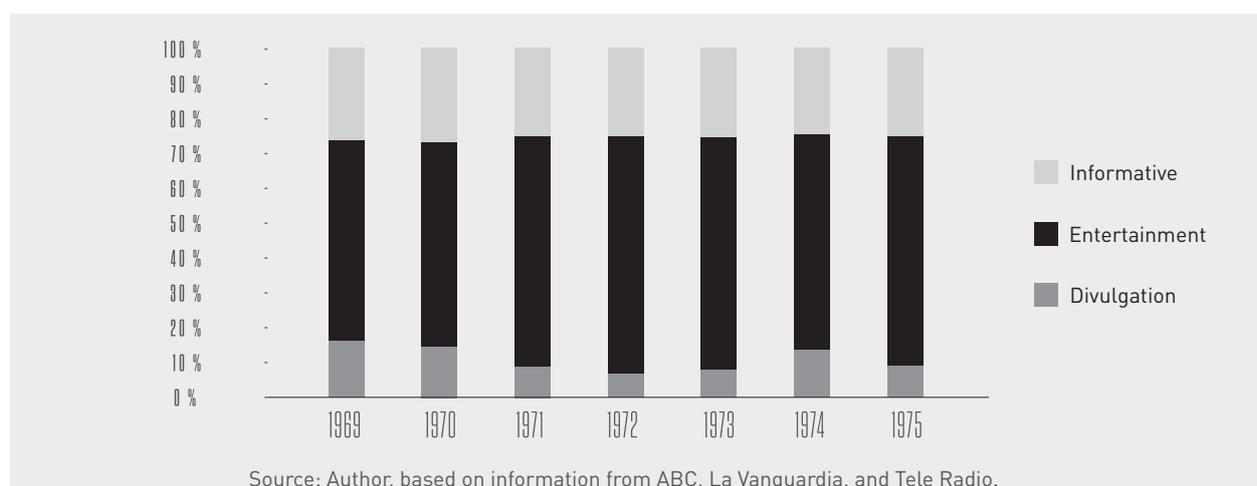


Table 1: Types of Broadcasting in Each Programming Category and Variables Analyzed

Foreign Fiction Series	Foreign production series	Not analyzed
TVE Fiction	TVE Productions: Spanish dramas and series	Thematic
Non-series Fiction	Mostly full-length films	Thematic and nationality
Game Shows	Broadcasting in which there is a competition to win a prize	Not analyzed
Performance Shows	Variety shows, comedy, realities, dance, folkloric and magazines	Not analyzed
Musical	Spaces with live or recorded music and acting	Not analyzed
Children's	Programs specially designed for young children and teens	Not analyzed
Sports	Replays of sports	Not analyzed
Bull-fighting	Replays of bull-fighting, training fights, running of the bulls, etc.	Not analyzed
Others	Spaces for entertainment that gave continuity to programming	Not analyzed
Documentaries	Both TVE productions as well as foreign films	Thematic
Cultural	Spaces for cultural content (literature, art, sciences, etc.)	Thematic
Educational	Programs of transmission of formal education, like language or reading classes	Program Analysis
Training	Spaces for non-formal teaching and transmission of moral, civic, and religious values. In addition to military and religious replays.	Program Analysis

Source: the Author

Two types of thematic variables have been chosen. There are those that exalted the figure of Spanish tradition, for example, through the past glories of the Spanish Empire, or by way of the advances and achievements of Spaniards, and via the exaltation of military and historical successes. On the other hand, searches were done in fiction for topics that the 1966 Law of Press established as censurable. Specifically, there are three ideological discourses contrary to the Regime that were searched for when determining these spaces: any issue that affected sexual morality, that attacked the dogma of the Catholic Church or offended its representatives, and finally, that undermined the political principles of the Regime or challenged its institutions.

