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Entertainment as the foundation of television programming between 1958 and 1975

Abstract

The main objective of this study is to analyse TV entertainment during Franco's years and its evolution. The starting hypothesis is that initially the grid was influenced by the radio model, but that little by little it evolved towards its own model, in which fiction was the most frequently used identifier. The reason for change was the willingness to meet the needs of the target audiences. All television broadcasts have been analysed from January 1, 1958 to November 20, 1975. Based on a quantitative analysis of broadcasting times, the scheduling trends of the four slots have been determined: morning, afternoon, evening, and night, in order to establish how the TV network was willing to meet the potential audience's wishes at every moment of the day. This historical approach to television through primary sources, such as the total TVE broadcasts, is practically unheard of.

Keywords

Programming, Entertainment, Fiction, Television, History, TVE, Francoism

1. Introduction and methodology

Regardless of their ownership, be it public or private, entertainment is a fundamental element in the offer of general-interest TV channels. It is not only a contemporary feature, since television was born with this precise aim and the viewers also received it as such. Televisión Española (Spanish Television, hereinafter TVE, the national state-owned public-service television broadcaster in Spain) was no exception. Entertainment was part of its programming since the beginning of its broadcasts, but what is important, and that is the objective of this research, is to analyse how this entertainment worked out and the way it evolved over the years. In other words, what type of entertainment it is and how it changes and adapts to the environment. Initially the TV offer was built after a radio model. It made perfect sense, because most of the professionals came from radio broadcasting, and the public itself was familiar with its programme contents. However, as television ceased to be a luxury object within the reach of a minority of the

population, either due to the decrease in purchase price, or because of the extension of the reach of the television signal, TVE adapted its programmes' contents to its specific nature, thereby achieving its own identity. Three were the main factors that determined this transformation: the experience of the broadcaster itself, budget increases, technical improvements, as well as through improved human capital.

Accordingly, it will be shown that one of the reasons why television programming in general, and entertainment in particular, evolved was mainly with the aim of satisfying its audience. My second hypothesis is that fiction, the content that enjoyed more recognition by the public, was also the type of programme in which this evolution is more evident.

Television arrives in a Spain that is still recovering from the Civil War and the post war period (Bayona Fernández, 2002). In the beginning and during the first few years, it starts with three types of constraints: economic, technical and human limitations. Over the period under consideration, the development of the broadcasting network and its geographical deployment took place within a society that was also undergoing important socioeconomic changes (Molinero & Ysàs, 1998).

This research is based on an innovative approach, since all television broadcasts between 1 January 1958 and 20 November 1975 have been taken into account for the analysis. To this date, studies on the history of television have been partial approximations (Gómez Escalonilla, 2003) in which cross-cutting issues of programming have been tackled (among others: Bonaut, 2006, who has discussed sport programming, De Haro, 2016 that has worked on bullfighting; Moreno, 2014, on contests, Cabeza, 2013 on documentaries, and Paz & Martínez, 2014a, 2014b and 2013, on children) or they have only considered some limited periods of time (Carreras Lario, 2012) that do not allow for the assessment of the evolution of programming as a whole. Although this study focuses on entertainment, it also takes into consideration the total minutes of programming, in order to accurately quantify the presence these TV broadcasts have had.

This analysis provides an original vision regarding the television programming of the period, as well as a new reading of the issues at stake: TVE was trying to meet the requirements of its audience. It is no longer considered as a kind of string of programmes, one after the other, without a joint sense of purpose, but at least since the early sixties, television programming used strategies in order to seduce the different audiences, engage with them, and try to keep them for as long as possible. That is to say, the conception of the audiences as external agents to the television process that has been in place until the beginning of the private channels is questioned here. Moreover, the programming blocks themselves, originally and during the first decade, were naturally divided by the cuts of television broadcasts.

Programming has been considered as the dialogue of the channel with its audience (Gómez Escalonilla, 2003), so it is necessary to analyse it in its entirety, just as, in order to analyse a film, analysing a sequence is not enough (Montero, 2014: 16-18); that is, television programming is conceived as a flow (Williams, 2003), in which the separate analysis of each section is insufficient (Corner, 1999: 68). The message is given content at reception (Fiske, 1997: 40). This study is framed within Television Studies, and aims to provide an epistemological model of reproducible historical reconstruction for future research. There are authors who point out that the organizational structure of television breaks this flow (Elis, 2013); nevertheless, they agree that, although a channel does not broadcast 24 hours, this fragmentation does not break the sense and internal coherence of the TV schedule. Although the programming was not a literal flow of contents, the concatenations of the different programmes constructed the message, even though the latter was not presented in the form of a steady flow. This research is necessary, because precisely television is the most obvious example of the change of Spanish society in the sixties. It is a symbol of a new consumer society, and of how a country that just ten years before was immersed in autarchy

and ration books, managed to get close, at least in the area of leisure, to the status quo of other Western European countries. Therefore, the analysis of the evolution of television entertainment also serves to understand this social change, as an element of social integration (Fiske & Hartley, 2003: 64-68).

For the present analysis, television grids recovered from TV News *Telediario* (and later *Tele Radio*), *ABC* and *La Vanguardia* have been used. The title, start time, end time, and duration have been recorded for each of the broadcasts. Each entry has been classified into a time slot (adapting to the reality of the time period under consideration those slots proposed by Cortés, 1998), block of programming and types of programmes. The morning strip comprised all programs that began before 12:00 am. The type of audience to which it was directed was a female one (housewives) as evidenced by the contents aired. The afternoon strip began at 12:00 am. Broadcasting during most of this period began in this band. It was the first band of the day from the perspective of both its contents and its continuous broadcasting schedule. This strip was aimed at the entire family and ended when children's programmes began, at 17:00. The evening strip finished at 20:30, when all programming for children and young adults ended. This strip also included the 'Cultural Block'. Night programming was characterized by having *Telediario* as its centre. It was aimed at the entire family and ended at the close of the daily broadcast. All programmes aired before 6 am also shared the 'after-dark' label.

