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AN AUDIO-VISUAL APPROACH TO THE SPANISH TRANSITION

Tele-revista, A Swiss TV News Magazine for Spanish immigrants¹

Luís Manuel Calvo Salgado , **Concha Langa Nuño** , and **Moisés Prieto** 

Tele-revista was a biweekly Swiss television broadcast for Spanish immigrants living in Switzerland. It dealt with labour and migration-related issues in Switzerland, information about Spanish cultural manifestations, political rights and interviews with committed immigrants and key figures of Spanish politics in transit on Swiss soil. First aired in 1973, in the final years of General Franco's authoritarian regime, the TV magazine, initially broadcast on the three Swiss TV channels, is an unique source of the Spanish transition to democracy, seen through the eyes of Swiss TV-makers with the collaboration of some Spanish journalists. Tele-revista was aimed for a better integration of Spaniards within Swiss society, who were considered worse integrated than the Italians. The paper pursues to present a general portrayal of the broadcast with a special attention to the years of the Spanish transition to democracy by means of focussing on the information about social, cultural and political issues.

KEYWORDS Spain; twentieth century; television news; immigration; Switzerland; democratization

The integration of Spanish immigrants within the Swiss society was part of the challenge migration meant for Switzerland after World War II. The political parties did not take long to recognise the importance of media in the social integration process of immigrants from Southern Europe, chiefly Italians, but also Spaniards from the sixties. The media broadcasting in the immigrants' native languages began long before the arrival of technological changes in the eighties and nineties, enabling direct access to media broadcasts from the immigrants' countries of origin. Switzerland's multilingual nature also paved the way for a series of media offers in several languages, particularly German, French and Italian, thereby giving rise to a highly different situation from that of countries with monolingual media such as France and Germany back then.

Back in the sixties, radio was the most important mass medium for immigrants; however, this started changing slowly from the seventies, as the consumption of television spread through large social layers. Broadcasts were established in the immigrants' native

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languages in both electronic media. The development and conception of these programmes was closely linked to the aims and purposes of the *Société Suisse de Radiodiffusion et Télévision* (SSR, Engl. Swiss Radio and Television Broadcasting Company). The Spanish-speaking radio programme *Correo español* fitted in this environment in the sixties and from 1973 *Tele-revista* began broadcasting initially with the same journalists as the radio programme. The format of radio and TV broadcasts for immigrants responded to the double need of providing useful information and orientation in order to support their stay in the host country and to maintain the link to their home country.

Tele-revista was a fifteen minutes TV magazine, aired fortnightly on the weekend on the three Swiss TV networks (*Fernsehen der Deutschen und Rätoromanischen Schweiz*, *Télévision Suisse Romande* and *Televisione della Svizzera Italiana*). From 1981, the magazine was solely aired on this latter network. Originally, it was conceived as a collaboration between the Swiss Short-Wave Radio Service and the TV newsreel which was produced in Zurich for the three abovementioned networks. For this reason, *Tele-revista* sometimes used material from the Swiss TV newsreel but sometimes also sequences sent by the national Spanish TV broadcast company *Televisión Española* (TVE), although most of the broadcast was based on interviews made by the programme-makers themselves in Switzerland. The two most relevant ambits were, on the one hand, interviews with Spanish politicians, trade unionists and civil servants and, on the other, the interviews accompanying the presentation of activities organised by the Spanish cultural centres in Switzerland.

The discovery of the 16 mm broadcast tapes in a storage room located in the Swiss Italian-speaking Television Studios in Comano (Ticino) enabled us to start the *Tele-revista* project. After the material digitalisation and uploading to the University of Zurich's Online Learning and Training portal (OLAT), the single broadcasts were transcribed.² For this purpose we considered the broadcasts from 1973 until 1989, though the tapes from 1982 to 1985 are still missing. The analysis of the 153 broadcasts was performed on the basis of a qualitative approach aimed at pointing out the relevant topics. The lack of written broadcast records forced us to resort to other methods and sources such as an oral history interview with a former broadcast collaborator and the internal records such as letters from the audience demanding the creation of a broadcast for Spanish immigrants, retained in the SSR Central Archives in Berne. *Tele-revista* was suppressed in the early 2000s, at a time when Spaniards could receive their national network in Switzerland and *Tele-revista* had become thus no longer necessary.³