#### 4. Religion and Patriotism as Pillars of Propaganda

Within dissemination spaces there are two variables that represent the political content of Francoism: the first of them is the use of the Catholic faith as a channel of indoctrination in spaces of religious formation hosted by Monseñor Guerra Campos in the 70s (Peñuelas, 2004). The second is the use of television as an education tool, which had the mission of orienting and educating the viewer on his role as a citizen. The common trait they share was public service, understood from the perspective that television serves a vital role in promoting the values<sup>9</sup> on which the State is based. The training spaces throughout this period are classified into four sub-categories: spaces for women (which taught them about cooking, fashion and what was expected of them as a daughter, mother, and wife<sup>10</sup>), for young men (who were offered useful lessons for the future, guidelines to follow and even forms of recreation), mature men (related to military topics and the internal functioning of the State<sup>11</sup>), citizens services and religious teachings, which are practi-

cally the only ones that remain in the TV program listings as of 1970. In other words, one of the first changes made at TVE after the arrival of Suárez was the elimination of programs of propaganda, although religion continued to be shown on TV. At the end of the 1970s, the *Las instituciones* (1974-1975) space was introduced weekly and its mission was to explain the political functioning of the State to Spaniards. This is an example of legitimization and normalization of the political situation that was to be continued after the death of the dictator, who was already very sick at the time.

During the period of analysis, the Catholic Church began a process of differentiation with the Regime of Franco initiated by Juan XXIII and continued by Pablo VI, whose right hand man was Vicente Enrique y Tarancón, who starting in 1971 presided over the Spanish Episcopal Conference<sup>13</sup>. Nevertheless, from the Spanish Church, there was a deep-rooted support of the personalist dictatorship by Guerra Campos, among others, who was also the president of the RTVE Religious Programming Advisory Committee until 1973. He himself was behind spaces like *El octavo día* (1972-1973) that criticized all aspects of freedom that the new minister Pío Cabanillas advocated. Nevertheless, not all religious spaces have such a pronounced "continuist" tendency. During those years was the premiere of the program *Ronda familiar* (1972-1974), by Jesuit scriptwriter Antonio Sobrino. This show was hosted by Ángel Losada and Maribel Trenas. It was shown after dinnertime on Friday evenings and, like its predecessor, *Ojos nuevos*, it was a *tele-magazine* of religious themes. In the year 1974, it was replaced by *Pulso de fe* (1974-1975) by Salvador Muñoz Iglesias. The religious theme was completed with *El día del Señor* and the Sunday mass that aired afterwards. The rest of the television in the final stage of Francoism corresponded to festivities like Easter Week or daily prayer spaces like *Un momento por favor* (1974).

The arrival of Suárez also marks the disappearance of educative spaces, those that taught formal, lessons, from the TV programming. Throughout the 60s, the afternoon had a reserved two-hour time slot for the *Bloque Cultural*. In it were language lessons (both in English and French, appearing from 1958 to 1967 with different show names), general cultural spaces (on various topics), master classes of college professors (*Universidad TV*, 1959-1964) and programs with clearly educational content (*Academia TV*, 1962-1964; *Escuela TV*, 1961-1963; and *Ba-chillerato*

*TVE*, 1963-1965, among others) and even reading and writing (*Imágenes para saber*, 1966-1967). The last was *Televisión Escolar* (1968-1970), an initiative of European nature which TVE copied from other networks like RAI that was shown in the morning in order to complement tradition schooling. From Monday to Saturday, math, language, nature and science educational content was shown so viewers and students in their respective schools could tune in and follow the show.