Taking into account the traditional functions of television, three blocks of programmes have been identified: the entertainment block, on which this analysis is focused; the general-interest block; and the informative block. The types of programmes have been defined ex professo on the basis of three criteria: the purpose of the broadcast, the target audience and the program themes (based on the different descriptions of genres and macro-genres, as collected in the bibliography: Arana (2011, 104-130) and García Miron (2014: 76-84). In particular, the types of entertainment programmes are listed in Table 1:

Table 1. Types of entertainment programmes

Entertainment	Foreign fiction series	Series produced by third parties
	In-house fiction	TVE's own productions: both drama and Spanish series
	Non-serial fiction	Mainly feature films
	TV quiz shows	TV programmes, in which there is a skill or knowledge competition to get a prize
	Entertainment	Light entertainment, humour, realities, dance, folklore, and magazines, and all those programmes in which there are several types of shows gathered in the same TV programme
	Musical	TV programmes where music, and live or deferred performances are the main content
	Children	TV programmes, specifically designed for children or young people
	Sport	Sports broadcasts
	Bullfighting	Broadcasting of bullfights, <i>novilladas</i> (bullfights with young bulls), running of the bulls, etc.
	Other	Entertaining programmes that provided a good flow and continuity to the schedule

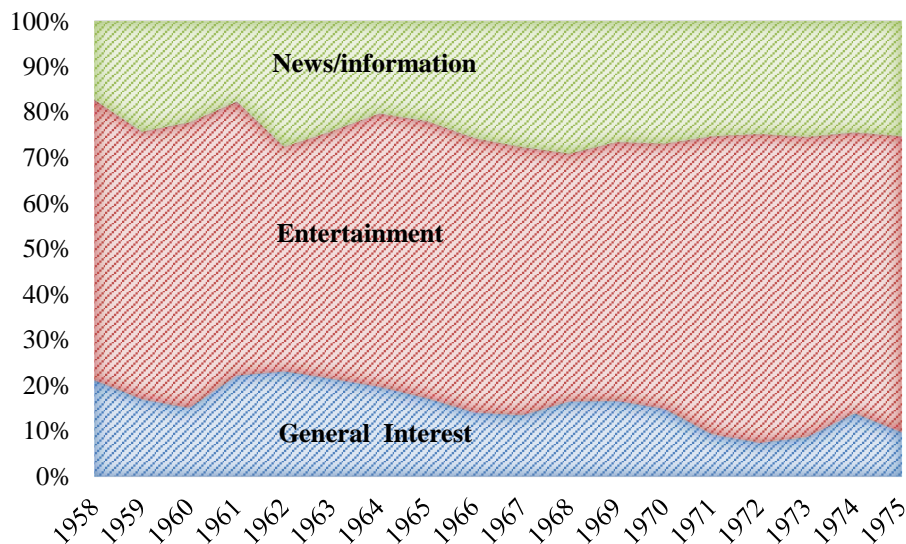
Source: Own elaboration

With the above information a database has been created, in which more than 150,000 entries have been collected with about 3,600 different programmes. For each type of programme we have also analysed the preferred places in the TV schedule and its evolution over time. The types of programmes belonging to the entertainment block are: foreign serial fiction, in-house productions of serial fiction, non-serial fiction, shows, contests, musicals, children's, sports, and bullfighting.

2. Entertainment in TV schedules: content analysis

The first result of the analysis verifies and quantifies that entertainment was the star of Francoist programming: 65.05 per cent of the total TVE broadcasting time in this period was entertainment: six and a half minutes out of ten offered programmes designed to entertain the audience. Information also played an important role, accounting for 25 per cent of total broadcast time. Therefore, it can be said that a quarter of the programming was news or current-affairs shows. However, public general interest or scientific dissemination programmes amounted to just 10 per cent of the total, which shows that, despite the programmers' intentions, this function of television progressively became an increasingly more limited offer (Table 2). These general results have been obtained taking into account the total sum of minutes of the whole period, but if we further the analysis, taking into account the distribution of minutes per year, we realize that entertainment was also the block that experienced less variations during this whole period: thus, from the beginning, entertainment constituted the primary purpose of television in Spain. There was only one year, 1962, which showed some decrease in this type of offer and it coincides with the season in which more minutes of information were included in the schedule: it is the time when Manuel Fraga became Minister of Information and Tourism, when current-affairs, cultural, and educational started to grow in number.