The present paper pursues a short introduction of this broadcast history with a particular focus on the Spanish democratisation process whose beginning coincides more or less with the first airing of the magazine. Within this frame, a special interest will be set on social and cultural issues first and then on the way the transition process was represented by the broadcast. We face the democratisation as a historical process where Spanish immigrants in Switzerland redefine their relation to Spain as a distant imagined community in terms of Benedict Anderson.⁴ For this purpose, we will focus on the analysis of the immigrants' role as audience and on their social and cultural activities within their associations for the sake of strengthening their relation to Spain and shaping new forms of solidarity among them. For the last part, we will use the idea of constitutional patriotism by Jürgen Habermas in order to study how the broadcast presented conflicts and consensus leading to the Constitution's approval of 1978.⁵ At the same time, the selection of the broadcast content brings up the

question on what messages were considered suitable for the Spanish diasporic community, what might be approached by means of some reflections by Luhmann and Altheide.

Spanish Immigration and the Media

Spanish immigration to Switzerland has been studied from different disciplines with contributions centred on aspects related to demography, migration policy, labour, environment and political movements.⁶ Standing out in the economic history is the master's thesis by Ángeles Astray de Velasco,⁷ likewise in the social history thesis by Michael Lammatsch,⁸ and on the history of the bilateral relations between Spain and Switzerland the valuable works of Sébastien Farré⁹ and Matthias Hirt,¹⁰ dealing with the Swiss authorities' attitude towards Italian and Spanish immigrants between 1960 and 1972. Mari Cruz Alonso Antolín's study centres not only on this country.¹¹ Among anthropological researches those by Buechler and Buechler on Galician emigration stand out.¹² In the area of human geography one has to mention Marina Richter's thesis on the integration and identity of Spanish immigrants.¹³ The second generation of immigrants was treated by the sociologists Claudio Bolzmann, Rosita Fibbi and Marie Vial.¹⁴ Marianne Helfer's thesis studied Galician immigrants' return to their home region.¹⁵ The role of the Spanish Emigration Institute in managing flows and attendance of Spanish immigrants in Switzerland was tackled by Luís M. Calvo Salgado.¹⁶ Moisés Prieto dealt with the perception of the Spanish Transition on Swiss media, likewise taking into account the role of Spanish immigration to Switzerland.¹⁷ Until now, less attention was given to the media devoted to Spanish immigrants who, given their role as transnational political actors at the crossroads of information received from the host country and the country of origin, deserve to be analysed.¹⁸

The media designed for Spanish immigrants in Switzerland were in fact very important in channelling and stimulating their political activity during the final years of Francoism and the democratisation process.¹⁹ The immigrants began with a dictatorial situation where their democratic political rights were unrecognised in Spain and in Switzerland they faced a lack of political rights for not being Swiss citizens. The Spanish-speaking media offered the possibility of participating as political subjects, at least partially, not only during the democratisation process in Spain, but also in debates on Swiss migratory policy. Thus they could be part of a pronounced transnational public opinion where political and cultural options were also related to the Spanish and Swiss situations.

Indeed, *Tele-revista* attends both topic pivots corresponding to the other media programmes designed for immigrant audience, i.e. on the one hand, international politics regarding the bilateral relations between Switzerland and Spain; whilst on the other, cultural, labour and social policy affecting the everydayness of Spanish immigrants.²⁰ In the case of *Tele-revista*, our sources allow us to tackle the programme study from a plural perspective. Archive documents, particularly empirical studies undertaken by Matthias Steinmann and Markus Jedele on behalf of the SSR in 1971 and 1977 regarding consumption of radio and television by immigrants residing in the country deliver insight into the position of the SSR managers and their attitude towards immigrants as listeners and viewers with special emphasis on their role as consumers to whom television advertising was also addressed.²¹ Furthermore, an interview with one of the two main journalists who contributed to the broadcast in its first years, Juan Pékmez, provides the perspective of a foreign

journalist. The other was the Swiss Marcel Jean-Mairet, now deceased, whose function as programme director was more relevant. Finally, the broadcast contents we accessed after digitalisation allow a genuine vision of the SSR integration purposes and an insight into the news topics chosen for the Spanish audience.