Cultural spaces in the 70s, which were very numerous in the previous era –taking up close to 5 percent of all broadcasting time between 1958 and 1968 (Antona, 2016)–practically disappear (2 percent on annual average, although between 1971 and 1975 they barely made up 1 percent of total broadcasting). The cause was directly related with the adapting of TV content to the medium itself. Shows with a talking head became obsolete and culture was channeled via other formats, such as documentaries, which enjoyed their golden age during this time. In terms of their themes, historical (*España, Siglo XX*, 1970-1973, and *La huella del hombre*, 1969-1970) and ethnographic (*Raíces*, 1974-1975) subjects were very common in documentary series (Hernández, 2008) produced by TVE. Although their time slot in the TV listings would make you think they were well received by the public, they were never as popular as those of nature, which was the leading type of documentary series in the 70s. The person who was in charge of bringing the environment into the living rooms of TVE viewers was Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente<sup>14</sup>.

Patriotism and the celebration of everything considered "Spanish" as an aspect of admiration in the final stage of Francoist television can be found in *Lo que va de siglo* (1968-1969)<sup>15</sup>, a show which celebrated Spanish culture in the 20th century via the reconstruction of testimonials and images filmed for the occasion or taken from archives. During this season *Pueblos de España* also premiered. Also called *Pueblos que dejan huella*, (1968-1969) this program showed ethnographic themes that the Caro Baroja brothers brought to TVE in the mid 70s<sup>16</sup>, dedicating one episode to a Spanish town. Nevertheless, it was not very successful given that it had very few showings. The ethnographic documentary returns at the end of the 70s with the show *Raíces* (1975) a documentary series by Manuel Garrido Palacios, which portrayed the customs and traditions of Spanish towns and cities. The historical documentaries that address national history were those already mentioned *España*

*siglo XX* and *La huella del hombre*, in addition to *La noche de los tiempos* (1971-1972) and *Tiempos de España* (1975). Reconstructing, in the first case, the country's history from the War of Cuba to the date of broadcasting, in the second, the culture and, in the third program, anthropological origins. *España siglo XX* and *La noche de los tiempos* were well liked by the public, as shown by their positions in the TV listings. In addition, in 1972, they shared the Ondas Award for best cultural program. *En Tiempos de España*, written and directed by Ricardo Blasco, reviews the recent history of Spain in episodes that divide the period studied chronologically<sup>17</sup>. The use of patriotic exacerbation is not exclusive to divulgation. These patterns are also found in entertainment.

## 5. Entertainment as a Reflection of New Aairs of Freedom

When talking about propaganda via entertainment, the first thing noted is the celebration of sports triumphs and their acknowledgement as achievements of the State, media events that are thoroughly discussed by the Bonaut bibliography (2006). The most traditionally used example is the celebration of the games won by the soccer team Real Madrid and the triumphalism with which the State waved it in the face of the Spanish people and also abroad. Replays of soccer games was used as a symbol in front of the audience: the best vehicle in which to portray the capabilities of new technology were games in which Real Madrid played against their top rival, Barcelona<sup>18</sup>, to show that the connection between Madrid and the *Ciudad Condal* were established and the games of the successful team of Real Madrid with Di Stefano<sup>19</sup>. Nevertheless, soccer was not the only sport that served in terms of patriotic exaltation. During the entire period, the Spanish triumphs in sports were shown again and again (Bonaut, 2006:285)<sup>20</sup>. This was done, firstly, in order to show the world the virtues of Spain. Secondly, it was done in front of the Spaniards as an opportunity for them to celebrate together. Thus, Spanish sports triumphs reinforced the idea of a nation.

Fiction also served de throughout TV as a vehicle for transmitting the message that change was on its way, although the attempts at this were quite anecdotal on the first channel. Full-length films shown were the most popular, destined for a larger and more heterogeneous public. On the second channel, La 2, they showed, among other things, productions that had experienced commercial or censorship problems during their premieres, including, many times, in their original versions (Martín, 2015).