Graph 1. Percentage of total broadcast time by TVE per content block and year

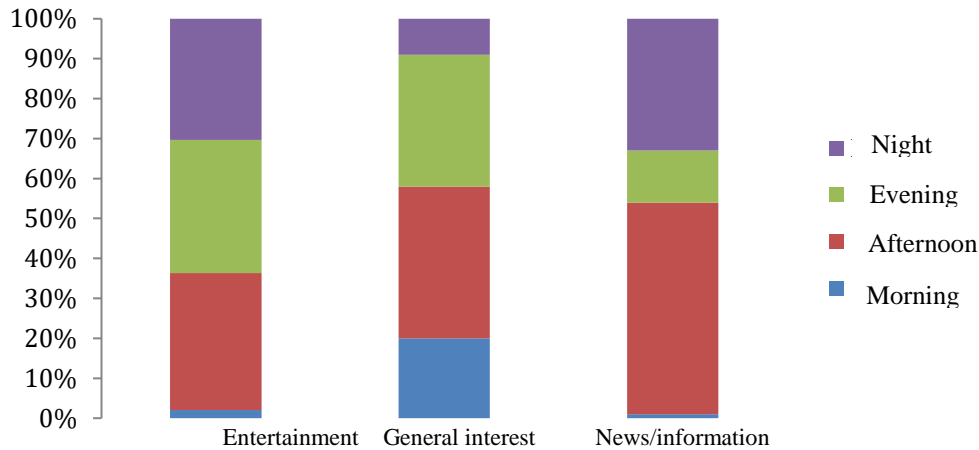


Source: Own elaboration based on information collected from *ABC*, *La Vanguardia*, and *Tele Radio*.

The present data indicates that the share of information consolidated as the technical and human infrastructure allowed. It was not an easy task (Montero, et al., 2014: 156-160), although at the beginning of the 1960s there was already some stability in the number of minutes broadcast, thanks to the organization of the newsroom. General interest

programmes began with just over 20 per cent of the minutes, but, unlike entertainment, it was the block that experienced more variation along the period. 1962 was also the year that saw more minutes of general interest programming.

Graph 2. Distribution of minutes broadcast in each program block by time band



Source: Own elaboration based on information from ABC, La Vanguardia, and Tele Radio

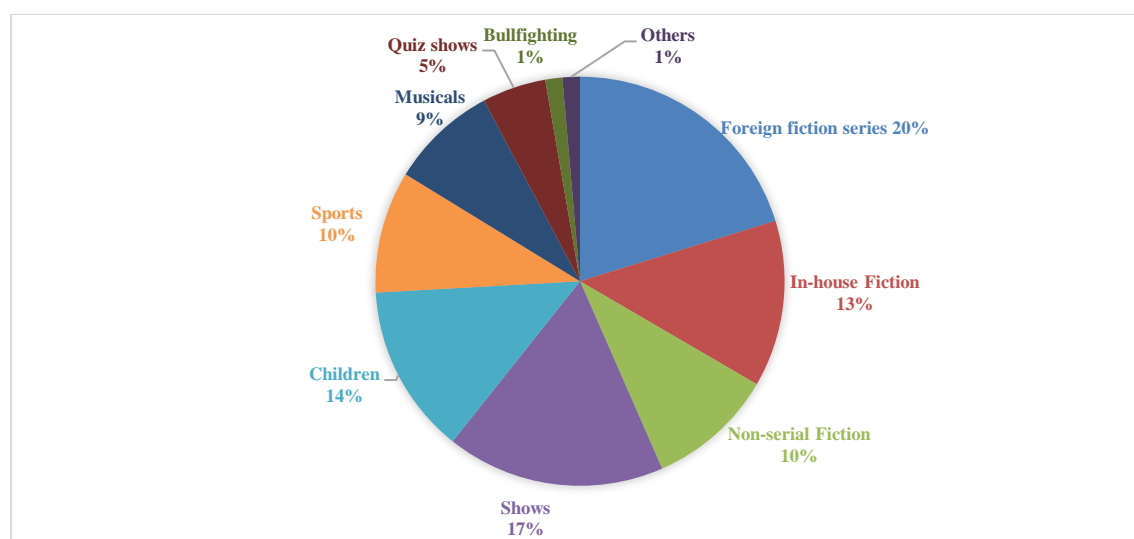
The analysis of the distribution by time slots (Graph 1) shows that the number of minutes devoted to entertainment was distributed almost equally between the night (30 per cent), the evening and the afternoon (33 and 34 respectively). Only 2 per cent of entertainment broadcasts were programmed in the morning strip: mostly morning magazines and weekend sports broadcasts. There was also some morning content in the weekends that started before 12:00. This means that entertainment was very much present throughout the day, except in the mornings; however, the fact that regular broadcast in the mornings started only on Sundays in 1964 (on Saturdays some time later) must also be taken into account; it is the time band when less minutes were broadcast, with notable exceptions such as “Television School” from 1968 until 1971.

It is possible to describe the average daily programming, which very accurately defines the overall pattern of programming, and, therefore, the target public: one half of the programs of the first part of the day (the morning and the afternoon) consisted of slots of entertainment, and the other half consisted of general interest, dissemination of knowledge, culminating in the afternoon news. It was understood that the audience for which these contents were programmed was interested in current events, and spent their resting time in what could be called “educational (useful) entertainment”: middle-class persons, who took advantage of the television experience to advance learning (Callejo Gallego, 1995: 258). At the beginning of the sixties, one third of the families owned a TV set (for economic reasons, according to the Spanish Review of Public Opinion, 1965, no. 1, May-August, 227), but this figure grew exponentially throughout the decade (Palacio, 2001: 58); however, this fact did not affect the composition of the different time bands, which remained fairly regular throughout the period, which means that, in general, this was the backbone of the primitive model of TVE programming. The peak of entertainment was reached in the afternoon, when the television was dedicated to a family audience: the afternoon was the second time band in terms of number of viewers, only behind the night band, but the characteristic was that it included all age ranges (Public Opinion Review, 1965: 232): gathered in front of the TV were found both those who were of school age and those who worked outside home and had

already finished their work day. The time for returning from work started around 6:30 pm, according to surveys such as *La Audiencia de Televisión en España* (1969, 46). This confirms that TVE's programming was aimed at a very heterogeneous audience and that entertainment –at least, that offered by television in Spain– had the advantage of reaching all viewers alike. That is, this content was presented in the evenings and nights, the moments of the day when more viewers used to watch television, to reinforce the fun character of television media.