Juan Pékmez was a freelance journalist based in Geneva who used to deal with interviews in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. His mother tongue was Spanish, although he was born and brought up in Cairo. He graduated International Relations studies at the University of Geneva in 1968. His work was very enriching for the programme because he interviewed Spanish personalities passing through Geneva to attend conferences and meetings often organised by international bodies with headquarters in this city, such as the International Labour Organisation. Moreover, the high presence of Spanish immigrants in French-speaking Switzerland facilitated the drafting of information on activities by Spanish centres in this part of the country, particularly in Geneva and Lausanne. His Swiss colleagues in Berne and Zurich dealt with the political activities such as talks given by Spanish politicians and events organised by immigrants in the German-speaking part of the country.

It is worth remembering how the Spanish population evolved in Switzerland between 1960 and 1990. The number of Spaniards living in Switzerland increased regularly from 1960 going from 13,524 in 1960 to 102,341 in 1970, dropping to 97,232 in 1980 and increasing again to 116,138 in 1990. Growth rates derived from massive immigration dropped for the first time after introducing measures in the foreign population in the mid-sixties, but increasing again from 1968 to 1974. From 1980, the Spanish population grew again little by little until reaching the aforementioned figure for 1990.²²

The empirical studies of 1971 and 1977 noted that television consumption greatly increased in the seventies and collective consumption, for example, watching television in restaurants or bars, gave way to more familiar or individual practices. It was remarked that most viewers normally watched television at home in the mid-seventies. Clearly, this evolution corresponds to the passing of the first period when a large number of immigrants only had access to precarious accommodation facilities, often in barracks in the case of building workers, whereas in a second stage they not only managed to rent flats for themselves but also achieved more frequently to bring their families from Spain to live with them.

Spaniards residing in German-speaking Switzerland often integrated linguistically using Italian as *lingua franca*,²³ and they also watched television programmes in Italian and particularly *Un'ora per voi*, especially designed for Italian immigrants in Switzerland.

Social and Cultural Issues

The *Tele-revista* contents were similar to those broadcast by *Un'ora per voi* in that they reported on the immigrants' activities in Switzerland, although both had a different structure and nature.²⁴ Generally *Tele-revista* followed the activities of Spanish workers in Switzerland, few Spanish topics, except for crucial moments, as will be seen in the following point and few Swiss topics, since they could follow them in the ordinary Swiss TV newsreel.

As to information on the activities of the Spanish community, the majority were related to employment topics. Firstly, standing out here was the presence of different Spanish associations, like the ATEES, Association of Spanish Emigrant Workers in Switzerland, which was the strongest as shown in the reports.²⁵ This predominantly communist

association was created in 1969 and was one of the bodies in 1977, which organised a major immigration congress in Switzerland. In 1974 an initiative called *Mitenand* (Engl. 'together') was launched by an alliance of Swiss leftist parties and immigrant organisations, aimed to improve aliens' condition and to force Swiss authorities to consult immigrants in matters that would concern them. The initiative became a recurrent theme in *Tele-revista*, until the Swiss voters rejected those claims at the ballot boxes in 1981.

At the end of the eighties we encounter the FEMAES (Federation of the Spanish Associative Movement in Switzerland). Furthermore, the Spanish trade unions *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO; Engl. Workers' Commissions) and *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT; Engl. General Workers' Union) used to appear from time to time in Spanish workers' events. Interviews with Spanish trade union leaders were quite frequent. Unfortunately many of the names did not appear in the opening credits, so we only know a few of them like Leónidas Montero, from ATEES, or Luis Lamiel, from FEMAES. Participation in local or national congresses, demonstrations, conferences or any other activity was reflected in the programme. Sometimes these associations thanked the Swiss trade unions for their support, like the Swiss Trade Unions Federation, or Catholic and Protestant churches which lent their support or collaborated in other ways.

Parental Associations were another pillar in the Spanish organisations abroad. The CACEES, Confederation of Parents and Spanish School Advisors in Switzerland, organised several congresses. Their main concerns were the integration of Spanish children in the Swiss education system and to achieve a good knowledge of the domestic language, but without forgetting the Spanish language. The children of immigrants followed the Swiss syllabus, but had complementary courses in Spanish. Many demands were in this line, i.e. youngsters had to pass two university entrance examinations on studying in both systems and so teaching material had to be adapted. They likewise demanded representation in the Swiss school structures, although numerous claims were made on the Spanish government. Among them, one of the most outstanding arose from payment problems of the Spanish Primary Education System EGB (*Educación General Básica*) teachers in Switzerland in 1980 leading to them going on strike.²⁶ So it is hardly surprising that in the fact of so many problems, the government sent a representative, who was interviewed by *Tele-revista*, to explain the Organic Law on the Right to Education when it was passed to the immigrant community.