The showing of full-length films on TVE competed, from the beginning, with those shown in the movie theater. Therefore, what TVE broadcasted during the 60s was very influenced by this dispute (Gil, 2014). They were very old films and very few Spanish films<sup>21</sup>. In the 70s, television had already defined which content fit best in the programming and the fiction series was the pillar of entertainment. Films continued to be content that, although still well liked by the public, arrived very late compared to those showing in the theaters. Thus, little by little, both media began to collaborate and feed off each other. In fact, more Spanish cinema began to be shown on TVE. In *Hoy presenta*, the title used to announce the Thursday night movie, tried to make television "more Spanish" by incorporating Spanish movies. American movies were the most shown according to TV listings<sup>22</sup>.

Starting in 1971, Spanish cinema was shown more thanks to the organizing of film series that were programmed into the Saturday afternoon listings, as well as at night. This season was the one in which most Spanish movies were shown on TVE, with a total of twenty films organized into two specific series: a series of Marisol<sup>23</sup> in Saturday afternoon programming of the same year and another of Spanish comedies with names like *Deliciosamente tontos* (Juan de Orduña, Spain, 1943), *Los dinamiteros* (José Isbert, Spain, 1962) and *Atraco a las 3* (José M<sup>a</sup> Forqué, 1963). Despite Spanish cinema being enormously popular, the dispute between TV and movie theaters did not allow for including more domestic movies on TVE (Zahedi, 2014). At the end of 1971 and the beginning of 1972, there was another series of Spanish cinema in which eleven films appeared in the programming, including *Doña Francisquita* (Ladislao Vajda, Spain, 1952), *La nao capitana* (Florián Rey, Spain, 1946), *Locura de amor* (Juan de Orduña, Spain, 1948), *Jeromín* (Luis Lucía, Spain, 1952) and *Garbancito de la Mancha* (José M<sup>a</sup> Blay, Spain, 1945) the first full-length Spanish cartoon film and the

first in color of all Europe. All these films had quite patriotic themes, praising the best of the product and national history. In 1974, during the denominated *Primavera del Aperturismo*, the Programming Board was led by Narciso Ibáñez Serrador, a professional that had already brought modernity to the production of fiction with works like *Historias para no dormir* (1966-1968). One of the most surprising additions to the TV listings was a new series of Spanish cinema in which there was a movie by Juan Antonio Bardem, marked for his past support of the Communist Party (*La muerte de un ciclista*, 1955) and Carlos Saura (*El Llanto por un bandido*, 1964, film that included the collaboration of the exiled Luis Buñuel). The third movie to be shown, also a little controversial, taking the context into account, was *La tía Tula* (Miguel Picazo, 1964), a free adaption of the work by the same name by Miguel de Unamuno, which narrates the internal struggle of the main character with his desires in order to preserve the ruling strict morality. After Ibáñez Serrador's resignation in June of that year, the Spanish series continued, but with less controversial films.

As for fiction, in terms of the general context, it is necessary to refer to the foreign production series. From 1957, TVE showed productions that portrayed how different the world outside was, although no change could be found to explain the propagandist reasons for the films chosen to be broadcasted on TVE. The majority of them are family-oriented and do not feature themes subject to moral controversy. Reasons have to do more with the distributor supply and the demands of the audience. American Westerns like *Bonanza* and *The Virginian* and detective shows like *El Agente de C.I.P.O.L.* and *Hawaii 5.0*, as well as comedies were among the most liked programs by the television panels of *Tele Radio*. In addition, children's programming in the 70s, which grew to have more and more presence on TV, now followed a purely-for-entertainment model. There would be no new initiatives like *Jardín*<sup>24</sup> or *Lección de ocio*<sup>25</sup>, in which, to a certain degree, children were treated like small adults that should be raised as much as possible with certain values, like productive usage of time (Paz y Martínez, 2013:305). In the 70s, shows like *La casa del reloj* and *El Gran Circo de TVE* were widely popular, the latter being among the top positions of the television panels<sup>26</sup> and its broadcasting was extended, using different names, but with the same protagonists, until the 90s.