If we take into account the percentage of minutes dedicated to the types of programmes that make up the mural (Table 2), we conclude that 'fiction' was the type of programme that had the most minutes on the schedules, since just foreign series represented 1 in 5 minutes broadcast on TVE. Added to these slots, we have the in-house serial productions (series, the soap opera titled *Novela*, or dramas, among others) as well as non-serial productions, mostly motion pictures.

Graph 3. Distribution of the minutes of entertainment by type of program



Source: Own elaboration based on information from ABC, La Vanguardia and Tele Radio

A great variety of options that serve to cover a wide range of preferences from the public can also be observed: from fiction to music or sports. Almost half of the broadcast minutes correspond precisely to fiction (foreign series, national series, feature films or plays), conforming the offer with greater presence in the TV schedule; others that stand out are, listed in order of relevance, shows and variety/vaudeville shows, children's programmes aimed primarily at entertainment (Paz & Martínez, 2013, 2014^a and 2014b), sports broadcasts and music. On the contrary, quiz shows and, to a greater extent, bullfighting, represent minority spaces (De Haro, 2016). This distribution refers to the average of the period, but if one evaluates its evolution (Table 2) it is possible to establish which were the spaces that were established from the very beginning, and which were included later, as a result of the evolution of TV, as a result of technical advances and of further training and qualification of workers, as well as other legal, social or political issues.

In the field of fiction, the first thing that stands out is that foreign serial fiction doubled its presence in 1959, while non-serial fiction fell in the same year more than a third with respect to that of the previous year. During late Francoism, since c. 1970, the production of national fiction series was on a par with the foreign one, that is to say that the home

products had the same share in the programming as the imported ones, which evidences that on the one hand, they had the support of the public, and, on the other, that production standards had matured, since not only TVE already had the necessary means to compete, to a certain extent, with productions from outside Spain but also that national productions were cheaper. In the seventies, cinema in TVE amounted to about 8 per cent of the broadcast minutes, indicating a considerable improvement, if compared to the data from the previous decade.

Table 2. Annual evolution of the distribution of minutes of entertainment by type of programme, in per

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Foreign fiction series	3%	11%	13%	16%	9%	12%	12%	16%	16%
In-house fiction	7%	7%	8%	7%	8%	9%	11%	10%	10%
Non-serial fiction	15%	4%	8%	6%	3%	3%	5%	5%	4%
Shows	9%	10%	10%	9%	8%	9%	9%	9%	7%
Children	6%	7%	6%	6%	6%	6%	8%	5%	6%
Sports	-	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	4%	5%	5%
Musicals	6%	11%	9%	5%	4%	4%	5%	6%	8%
Quiz shows	5%	5%	4%	5%	6%	2%	3%	3%	3%
Bullfighting	2%	1%	-	1%	1%	1%	-	1%	1%
	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Foreign fiction series	14%	12%	11%	9%	6%	9%	7%	7%	12%
In-house fiction	10%	9%	8%	8%	8%	9%	7%	8%	6%
Non-serial fiction	4%	5%	5%	8%	8%	8%	8%	7%	9%
Shows	7%	8%	15%	11%	18%	16%	14%	14%	8%
Children	7%	5%	4%	7%	13%	14%	13%	10%	12%
Deportivos	6%	8%	6%	8%	7%	8%	8%	11%	12%
Musicals	9%	4%	3%	4%	5%	4%	8%	4%	3%
Quiz shows	2%	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%	3%	1%	1%
Bullfighting	-	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%

Source: Own elaboration based on information from ABC, La Vanguardia and Tele Radio

The show came to its peak during Adolfo Suárez's term of office as Director General of TVE. On one hand, the television model of entertainment that was thrust upon the programming schedule had fiction and shows at its core, fiction and shows produced by and for TVE. On the other hand, the musical and other shows had a complementary role throughout the period. Quiz shows, however, counted with less and less presence, thus moving away from the original radio model. Sports programmes were consolidated as soon as the technical instruments and the connection with other networks was made possible, while bullfighting had a constant presence in television programming: the broadcasting of bullfighting entertainment represented the connection with the idiosyncrasy of a television

made for a Spanish audience, meeting the needs of a part of the audience, while setting itself apart from other European public television networks.

These tendencies show how television gradually shaped its own identity and also how it progressively adapted to the tastes of the public; the preferred programmes, according to *La Audiencia de Televisión en España* (1969: 75-6), were: shows like *Galas de Sábado* (1968-70), quiz shows like *Cesta y Puntos* (1965-71), and among the most entertaining were four programmes of fiction: *Flipper* (1968-70), *Daktari* (1967-69), *Mannix*, (1968 -70) and *Los Invencibles del Némesis* (1968-69). This is quite obvious, for example, in the case of children's programmes: though, from the beginning, TVE had had programs targeted to this audience, in the seventies this offer had doubled. Spectators' tastes were also taken into consideration by the movie market, a market challenged by the difficulties of the production companies, which would be solved in due course.