Even more modest Spanish centres occupied a notorious place. They generally exhibited images of smaller celebrations of the Spanish festivities like Christmas, with children singing carols and receiving gifts from the Magi, or with Spanish regional dances and songs. According to an interviewee, there were one hundred Spanish centres in 1978. Although modest, they played a decisive role in relations between immigrants and their celebrations and brotherhood meals held an appreciable place in *Tele-revista*. Lastly, great attention was paid to vocational training for workers and language teaching. The vocational training programmes were organised by the Spanish Labour Attachés, which depended on the Spanish Emigration Institute.

With parental associations and vocational training, we have entered the cultural aspects, i.e. the second most relevant one. The constant presence of reports with immigrants' celebrations, many organised by small local centres, must be underscored. Multiple celebrations sometimes with the immigrants themselves singing or dancing regional

dances or with more professional groups were recurrent. The most abundant folkloric performances were Andalusian or Galician ones. Folklore was conferred a political character with nationalist claiming too.²⁷ In 1975 a Catalan choir appeared for the first time singing the Catalan national anthem *Els Segadors* and reappeared several times until the end of the seventies. Likewise the autonomic spirit becomes palpable by means of the Galician association *A Nosa Galiza* with a poetry recital in Galego.²⁸ However, other meetings or festivities were used to exalt patriotism among Spaniards. A noteworthy case is the annual election of Miss Spain in Switzerland, whose 1974 edition was attended by the popular Spanish TV host José Luis Uribarri.

At the same time we realised the existence of important cultural associations, among which the *Ateneo Popular Español* in Zurich stands out. This centre used to organise conferences, talks and film sessions. In 1977 an *Ateneo's* representative, Miguel Soto, was interviewed in relation to the organisation of the Migration Congress.²⁹ In 1978 the first fair dedicated to the 'Spanish Book in Emigration' was held.

Another highly active body was the *Ateneo Obrero Español* in Geneva. This association used to organise political talks with some distinguished Spanish intellectual guests. In the early months of 1979 they had a conference with Spanish communist writer and screenwriter Jorge Semprún,³⁰ a roundtable moderated by Galician poet Jose Ángel Valente about the general elections to be held with representatives from different parties and a talk with Basque Socialist politician and lawyer Juan María Bandrés.³¹

High culture held a less frequent spot though equally noteworthy. We meet several tours of Spanish artists through Switzerland. Catalan theatre director Núria Espert and her company appeared twice. The first time in 1973 with *Yerma* by Federico García Lorca and then in 1977 with *Divinas Palabras* by Ramón del Valle-Inclán. There were many other theatrical performances, some classical, other humorous, although of particular interest is the political slant felt with a critical tone in theatre. This was the case in the broadcast from 19 March 1976, where some sequences from a theatrical piece called *La Plaza del Molar* were showed. On the top of the stage the black and white portraits of those five anti-francoist activists, executed on 27 September 1975, could be easily recognised. The drama dealt with the Spanish Civil War and the idea of the 'two Spains' during Franco's rule.³²

Another group of cultural activities is related to plastic arts. Exhibitions of Spanish artists like Pablo Ruiz Picasso and Joan Miró in Switzerland received some attention.

Sporting events occupied a fairly frequent space. However, great attention was paid to the presence of Spanish teams in the annual UEFA draw, interviewing representatives of clubs in Zurich. In the professional sport, interviews with Spanish boxing champion residing in Switzerland Francisco Fiol were held. Sporting events with the presence of Spaniards were numerous too, although they were generally amateur championships, or immigrant children or adolescent competitions. A good example is the Spanish Workers' Sporting Competitions, whose 11th meeting was held in 1976.

Tele-revista also reported gender-related concerns. The woman and her problems held an important position. It should be mentioned that at that time, Swiss women held the right to vote almost in every canton. Evidence was found on how Spanish women were getting organised and becoming present in immigrant association albeit timidly as yet.³³

Other aspects like economic ones were constant although of less intensity. Reports were inserted every year on the Geneva Motor Show or Jewellery Show. Tourism received enormous attention too. Spanish government advertising to sell the brand 'Spain' can be found at all stages. On the one hand, participation in Swiss tourist fairs was followed, like the Geneva International Tourism and Holidays Fair, Expotur in Lausanne and the International Tourism Show in Montreux. Publicity was also inserted, first by the Spanish Ministry of Tourism and Information then by the Secretary General of Tourism. The latter opened a Tourist Office in Geneva in 1980.³⁴