In terms of national fiction production, in the 70s, the dramas and the TV series were already clearly differentiated. The first, corresponding to literary adaptations, in some spaces like *Cuentos y Leyendas* (Fernández, 2010:315-316) and *Los libros* (Fernández, 2010:184), via the great classics, some scenes were shown of poverty, corruption and inequality, a social critique thanks to the adaptation of literary works. This permissiveness was a way of showing the audience a reflection of freedom (Baget, 1992:301).

In the production of Spanish fiction with original script by TVE, content was above all family-oriented, with arguments that had to do with daily issues that were very local and very familiar to the day-to-day life of Spanish society, in many ways to urban society, and set in the present. In summary, these spaces offered a pleasant view of reality, almost always with a happy ending for the purpose of entertaining the spectator with many scenes based on dialogue, located indoors, that didn't contribute to the plot. At the beginning of the 70s, there was *Crónicas de un pueblo*, a space whose origin was openly for the use of fiction as a vehicle to transmit the values of the Government<sup>27</sup>. The script was based on the *Fuero de los Españoles*<sup>28</sup>. Nevertheless, the absence of rural contexts in national fiction made up until this point, and the increased know-how of TV production technicians, as well as the new techniques used (Canós, 2015), are two of the main reasons that won the wide approval of audiences. In other words, it is not possible to determine to what point the series indoctrinated the public or simply entertained it. In fact, we must add that the society of the seventies had strong ties to the countryside. Despite the growth of cities, increased emigration of the 60s caused many people to that were born and raised in small towns, to live in the city, and see their childhood portrayed on television. It's also important to note the "reality effect" that came from the characters, dialogues and plots, and the ample use of outside settings, much more numerous than in the domestic productions shown until then (Rueda-Laffond, 2006:15-16).

## 6. Conclusions

Television in Spain, despite the political context of the time, underwent a development and consolidation process mainly based on the capability of the media itself. In other words, the political motives were just another circumstance that affected the implementation of television, and the fact that some of the contents clearly showed the promotion of certain values, like in the case of the spaces of Guerra Campos, and when they showed movies and themes that wouldn't make it past the censorship; which was strictly enforced until the end of Francoism. From the main results of the research it is concluded that there are no elements that would indicate a profound change in TV programming. In fact, the first piece of evidence is that no program was found that went against national Catholic values. Common practice in TV programming was to avoid and manage themes that could "displease" the Government. This content was expressly established, in the 1966 Law of Press, which eliminated (among other things) prior censorship. Starting with the arrival of Adolfo Suarez to the RTVE management in 1969, there is a stabilization of monopolist television of general nature whose main intention is to entertain, despite not forgetting its informative labor as service to the audience (another topic is which type of information was offered and which was not, or to what extent it was manipulated and made to serve the State). But it is possible to determine whether it was included in the TV listings: one fourth of broadcasting minutes were destined to information.

The training mission of television adapts to the medium and therefore to the very entertainment it provides. TV spaces no longer have a radiophonic format, but rather use audiovisual resources to reach audiences more effectively. The structure of the programming is modern (Antona, 2016) and with content that is easily predictable for spectators.

What is true is that the appearance of spaces like *Las instituciones* and *Las Cortes* were timid efforts on behalf of the government to make Spain's anomalous political situation in the 70s seem normal. The same goes for initiatives like *Crónicas de un pueblo*. Despite being conceived as a product that attempted to promote the *Fuero de los Españoles*, the medium itself was able to dilute the space in a flow of programming that was ultimately looking to satisfy. The television of the 70s was focused on entertainment. If that entertainment tried to deviate

the attention of spectators from the political and social problems (Vázquez, 1973), that's another discussion and is not included in the objective of this research study.