2.1 Types of entertainment depending on the time of day

Entertainment was scheduled in different ways depending on the time of day, which is explained because these contents tried to reach the potential audience of each time slot. The morning entertainment program was structured around two clear protagonists: the show (18 per cent of the total minutes broadcast in the morning), and musicals (16 per cent). As noted above, there was scarcely any fiction in this time band (only 2 per cent of the broadcasts correspond to TVE; foreign and non-serial productions did not reach 0.1 per cent of the minutes on the programme schedule). This predominance of musicals was due to the fact that they began the morning broadcasts and, above all, to the fact that they were assigned to dominical schedules in a practically constant way during the analysed period. The predominance of variety shows can be explained because the minutes of morning magazines were counted in this category. Viewers who watched television in the mornings were out of the job market: housewives -only 11 per cent of married women worked outside home (*La Audiencia de Televisión en España*, 1969)-, the elderly, or children. The programmes that were broadcast at this time of day were intended to entertain, but also included programmes, as mentioned above, promoting knowledge, values, or assistance, thus fulfilling the educational mission of television.

One of the programmes that exemplifies the type of entertainment that was scheduled in the mornings was *Buenos Días* (1964-69), a magazine that included information, religious content and other lighter ones such as *Efemérides* or *Santoral*. Since it was broadcast just after 8 am, it reached a very large population, since one in three Spaniards over eight years old was up at 9 am; the age group that woke up earliest was that of people between 25 and 60, awake from 8:30 am, without substantial difference between male and female viewers (*La Audiencia de Televisión en España*, 1969: 44-46). The first five years of broadcasting the above-mentioned programmes were only scheduled on Sundays, but, from 1969, they were also included from Monday to Saturday. Seventy-six per cent of the potential audience was at home at the time of broadcast, 60 per cent of men and 90 per cent of women used to watch *Buenos Días*. The age of 70 per cent of the audience was between 15 and 64 (*La Audiencia de Televisión en España*, 1969: 44). That is to say, it was a programme clearly dedicated to the general public, that could enjoy it just before leaving for work or school.

2.1.1 Midday time slots

Fiction was the most frequently programmed type of entertainment during the afternoon, specially after lunch: foreign TV series (14 per cent of the total minutes broadcast in this time slot); in-house serial productions and non-serial fiction (5 per cent each) are the programmes that enjoyed most minutes in this time slot. Classic series such as *Bonanza* (1962-70), *El Virginiano* (1966-71), *Mannix* (1968-70), or *Te Quiero, Lucy*, (1958-71), after-lunch

movies in the weekends, and week- and programmes like *Novela*, constitute some examples of the type of broadcasting after the news bulletins. Foreign series were the first element (excluding news bulletins) of the TV grid to be programmed horizontally. In the early sixties, each after-lunch slots ended with one or more episodes of a foreign series, suitable for the whole family, which used to give way to afternoon programming. In the middle of the sixties, to this model of horizontal programming, the slot of the “Novela” was included, a weekly or biweekly TVE production in which literary classics were adapted for television. This way of programming gives a clue to the importance and the will to structure the grid by means of slots that would be perfectly recognizable by the public, with the purpose of retaining those viewers: once again, the loyalty of the audience was the true objective. In fact, this slot was one of the constant elements of the period, always with horizontal programming, after lunch and/or in the late afternoon or early evening. That is, it served as a kind of border between programme slots and had the mission of dragging the audience from one type of content to another.

The next type of outstanding programme (with 13 per cent) was shows such as *Fiesta!* (1974-75), comedy programmes with Tony Leblanc (1969-70) and *Licencia para reír* (1960), the reality show *Reina por un día* (1964-1966) or magazines such as *Tele-Revista* (1960-75) *Revistero* (1974-75) or *Buenas tardes* (1963-74). Sports (6 per cent) also stand out as a key element of the programming, with broadcasting or summaries of the Tour de Francia, in different news bulletins, or boxing or equestrian competitions. Also music programmes (with 4 per cent) with broadcasts like *Escala en HiFi* (1961-67), which began in the magazine *Teledomingo*, broadcast on Sunday afternoons at different times (probably motivated by the celebration of sporting events) and later moved up to after-lunch slots, after having got the audience’s attention in previous seasons. Children programmes, competitions and bullfighting were the least represented slots (with 3, 1 and 0.1 per cent respectively), although there were a few programmes in this time band, aimed at the younger audience, such as *Los Payasos de TVE* (1973) or *Heidi*, or programmes that targeted an entire family audience, like the contest *Salto a la fama* (1963-65).

Entertainment in the evening reached its peak and children's programmes occupied the most time on the air (26 per cent of the minutes broadcast in this particular time slot). It was understood that this was the time for children who had returned home after finishing their school day. This programming strategy was established from TVE’s earliest broadcasts, although it is true that, fairly frequently, adult programs invaded this space, when needed (Paz & Martínez, 2014: 9). Fiction was the second pillar of entertainment programming, with almost 20 per cent of broadcast time. Foreign series for children and the entire family were the most frequently programmed, with examples such as *Flipper* or *Los Monkees*, followed by their in-house productions such as *La casa de los Martínez* or *Pili, secretaria ideal* (1975). During weekends that type of fiction used to become a televised film. Shows were also quite present in the grid, with programmes such as *El Club de los Corazones Bondadosos* (1958-59) or the magazine *Buenas Tardes* (1967-74), as well as contests such as *Clan familiar*, *Cesta y puntos* or *13x18* (1966-67).