The Transition as a Political Topic in *Tele-revista*

Although *Tele-revista* was first aired in March 1973, it did not tackle explicitly political issues related to Spain's situation until 1975. The reason for this cautious attitude might lay in the concession granted in 1964 to the SSR by the Swiss government. This document forbade under article 13 any broadcast that might compromise Swiss inner or outer security and forced the SSR to serve the country's interests.³⁵ The risk of a politicisation of the Spanish immigrant community was a constant challenge for Swiss authorities.³⁶ The Spanish regime was afraid their fellow citizens abroad could be exposed to Marxist influence due to the liberal lifestyle in Switzerland. Furthermore, since the beginning of Spanish migration to Switzerland in the early sixties, leftist and progressive sectors of Swiss society began to resolutely criticise the regime. The Spanish government, on his hand, put Swiss authorities under pressure by threatening to withdraw the bilateral migration agreement of 1961.³⁷

In addition to this, the broadcast first airing coincides with a phase of media conflicts in Switzerland caused by the struggle between conservative politicians, who claimed a rigorous control of the SSR journalists by the authorities and the journalists themselves who fought for emancipation from the concession dictates, claiming the same liberty the press journalists enjoyed.³⁸

After the summer break of 1975, *Tele-revista* resumed its broadcast on 3 October, a few days after the executions via firing squad of two members of the ETA and three FRAP militants in Spain. This dramatic event had caused a media conflict between left-wing newspapers that were very critical of the regime and right-wing papers, which protested against the Swiss government for withdrawing their ambassador in Madrid, considering this a breach of the Swiss neutrality principle.³⁹ Clearly, this late resumption saved the creators of *Tele-revista* from a rather embarrassing and awkward situation. Protests against these executions reached important magnitudes in and outside Switzerland. So *Tele-revista* could not avoid dealing with this delicate subject that had affected both Swiss public opinion and that of Spaniards abroad. The matter of the diplomat was dealt with in passing on *Tele-revista* in forty seconds. The programme opens with the scene of Swiss ambassador Samuel Campiche, getting out of the plane at Zurich Airport. As soon as he touched the ground, a TV journalist ran to ask for an interview. Campiche replied he would grant one that very same afternoon on French-speaking Swiss television. From an information viewpoint this sequence offers almost nothing, except a report on the diplomat's return. Neither Franco's death, nor Juan Carlos's coronation, both in November of 1975, were treated by *Tele-revista*. Whether this negligence was a deliberate choice aimed

at avoiding an additional politicisation of Spaniards or conditioned by the fortnight rhythm of the broadcast is open to debate.⁴⁰ In this regard David Altheide argues that 'the work of transforming events into news is an act of power that touches us all.'⁴¹ Luhmann, however, underlines the editorial boards' limited freedom of choice.⁴² However, during Franco's agony (October-November 1975), *Tele-revista* broadcast a report on the Federal elections to be held in Switzerland.⁴³

From 1976 we can see how *Tele-revista* inserted a large number of interviews with Spanish political personalities belonging to the opposition. In doing so, the broadcast performed a personification of politics as a narrative told by means of focuses on protagonists of the Spanish democratisation process.⁴⁴ Strictly Spanish political matters were not dealt with until February, starting with the intervention of Salvador de Madariaga (1886-1978), writer, historian and diplomat, who had set his residence in Ticino in 1972. He stated before the cameras of *Tele-revista*:

'We must all put our shoulders to the wheel, because in Spain the ... which is a fierce country ... not to play jokes about serious matters ... if we err along the path now, it is highly possible we may end up in another civil war. And that would be the death of Spain, the physical and political death of Spain, because it would not come out whole from that civil war. Therefore, our maximum obligation is to avoid the same. However, those with the biggest obligation to avoid are those with public force and if that force opposes like an obstacle along the way of Spain's evolution at a political level analogous to the other Western European nations, there will be another civil war, whose perspectives are impossible to foresee. (...)