What can be concluded is that the objective of the programming as a flow –*television flow* (Williams, 2003)– of TVE, was not the direct exaltation of the Franco Regime, but rather to primarily satisfy the audiences. During the entire period, the Government's relationship with the media was one of ideological control, to a lesser or greater degree (Sevillano, 1998), with prior censorship until the previously mentioned Law of Press of 1966. Public television of an authoritative state<sup>29</sup> would not allow showing of certain content (direct or indirect criticism of the regime, and also in this case, neither could they show themes that undermined Christian morality, given that it was a Catholic State<sup>30</sup>). This does not mean that television was an instrument of service of the regime, used to alienate spectators, given that the Theory of the Hypodermic Needle was overcome, even in Spain. In the 70s, there had already been a generation of TV viewers that had grown up with television. Therefore, the hypothesis held, that the official message of TV during Late Francoism was to show that Spain was on the same level of development as the rest of the European countries, is very subtle. With the data collected, it is not possible to conclude that it was one of its principle missions. Yet neither can it be ruled out that it was of political interest. What is possible is to state that propaganda initiatives were not very frequent in TV programming. Themes that favored Catholic values or that disseminated the Catholic faith were present until the end of the study period. Nevertheless, spaces related to the exaltation of the regime were very few: military parades and speeches by Franco on New Year's Eve. However, there were audiovisual spaces dedicated to the celebration of national pride and Spanish culture. But this "continuist" spirit was dissolved in TV functioning.

Themes or spaces that could be considered morally inappropriate or even critical of the regime were broadcast covertly via the classics and/or those set in other historical periods. In terms of a discovery made with this research, it was identified that the most open initiatives, culturally-speaking, are limited on the first channel to specific isolated initiatives, like the Spanish cinema series broadcasted in 1974.

The State used this official medium to send messages and transmit certain doctrine on what the Francoist

government wanted society to accept. One example is the Catholic morale and doctrine. But the general tendency was more about action than omission. In other words, the topics that could not be shown and the critiques that could not be broadcasted were very established and TVE avoided them. Faith was just another element, belonging to TVE but not exclusive. Both Ireland and Italy also had TV minutes reserved for religion and for content created by religious institutions and in both cases the government was democratic (Menduni, 2004; Savage, 2010).

The increase of entertainment on TVE at the beginning of the 70's happened similarly on other European TV networks of the time. Its main purpose was to attract audience (Antona, 2016). In other words, it was a general tendency that has been called the "ideology of development" (García-Delgado y Jiménez, 1998). It is based on the myth of Europeanization, understood in terms of assimilation of the level of quality of life and consumption among Spain and its surrounding countries (Rueda-Laffond, 2005). In this sense, television was an element in which standardization with European patterns was possible.

Relative freedom in the choice of some authors in fiction shows (García, 1980), especially in the productions that adapted classic scripts, served to navigate, to a certain degree, the norm that the dictatorship implemented but always shielded by other time periods, other realities. In general terms, TVE directors knew what to and what not to show, and thus they limited themselves to non-controversial themes that were oriented to the family and daily life without political implications.