2.1.2 Entertainment over the weekends

As it has been suggested above, entertainment broadcast on weekdays and weekends were not the same. The main difference can be observed in the type of production of the programmes that were broadcast and in the predominant block: on Saturdays and Sundays, more ‘canned’ content was programmed and entertainment reached its peak when 85 per cent of the broadcasting during the holidays corresponded to entertainment (vs. 66 per cent during work-days). From Monday to Friday more than a fifth of the programming was foreign fiction (21.20 per cent, which was reduced during the weekend to 13.25 per cent);

however, on weekends more show content was scheduled: 24.01 per cent versus 16.36 per cent of work days. The weekend increased the broadcast of musicals (from 6.63 per cent to 11.91) and feature films (from 8.91 to 14.65 per cent). In-house production, on the other hand, was scarce (from 12.46 per cent to 2.25, although there were slots such as that of *Crónicas de un pueblo*, which were very noteworthy, because of their success among the public), while the rest of Entertainment programmes maintained a very similar presence.

The first distinction observed between workday and weekend entertainment was the increase in non-serial fiction and the programming of 'container slots' at midday, such as *Teledomingo* (1963–66), *Todo* (1969) or *Tarde para todos* (1972–74). These programs covered several hours of programming (the duration ranged from an hour and a half to four hours) and included content for all tastes: from series of sketches, contests, and sports to music. Non-serial fiction increased notably after lunch and at night due to two reasons: first, because over the weekends more spectators stayed in front of the television, and according to opinion polls conducted at the time, they preferred to watch feature films. The second reason responds to more practical issues: feature films, such as canned content, covered a lot of broadcast time with little effort. This is, among other reasons, the reason why foreign fiction was also programmed, although not as frequently as in workdays. These productions were mainly series, with different episodes, duration of which was more limited than that of a film. During the week the audience had to return to their chores after the lunch break, since the split day was the most common. These series also amounted to periodic appointments, and represented the loyalty of the viewers. On weekends, however, the viewer had time to watch a feature film. It is therefore proven that the programmers already took into account the social habits of the spectators of that time. The second difference was the reduction of children's programming in the afternoon and the increase in sports, specifically, from the moment it was technically possible, football became Sunday afternoons' star. Finally, in the composition of entertainment on weekends the prominent role of shows must be underlined: at night, almost a quarter of the content classified as entertainment corresponded to this type of programmes. The product novelties of this type of contents were tested during the week and, when they worked out well, they were incorporated to the spaces to which TVE endowed with greater importance, in which the vast majority of the public was gathered: in weekends' night slots the examples are indeed numerous, since from the first broadcasts to the last analysed these programmes were included on weekend's prime time schedules: *Club del Sábado* (1958–59) in the late fifties or *Directísimo* as early as 1975.

2.3. Fiction as cornerstone of television programming broadcast

The night is the time when television reaches the widest possible audience, and fiction slots were the most frequently scheduled, with a total of almost 40 per cent of the time. Foreign series such as *Ironside*, *Kojac* or *El Agente de C.I.P.O.L.*, in-house productions such as *Los Tele-Rodríguez*, *Estudio 1*, or *Crónicas de un pueblo*, and films constituted the main programme of the day. Because of its importance, the slots of shows –also considered as anchor programmes– such as *Gran Parada*, *Galas de Sábado* or *Amigos del Martes*, with 10 per cent of the time, are also worth mentioning.

Fiction was a product that was broadcast, generally, with very good results: it occupied a wide broadcast slot, and was very well received by the audience. In fact, in the requests that readers habitually set out in the letters published on *Tele Radio*, there was a constant request for an increase in the number of hours of non-serial fiction (Gil, 2014: 182). On this matter, public opinion can be acknowledged in the letters published by *Tele Radio* (1962), no. 237, *Tele Radio* (1963), no. 294, *Tele Radio* (1964), no. 337, *Tele Radio* (1962), no. 218, *Tele Radio* (1962), number 294, among others. Both in-house programmes in the form of fiction (theatre

or series) and shows, demanded more efforts in the area of production, so it is just logical to think that they were located in this privileged space of the grid to reach the maximum of spectators. The night was the slot that uninterruptedly broadcast foreign series and in-house productions from the very beginning. The first foreign series that had a fixed space in this Friday-schedule, between 22:00 and 23:00, was the first foreign production serial that reached TVE: *Patrulla de Tráfico* (1958-62). Throughout 1958 they settled on the grid and conquered the afternoon schedule, with productions aimed at the whole family, such as *Rin-tin-tín*, (1958-72), and also that of noon. In 1959 its presence can be considered as definitely consolidated, since every day of the week a serial fiction was programmed in the night schedule. The subject was very diverse. The situation comedy *Te quiero*, *Lucy* was the fiction broadcast that was longer on airtime, more specifically between 1958 and 1971, but not continuously. The series was about the experiences of a marriage made up of Lucy, the protagonist, of American origin, and Rick, of Cuban origin. However, the subject of police and suspense was one of the most recurrent, with examples of these early years such as *Investigador submarino* (1959-61), which had a former marine diver as the protagonist; or *Agente X* (1959), the television adaptation of a radio serial in which the protagonist traveled to exotic places. Also Westerns such as *Bonanza* (1962-70) or *El Virginiano* (1966-71) and the series directed to the youngest viewers, like *Tarzán* (1969-70). In a television broadcasting system that was still mostly live, these series provided a certain peace of mind, both because of the fixed duration that allowed to maintain a schedule adjusted to the opening hours, and, as already mentioned above, because it was one of the first entertainment elements that organized the daily grid horizontally, at noon and at the end of the evening, although each day the broadcast series were different. The function of the foreign series was to offer pure entertainment to an audience that, for the first time, could consume these audio-visual contents from home. The wide presence of these programs gives an idea of the wide acceptance that they enjoyed. Also a situation comedy was the second most frequently broadcast: *Embrujada* (1965-73) with a total of 226 chapters in antenna during the after-lunch. The afternoon, for its part, had foreign programmes for the whole family (Paz & Martínez, 2014a, 2014b and 2013) and all had in common that they promoted the values of friendship and loyalty. Nevertheless, the night schedule had productions directed clearly to an adult audience, as *Perry Mason* (1960-64). This was programmed on different days, but always starting at around 10:00 p.m. Raymond Burr gave life to a criminal lawyer who solved murder cases to prove the innocence of his defendants. Television fiction was very well received by the public as evidenced by the numerous letters to the director that *Tele Radio* published almost every week, which included comments of the readers in this regard. This endorsement of the public consolidated a model of fiction programming that continued during the decade of the sixties and in the beginning of the seventies. From Monday to Friday night, at least one foreign series was broadcast, except for Tuesdays, that were reserved for in-house fiction; in addition, also in the Wednesday's, Thursday's, and weekends' schedules also these productions were broadcast, thus creating a grid structure that was very easily recognizable by the audience.