We, the Spaniards, when calm, are as reasonable as Sancho Panza, but when pushed, oppressed or forbidden to live how we think we should, then Don Quixote immediately appears before us. And once Spain has portrayed two Quixotes, among which where we imagine the windmill is a church and in the other a military garrison, then we are lost. That route only leads us to destruction, blood and ruin.⁴⁵

This message suggests the idea of national reconciliation that clearly reflects the fear of another civil war; a fear very present in that period of uncertainty. At the same time, the reflections are a demand for those governing not to oppose this reconciliation. It is important to point out, that the first political statement on Spain aired by *Tele-revista* after the dictator's death did not come from a leftist anti-francoist exile personality but from a liberal anti-communist as Madariaga was.

Nevertheless, in the programme on 19 March 1976 there is a change in attitude, since it has different reports each with a clearly political tone, where we can acknowledge the interest in emphasising Spain's economic and social problems. The first is dedicated to the Geneva Motor Show where Pékmez interviews a SEAT representative:

Pékmez: SEAT, Spain's first industry, Mr Gómez Mart, an industry with little or a lot of conflict?

Gómez Mart: It's normal for a living company to develop and grow, which at present has over 30,000 people. The reason for the conflict is normal, but not bigger than normal. At present, our main problem is the economic crisis, which has hit bottom, meaning industry,

economic life is difficult. For that very reason, however, we believe recovery will be in the short to medium-term.⁴⁶

Pékmez, instead of talking about cars, alludes to strikes affecting the SEAT factory, suggesting thus an audacious and rather 'uncomfortable' style of journalism. In fact, according to Juliá, in the first quarter of 1976 there were six times more strikes than in the entire previous year.⁴⁷ Additionally, as Soto Carmona recalls, strike practices have been closely linked to the opposition since Franco's time.⁴⁸ By choosing to focus on strike activities instead of cars production, Pékmez provides both information on a conflict and a surprise in the sense of Luhmann.⁴⁹

After the summer break, *Tele-revista* resumed broadcasting in October. On 3 December 1976 it began with an interview between Pékmez and communist trade unionist Marcelino Camacho, leader of CCOO, who called for people to abstain the referendum on the Law for Political Reform.⁵⁰ Camacho's plea for a boycott is opposed to the official devices led by Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez.⁵¹

Whilst Camacho's reflections centred on the afore-mentioned referendum, the declarations of the Socialist trade unionist Joaquín Almunia during an UGT meeting in Zurich, referred to trade union elections. On 13 May 1977 the audience could listen to Almunia complain about the persistent lack of trade union freedom. *Tele-revista* then aired an interview with Catalan Christian Democrat Antón Cañellas regarding negotiations with the Spanish government.⁵²

On 9 April of the same year, Easter Saturday, Suárez's government had legalised the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) in a delicate manoeuvre conditioned by the fear of angering the military factions. Euro-communism, responsible for an important loss of affiliations in PCE,⁵³ is the main topic of the broadcast on 2 December 1977 containing two different interviews. The first one was with Manuel Azcárate, a PCE member residing in Geneva, who expressed his hope for collaboration with the other democratic forces. The second interview was with the famous Liberal lawyer Antonio Garrigues Walker who enunciated his opinion on Euro-communism:

'This hybrid formula which attempts to find Euro-communism may appear like many and perhaps it is, i.e. a tactic to better destroy the capitalist system. Nevertheless, I hope it may be a tactic to eliminate the whole ferocious authoritarian dogmatism from Marxism.'

The autumn broadcast after the summer break was mainly dedicated to the topic of the Constitution. *Tele-revista* resumed its broadcast on 29 September 1978 with an interview with Manuel Fraga, a co-founder of the conservative party *Alianza Popular* and a member of the Spanish Parliament's Constitutional Commission. Fraga offers a balance on the Transition:

'All in all, I believe the two theories which have been heard, i.e. the first catastrophic, that on General Franco's death Spain would undergo a process similar to that of Portugal, for example, which prevailed throughout '76, in which I never believed. And, then, the excessively optimistic theory, a year ago, from those who believed that everything was settled, because the first election had gone peacefully. Neither of the two responded to reality.'⁵⁴

The broadcast from 20 October opened with a long report on the work by the Constitutional Commission and the charter itself whose approval would be subject to referendum. The report focuses on the Spanish Parliament chamber during a session, clearly material from a Spanish news broadcast made available to *Tele-revista*. The Constitution was treated again in the following broadcast,⁵⁵ again intervening by means of material acquired from TVE. Then, two politicians gave their opinion on the Constitution: José Pedro Pérez-Llorca Rodrigo, member of the *Unión de Centro Democrático* (UCD), and the Socialist leader Felipe González. The broadcast would also air Santiago Carrillo's opinion on the Constitution.⁵⁶ Essentially, all these politicians highlighted the same, i.e. the consensus aspect and the defects of the Constitution arising from the need for that greater consensus.