## Notes

1. Statements collected by *ABC* (October 30, 1956, pp.41).
2. In 1965, only one third of the Spanish population had a TV, according to surveys performed by the Instituto de Opinión pública between 1960 and 1964 (*Opinión Pública Jornal*. No.1, May-August, 1965, pp. 227) The reasons that the majority gave as to why they did not have a TV were economic.
3. From 25,000 TVs in 1958 to 3,897,000 in 1969. In Palacio, M. (2001). *History of Television in Spain*. Barcelona: Gedisa.
4. Francoism was politically characterized for its lack of ideology, although historians coincide that the ideological pillars on which the regime was built were these. In Montero, J. (1998). *Spanish Political Constitutions and Laws, 1808 - 1978*. Barcelona: Ariel.
5. After Franco's death, Adolfo Suárez replaced Arias Navarro as President of the Government in 1976 and was one of the key people in the Transition. In the late 70's, Spain returned to democracy thanks to political changes taking place little by little in the country. In 1977, Suárez was elected President of the Government in the first elections held in Spain since 1936, year in which the Civil War began. He was reelected in 1979 and remained in office until January 1981, when he resigned and was replaced by Calvo Sotelo.
6. Starting with magazine number 21, it was announced that TVE would begin conducting telephone surveys on TV spaces with customers. Starting with number 23, a form was published regularly for several months with questions about the quality of the programs and basic information on the audience. Although the information gathering systems of the audience were rudimentary and intermittent, their mere existence shows the network's concern for users. These initiatives were carried out during the entire period, although it wasn't until the 70's that they were published regularly in national newspapers, like *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*, in addition to the network magazine.
7. This study also was faced with the challenge that no recordings of the news were kept, as indicated in Julio Montero et al. (coords.): "Francoist TV magazines. An investigation on the sources" in *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, Volume 69, pp. 152-175, 2014. This article uses parts of broadcasts that contain topics discussed and videos used, although there is no record of the news itself, making it impossible to analyze their informative bias.
8. The term genre of television is not used because we have tried to preserve the essence of programs just as they are announced in the media. In addition, some typologies have been created like in the case of the training programs, shows that do not have their own conception of genre, but rather represent various programs and different content. All were conceived in order to instruct the audience on the values of the State, Catholicism and education that from the Feminine Section of Falange, women were taught: how to sew a button and decorate a house.
9. These values have been classified and picked apart in Pulpillo, C. (2013). "Origins of Francoism: The Construction of the "New Spain" (1936-1941), doctoral thesis, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos.
10. For example, *Para vosotras* (1963-1964), and *La hora de la mujer* (1958), *Decoración* (1958), *La moda* (1958) and *La música y la decoración* (1958). These are feminine programs understanding this femininity as the image that the State, in general, and from the Female Section in particular, tried to instill in women and society. It's also important to mention *La soltera y su oficio* (1960) and *Hogar, dulce hogar* (1959). Another example to this respect is *Seis mujeres en la vida de un hombre* (1964) which explained the role of mother, wife, sister, daughter, etc., that every woman represented.
11. Like in *Por tierra, mar y aire* (1964-1971), *Las Cortes* (1967) and *Las instituciones* (1974-1975).

12. *La carretera es de todos* (The Highway Is For Everyone, 1967-1968).

13. The following link is to a report from the newspaper *El País* which tells how part of the Spanish Church decided to separate itself from Franco's politics: [http://elpais.com/diario/2007/09/13/sociedad/1189634413\\_850215.html](http://elpais.com/diario/2007/09/13/sociedad/1189634413_850215.html)

14. The survey in the magazine *La Actualidad española* (1974), appearing in the *History of TVE* (1986), op. cit. pp. 95-96, states that the Spaniards rated Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente second place on this list of most relevant TV stars, just behind *Los Pájaros de la Tele*. In 1970 and 1971 he was in first place, fourth place in 1972 and second again in 1973.

15. Shown on Thursday evenings at the last broadcasting time.

16. With the project *Conozca usted España* (1966-1969), although the minister Fraga Iribarne was able to introduce the promotion of tourism to the country as the original idea. Pío Caro Baroja. (2002). "Memories of a Documentary Filmmaker: Stories of the Old Dear" Pamplona, Pamiela, pp. 150 and Santiago Aumesquet Nosea. (2004). "The Ethnographic Documentary in Spain: Pío Caro Baroja" Pamplona, Government of Navarra, pp. 50-51.

17. For example, in July 1975, broadcasts of *Tiempos de España* were: 6/07/1975: *Spain compared to postwar Europe: 1916 - 1921*; on 13/07/1975: *Spain compared to postwar Europe: 1916 - 1921 (II)*; 20/07/2015 *Spain in search of a Solution: 1921 - 1923*; 27/07/1975 *Rise of the dictatorship: 1921 - 1927*.