TVE's early in-house fiction linked with the radio tradition and collected, in the first place, familiar scenes. Proof of this is that the first programme written for television and broadcast serially in the night band was *Los Tele-Rodríguez* (1958), a weekly broadcast. Nevertheless, the adaptations to television were included in the daily schedule both at night –in or right before shows– or at noon. In the first few years, the technical limitations forced that these were short, of around 20 minutes. As of the autumn of 1958 the day dedicated to in-house fiction was on Tuesday, although you could find programs of less than 20 minutes on other days, but always during the night schedule. Besides, this was complemented by other dramatic offerings. On Sunday, February 16, 1958, *Fila Cero* (1958-59) was broadcast for the first time, and along with it, the Sunday broadcast of a dramatic programme at night

became a standard. Midweek, Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday nights also had minutes dedicated to works of shorter length such as *Teatro Breve* (1958, 1961, 1966 and 1971). Finally, the theatre settled definitively in working days' grid with the premier of *Estudio 1* (1965-74). The main reasons for the development of fiction, which took place in the sixties, both original and adapted, were precisely technical improvements –such as the advent of the video recorder and the Telecine– and the arrival of more experienced professionals. In the mid-seventies, fiction, in general, copied the television offer of its prime time, while in-house productions represented at least half of that supply. The contents of these national productions were mainly family-oriented, with plots that dealt with everyday topics (*La Casa de los Martínez*, 1967-70), very local, and very close (*El Séneca*, 1954-70), from the day-to-day life of the Spanish society (*Crónicas de un pueblo*, 1971-74), on many occasions, urban, and set in the present (*Chicas de Ciudad*, 1961-62). He used humour, irony and satire, but always concluding with a positive and optimistic message. From the second half of the sixties, one can find timid critical expressions, which give an idea of a certain margin of cultural freedom. This offer was also complemented in the afternoon (lunch-time and after-lunch) with programmes 'of manners', such as the programmes written for TVE by Jaime de Armiñán, entitled *Galería de maridos* (1959-60) on the air on Sundays at lunch-time, alternating with *Galería de esposas* (1959-60) on Thursdays, at the same time. In addition, the arrival of the "Novela" turned TVE productions into a beacon and potential driving force between time-slots since the mid-sixties. The close relationship between cinema and television was constant from the beginning of regular broadcasts, despite the initial reluctance of the Spanish film industry and despite the technical problems of some materials, especially in the early days of television in Spain. These early tensions caused TVE to look abroad when designing non-serial fiction programming, and although episodic TV films soon became the star of entertainment, cinema always occupied a privileged place in the grid, especially in the night slots or over weekend schedules. This relationship and the chain's ability to obtain new products, with the restrictions on the exploitation rights of the movie theatres, allowed the cinema to gradually settle in Spanish homes, two to three times a week during the second half of the sixties, and up to four times a week in the seventies. The ease of movie-programming and the certainty of having a faithful audience for them was the best option for the days of special programming: weekends' and holidays' afternoons and nights.

3. Conclusions

The rapid acceptance of television as the main component of entertainment, has led to a transformation of the 1960's Spanish leisure model. Phenomena such as the birth of television stars, the rapid spread of the media's own language and the transformation of the entertainment industry were common in all European countries (Menduni, 2004: 26). The familiar and domestic tone of the television set, installed in the living room of every home, made its daily use reach general public success. This led to an interest, of television companies, in having their programmes accepted and in seeking their social function through television contents that would reach and stick with the general public: entertainment. In other words, the supremacy of entertainment, as well as a monopolistic and generalist model of television, is within the prevailing trend of today.

In addition, in the case of Spain, the entertainment that came from outside our national borders, mainly from the US, also represented a showcase to modernity. Foreign television fiction was the window through which a new reality began to be perceived. The cinema had already provided this experience, but television, thanks to its advantageous position, as previously indicated, within the home, and thanks to its immersion in the daily life of Spaniards, increased the knowledge of 'the other'.

Having overcome the ups and downs of war and the post war era, television began to expand throughout Europe as a symbol of social progress. In Spain, however, this cannot be considered the actual origin, taking into account that, when television began its regular broadcasts, only 600 families in and around Madrid actually had a receiver. This became an aspiration during the first years of development. Television and, in particular, entertainment content –those addressed to the majority of the population and which have been described as popular (Goddard, 2013)– were spokesmen for the development of the 1960s. One of the first effects of government-led development plans was translated into households as the need for families to own a television set, for it represented the welfare that had finally been achieved.