For the broadcast aired 1 December 1978, the last one prior to the Constitution referendum, they resorted again to Spanish newsreel material. And yet again it is Fraga who opens the broadcast with a lengthy declaration, showing great satisfaction, while highlighting the critical point regarding regionalism and state unity.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the broadcast reported on the activities of Spaniards in Switzerland, but also on events in Switzerland related to Spain and, at decisive times, regarding internal Spanish events. Thus it served to keep the spirit of Spain alive, among the community of Spanish workers and to maintain links with their home country. In doing so, they transformed their perception of Spain as an imagined community as described by Anderson. If the most frequent were in-depth reports on labour matters, some very demanding, so were the celebrations of different immigrant groups with the recurring presence of culture in the programme. Following these contents has allowed us to confirm too, the evolution of immigration problems and interests, many in relation to the new Spanish cultural and political reality. The broadcast itself underwent an evolution parallel to the democratic achievements in Spain, since the cautious stance of the early days gave way to unmistakable statements in favour of the democratisation process.

During the critical years of the Spanish Transition, *Tele-revista* carried out an intense task of political education through their reports and interviews for a largely depoliticised audience due to their education under the Franco regime. The aim of the information provided in this format was to convert the immigrant into a Spanish citizen, aware of his rights and freedoms and participative in his country's politics. However, this task would not really start until Franco's death, probably due to the fear of a conflict with the federal authorities, which were afraid of a politicisation of the immigrant community, or with the Spanish diplomacy. So, it is particularly after 1976 when a journalistic undertaking is appreciated, aimed at presenting and representing the democratisation process for the Spanish diaspora in Switzerland. Especially during the early days of the Spanish transition, the treated subjects and the interviewees' choice show a more controversial style than that held by TVE debate broadcasts. The double political frame defined by the Swiss authorities and the political change in Spain conditioned the contents aired within *Tele-revista* which respond to Luhmann's postulates on in-depth reporting.

The advantage of Geneva's position as a city with headquarters of different international organisations allowed to air numerous interviews with diplomats, trade unionists, leftist militants and representatives of Spanish intelligentsia. From the ideological point of view, *Tele-revista* aspired to a balanced representation of the broad spectrum of political representatives. Beside the reportages, the interview was the journalistic genre the broadcast resorted to, due to its particular pedagogic character.

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Notes

1. This article summarises our recently released book: Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño, and Prieto López, *Tele-revista y la Transición*. A version of this article first appeared in Spanish as Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño and Prieto López, "Transición española desde emigración". This modified English version differs from the original in length, structure and conclusions, but makes available, for the first time in English the issues and arguments first published in the Spanish essay.
2. A digital copy of the broadcast is now retained in the archives of the *Radiotelevisione della Svizzera Italiana*. On the particular use of OLAT for the purpose of this project, see the workshop session held by Luís M. Calvo Salgado in German on 20 May 2015 at the University of Zurich. Accessed October 20, 2016. <https://cast.switch.ch/vod/clips/2gv2pxh1b/streaming.html>
3. Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño, and Prieto López, *Tele-revista y la Transición*, 19.
4. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
5. Habermas, *Inclusion of the Other*.
6. For a deeper discussion on Spanish migration to Switzerland see Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño, and Prieto López, *Tele-revista y la Transición*, 25–36.
7. Astray de Velasco, "L'émigration espagnole en Suisse (1950–1974)."
8. Lammatsch, "Spanier in der Schweiz."
9. Farré, "La Suisse et l'Espagne; Farré and Babiano, "emigración Suiza Francia"; Farré, *La Suisse et l'Espagne de Franco*; Farré, "Emigrantes españoles en Suiza".
10. Hirt, "Bundesbehörden und Arbeitsmigranten"; Hirt, *Die Schweizerische Bundesverwaltung*.
11. Antolín, *La emigración gallega asistida*.
12. Buechler and Buechler, "Galician Migration to Switzerland"; Buechler and Buechler, "Spanish Galician Migration to Switzerland".
13. Richter, *Integration, Identität, Differenz*.
14. Bolzmann, Fibbi, and Vial Bolzmann. *Secondas – Secondos*.
15. Helfer, "Os retornados".