18. On February 15, 1959, it was transmitted live and caused so much expectation that TVs were sold out in Madrid.

19. On March 18, 1960 the first international transmission took place: the second half of the game between Eintracht of Frankfurt and Real Madrid; in which the Madrid team won its 5th Europe Cup. The first program was transmitted live from Spain to the Eurovisión Network, it had taken place a few days earlier, on March 2, and also had been a soccer game between Real Madrid and Olympique of Nice. For the occasion an antenna had to be installed at the last minute to send the signal to France, as told by *La Vanguardia*. The day before, the very technicians didn't know for sure if the connection was going to be possible. "It's impossible to be sure, given the complexity of the adjustment of the links, if this connection will take place tomorrow, but it is a really important step for the enterprising TVE" in *La Vanguardia* (01/03/1960), pp. 19.

20. The author uses a table to show a summary of the minutes for each discipline between 1960 and 1975. Soccer is the clear winner, with 72,358 minutes, followed by basketball, with 27,817 and cycling, with 25,526, all of them being disciplines with great victories.

21. Between 1967 and 1969, there were 344 movies shown on the first channel. Only 20 of them were Spanish productions.

22. Approximately 85 percent of the full-length productions were American.

23. Marisol was the stage name of an children's actress and singer that became a star in Spain during the 70s, appearing in works like *Un rayo de luz* (Luis Lucia, 1961, for which she received the award for best children's actress in the Mostra de Venecia), and *Ha llegado un Ángel* (Luis Lucia, 1962), among others (Blanco, 2004).

24. A space based on the American television series *Romper Room*, directed at small children. The objective was that they learn "to be good" and for such they used *Señor Sí*, who was a smiling bumblebee and *Señor No* was an angry bumblebee

25. It offered different ways to spend free time productively, directed at young people.

26. For example: in *La Vanguardia*, November, 24, 1974, p. 82, *El Circo de TVE* appeared as the second top rated program, as well as in *La Vanguardia*, April 8, 1975, pp. 57, in which it also appears in second place and is rated 8.4 out 10 by spectators.

27. Rueda Laffond (2006) states that it is a paradigmatic sample in the attempt to transfer to the small screen certain dominant keys of the Francoist imaginary. It is a product of entertainment guided by key ideological content. It was an original idea of the Vice President of the Government, Luis Carrero Blanco. The main objective of *Crónicas de un pueblo* would have been to disseminate the concepts established in the *Fuero de los Españoles* via an exemplifying fiction story format. It was no coincidence then that the beginning of broadcasting of the series would take place on July 18, 1971.

28. One of the eight Fundamental Laws of Francoism that establishes a series of rights, freedoms and responsibilities of the Spanish population.

29. There is still discussion of the classification of Franco's Regime (Linz, 1978). What is a fact not open for discussion is that it was a military dictatorship, which infringed on many of the Spaniards fundamental freedoms: freedom of expression, to assemble, freedom of association and freedom of religion, among others. Nevertheless, Francoism is mainly characterized by its lack of ideology, although historians coincide in that the ideological pillars on which the regime was based were the Church and the Military, with the family and traditions as symbols (Montero, 1998). After the military uprising in 1936, Spain was immersed in civil war until 1939, when Franco's troops finally took the capital. During the dispute, the self-denominated *Bando Nacional* enacted the Decree of Unification (April 19, 1937) which banded together all the ideologies that the *Bando Nacional* stood for, trying to combine forces against the Republic. The regime established in Spain in 1939 (and that remained until Franco's death) maintained its political structure throughout the years with the Fundamental Laws, passed between 1938 and 1967. The General Law of Movement Principles, under which they were classified, as its names suggests, are the principles by which the Regime was supported (the unity of Spain, Defense of the Catholic Faith, etc.) was approved in 1958.

30. On October 1, 1936 (a few months after the beginning of the Civil War), Franco is named Chief of Government of the State of the territories controlled by the national side. His speech already proclaims it the Crusade in Defense of Catholicism. In 1945, Article 6 of the *Fuero de los Españoles* named Catholicism as the religion of the Spanish State.

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