Television was one of the instruments that favoured generational change, largely linked to the phenomenon of consumption (Carreras Lario, 2012: 32), but also to the new Spain that began to leave behind the misery of the previous 20 years. National production played an important role underpinning national pride, cohesion and respect for the values of the State (Goddard, 2012). In contrast to other European countries with undemocratic governments, television content in Spain did not have governmental communication with citizens as a priority, but rather as the vehicle to convey a feeling of normality in and outside its borders (Binimelis, Cerdán, & Fernandez, 2012).

Another interpretation commonly used vis-à-vis TVE broadcasts is the desire to achieve soporific effects on the masses of people (Gutiérrez Lozano, 2012): the classic Roman *panem et circenses*. While bread was represented by the economic take-off of the country, television represented the circus, and that show was composed of content that managed to entertain (in the sense of numbing) the citizens. This consideration of television as a populist tool of the regime, is based on the premise that the government and the TV channel's executives were aware of the power of this medium from its very beginning, and acted accordingly. Given the scarce initial implementation and the diversity of content that made up such entertainment (and programming, in general), this statement is debatable. It is known that television does not have such a decisive influence on the audience, since it is neither homogeneous nor passive (Callejo Gallego, 1995: 257-259). Television was, however, a tool that supported patriotic symbols and national identity, in joint action with other media (press, radio, school, family). Therefore, the broadcasting of mass shows, cannot be dissociated from this idea, since the love of football and bulls, combined with the creation of a 'Spanish star system' due to the contents of national production, combined the traditional and modern elements that formed a very heterogeneous entertainment.

Entertainment was the programming star, in all time slots and every day of the week, especially during the holidays. Fiction was the type of content that was most frequently programmed. This entertainment also had a very specific composition. From Monday to Friday, morning entertainment was directed to those who left early to go to work, and the rest of the time it was aimed at the distraction of those who remained at home. The inclusion of music in this time-slot makes television seem like the evolution of the radio: spectators could continue with their tasks while the television accompanied them. In each time-slot, a type of audience was thought and constructed. At noon, this entertainment was directed to the family: shows and programs with an important component of humour and musical theatre, while foreign and national fiction accompanied and finished off dessert. Afternoons seemed to be intended for children, although some studies claim that many of these contents were also directed at the family at large, not just at the younger generations (Paz & Martínez, 2014).

In addition to fiction, in-house fiction programmes must also be mentioned: drama-based broadcasting, which represented a paradigmatic case, since, despite forming much of prime-time entertainment during the sixties, it was a type of programme that disappeared from the programming grids in other historical periods inasmuch as the television began to

find its own language and offer. The same thing happened with genre variety within entertainment: programs that accompanied Spaniards during the sixties, especially over the weekends, but the show model evolved towards a new form of mass entertainment, more of television than of radio. The prevalence of fictional spaces as star programmes, especially in the 1970s, shows that the entertainment that was modelled on the radio, as mentioned above, evolved into a television model in little over ten years.

The television offer of the first years had a different type of content for each day of the week: for example, a musical, a movie, a variety show or a televised play. These can be identified with the leisure model of the upper-middle classes: one day they attended a concert, or a musical theatre, and another they went to the cinema or to the theatre. TVE offered leisure at home. Little by little, that changed, and in the early seventies, fiction occupied the main part of the day, or, in other words, watching television had become leisure in itself. The conclusion that entertainment sought to satisfy the audience necessarily implies that, to accomplish this, there was the intention of the channel that, at the very least, planned and directed the content towards the viewers that it wanted to attract in each time-slot. It does not mean that it was like that from the very beginning, but it does show an effort in the evolution of programming to be so. That is to say, the idea that this situation was anarchical in the beginning without sophisticated programming strategies (Contreras & Palacio, 2003: 56-59) has certainly been questioned since the mid-sixties and, most likely, way before then. The same happens with the conception of television programming without major changes from the 50s to the 80s (Gómez Escalonilla, 2003: 65). During Franco's regime, the composition of entertainment in 1959 had nothing to do with the ludic spaces of 1975, as demonstrated by this research.

This research also confirms that the medium itself (Carreras Lario, 2012) and its primary objective (entertainment) prevented, to a large extent, the development of the alleged ideological pillars within TV programming, which focused mainly on entertainment. Entertainment adapted itself with more or less success to the tastes of its audience, or at the very least, to that of the part of the audience that they had recorded. However, the constant presence of formative programmes on the air, including religious programs, may be an element that demonstrates the desire to print ideological issues on the grid, though it also reflects a cultural phenomenon.

The use of programming as a tool for attracting audiences that took place in Spain was similar to that of other countries like the US, with a very different social and audio-visual context. Logically, in TVE orientation of contents to particular types of audiences was not practiced as exhaustively as in North America, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, that the feedback from the audience was not as systematized as in the American case, measurement and cataloguing tools for audiences were still lacking, although the letters to the director, to the broadcaster and the to the different surveys carried out by the Institute of Public Opinion first, and to the panels of acceptance, drafted by Tele Radio and sent to the newspapers through the Press Bureau of RTVE later, provided guidelines in this respect. Secondly, the audio-visual map was completely different (Hilmes, 2001). However, when analysing the different types of entertainment, it is necessary to start from the premise that each television slot had a target audience, and this was determined according to the place it occupied on the programming grid. On the other hand, continuity or the number of broadcasts, in the case of TV series, necessarily account for at least a certain degree of acceptance on the part of the audience.

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