16. Calvo Salgado, "relaciones del IEE con Suiza."
17. Prieto, "Militärprozesse und Hinrichtungen"; Prieto, *Zwischen Apologie und Ablehnung*.
18. Von Hodenberg, "Expeditionen in den Methodenschungel".
19. On the role Spanish TV held in the political process in Spain see Palacio, *La televisión durante la Transición*.
20. For the post-war radio broadcasts aimed for immigrants in the Federal Republic of Germany see Sala, *Fremde Worte*, 13.
21. Steinmann, *Das Publikum der TSI*; Steinmann and Jedele, *Radio- und Fernsehgewohnheiten der Gastarbeiter*.
22. Statistical data used on the Spanish population in Switzerland are from the *Bundesamt für Migration* and the *Bundesamt für Statistik*.
23. Schmid, "Situación sociolingüística inmigrantes españoles".
24. It was a one-hour magazine, broadcast weekly on Saturdays between 1964 and 1989. It was conceived as a co-production between the *Société Suisse de Radiodiffusion et Télévision* and the Italian RAI. Its format was different since it mixed education, information and entertainment. It had a 10minutes space with a weekly summary of the Swiss and Italian news broadcasts including for a while a *Telescuola per l'emigrazione* (television school for the emigrants), plus other permanent sections like *Servizio speciale* (special service), *Lettere della settimana* (weekly letters) or *Saluti da casa* (greetings from home). Musical performances were frequent. So it was not a series of reports linked by a presenter on the set, although it also included reports on the situation of Italian workers in Switzerland. Gaggini Fontana, *Un'ora per voi*, 113–48.
25. Calvo Salgado, "relaciones del IEE con Suiza," 208.
26. *Tele-revista*, 1 February 1980; *Tele-revista*, 16 May 1980.
27. Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño, and Prieto López, *Tele-revista y la Transición*, 549–88
28. *Tele-revista*, 5 January 1979.
29. *Tele-revista*, 3 June 1977.
30. *Tele-revista*, 5 January 1979.
31. *Tele-revista*, 16 March 1979.
32. *Tele-revista*, 19 March 1976.
33. For a deeper treatment of gender within *Tele-revista* see Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño, and Prieto López, *Tele-revista y la Transición*, 479–516.
34. Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño, and Prieto López, *Tele-revista y la Transición*, 617–51.
35. "Konzession für die Benützung der elektrischen und radioelektrischen Einrichtungen der Schweizerischen Post-, Telephon- und Telegraphenbetriebe zur öffentlichen Verbreitung von Radio- und Fernsehprogrammen. 24 October 1964." *Bundesblatt*, vol. 2, no. 47, 26 November 1964.
36. Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño, and Prieto López, *Tele-revista y la Transición*, 87–112; Prieto, *Zwischen Apologie und Ablehnung*, 81–95.
37. Farré, *La Suisse et l'Espagne de Franco*, 401–9.
38. Schneider, "Vom SRG-Monopol," 95–100.
39. Prieto, "Militärprozesse und Hinrichtungen," 93–6; Prieto, *Zwischen Apologie und Ablehnung*, 280–309.
40. Georgiou remarks in this regard: "European state policies in this area are full of contradictions – there is an attempt on the one hand to include/assimilate minority media and, on

- the other, to control/suppress their power and influence." Georgiou, "Diasporic Media Across Europe," 496.
41. Altheide, *Creating Reality*, 11–12.
 42. Luhmann, *Reality of Mass Media*, 27.
 43. Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño, and Prieto López, "Tele-revista: representaciones, imágenes", 21–2.
 44. Calvo Salgado, Langa Nuño, and Prieto, "Tele-revista: personalización".
 45. *Tele-revista*, 20 February 1976.
 46. *Tele-revista*, 19 March 1976.
 47. Juliá, "Sociedad y política."
 48. Soto Carmona, "Huelgas en el franquismo".
 49. Luhmann, *Reality of Mass Media*, 25–28.
 50. *Tele-revista*, 3 December 1976.
 51. Martín Jiménez, *Televisión española y Transición*, 85–121; Martín Jiménez, "El parlamento catódico," 130–4; Santana González, "Configurando conciencia democrática, 180–4.
 52. *Tele-revista*, 13 May 1977.
 53. Treglia, "partido en busca identidad".
 54. *Tele-revista*, 29 September 1978.
 55. *Tele-revista*, 3 November 1978.
 56. *Tele-revista*, 17 November 1978.


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