
The Catalan-language media in the Valencian Country after 40 years of the Law on the Use and Teaching of Valencian (LUEV)

FRANCESC-TOMÀS MARTÍNEZ SANCHIS

Universitat de València

francesc.t.martinez@uv.es

ABSTRACT

The framework of citizenship in the Statute of Autonomy and the Law on the Use and Teaching of Valencian (LUEV) have not managed to overcome centuries of Castilianisation in the media or to develop mass media in Catalan – from a Valencian standpoint – with large audiences that are suitable for articulating a collective identity rooted in the unique features of the Valencian Country.¹ The Valencian media market in the Catalan language is characterised by an amalgam of small news media and specialised media with fragmented audiences, and although they have contributed to reviving the language, none of them has managed to attract a large audience. If we exclude À Punt, the presence of the media in Catalan is virtually imperceptible because most of them are local in scope. Nonetheless, the Catalan-language media have experienced steady growth, increasing from 47 modest magazines in 1987 to 239 press, radio, TV and cybermedia outlets in 2023, but the Valencian Country has yet to articulate its own media market connected to the Catalan media space.

KEYWORDS

Media, media ecosystem, LUEV, Statute of Autonomy, identity.

1. We use the terms Valencian and Catalan as equivalents in view of the undeniable linguistic unity of the Catalan language. Catalan, the vernacular language of the major part of the territory encompassed by the Valencian Country, is regionally designated as Valencian, a name that is used in the Statute of Autonomy.

1. Introduction

One of Joan Fuster's concerns was assessing the role that journalism may have historically played in the normalisation of the Catalan language. The essayist stated that literature alone could not save the language; he saw literature as an element of the educated elite, so he defended the construction of a mass culture – for common people and in Catalan – via the media, which the writer believed should play an essential role in creating a modern collective identity.

The question now regarding Valencia – 40 years after the Statute of Autonomy came into force in 1982 and the Law on the Use and Teaching of Valencian (LUEV) in 1983 – is whether the media have fostered the restoration and normalisation of the language after three centuries of repression and marginalisation. Have the media laid a solid foundation of mass audiences in Catalan – from a Valencian standpoint – that is capable of recreating a collective Valencian identity rooted in the inherent features of the Valencian people?

The late Franco regime and the transition to democracy were decisive years in the expansion of Fuster's new Valencianism, as well as in the reaffirmation of other contrasting identity models. Since then, a homogenous collective identity has not taken shape, but different versions of partial identities have. According to the criteria set by Ismael Vallès (2000), five national identity models coexist. The first is called *fusterianisme clàssic* (classic Fusterianism), which views the Valencian Country as part of the “Catalan nation”, so it can be integrated into the political project of the Catalan Countries. The second one is known as the *tercera via valenciana* (Valencian third way), which conceptualises the Valencian Country as its own national project, albeit one with an essentially Catalan cultural and linguistic affiliation. The third model is called *constitucionalista estricta* (strict constitutionalism), which posits that the Valencian Country is one of Spain's autonomous communities characterised by its own institutional history and with its own language, but with no aim to secede from Catalan. The fourth coalesces around *blaverisme* (based on the blue in the Valencian flag, which distinguishes it from the Catalan flag), which views the Spanish Kingdom of Valencia as a regional project of its own, with a secessionist language different from Catalan. And the fifth one is described as *espanyolisme uniformista* (uniformist Spanish nationalism), which regards the Valencian Country as a region that is part of the indissoluble unity of Spain and primarily participates in Castilian culture, with only secondary Valencian expressions.

Hegemonic among the five is the strict constitutionalist model, as reflected in the successive regional elections. This identity conception is the one that also prevails in the majority of the Valencian media – both those using the Catalan and the Spanish languages – with different editorial nuances. Although there is a minority of purely Valencianist media that claim national rights and take editorial lines ranging from the third way to more sovereignist options, below we shall see how the media in Catalan have been shaped and developed within the Valencian media ecosystem.

2. The restoration of the media in Catalan (1976-1987)

At the start of democracy, the media scene in Catalan was a wasteland. The radio programme in Valencian *De dalt a baix* was launched on 1 August 1974 and was broadcast by Ràdio Peninsular of RNE-València and Ràdio Cadena Valenciana until 1993, hosted first by Amadeu Fabregat and later by Toni Mestre. Likewise, the press witnessed a moderate upswing, going from 23 magazines in 1983 to 43 publications in 1987 (ten news and 33 specialised), promoted by publishers associated with cultural and political Valencianism (Table 1). It was a modest press that practised grassroots journalism, and despite the difficulties, it contributed to dignifying the standard educated language, given that 95.6% of the magazines used the Castellón Norms. Furthermore, the press supported the traditional division of the Valencian country into counties, as opposed to Spain's provinces, and made a huge effort to spread Valencian culture in all its facets (Martínez Sanchis, 2016).

The early press under democracy was starting with a historical delay that has not yet been completely overcome. It could hardly compete with newspapers in Spanish, which had been entrenched in Valencia since the founding of the *Diario de Valencia* in 1790. It was a precarious press. These magazines were unable to afford professional administrations and newsroom systems and could barely invest in production improvements and updated technology. In fact, in 1987, 53.5% of the publications were run by associations, 23.2% by public institutions and only 22.3% by companies. These factors were magnified by the low literacy rate of their readership

TABLE 1

Valencian press in Catalan (1987)

General news <i>Saó</i> (Valencia) <i>El Temps</i> (Valencia)	Culture and thought <i>L'Espill</i> (Valencia) <i>Trellat</i> (Valencia)	Religion <i>La Fulla de l'Olivar</i> (Alaquàs)
Local and regional news <i>El Diariet de Traiguera</i> <i>Vinaròs-El Diariet</i> <i>L'Alcora Avui</i> <i>Sueca Viva</i> <i>Benicarló Crònica</i> <i>El Poble</i> (Benissa) <i>Crònica</i> (Ontinyent) <i>La Veu de la Marina</i> (Ondara)	Culture, heritage, traditions <i>Buris-ana</i> (Borriana) <i>Raons</i> (Picassent) <i>Acció Cultural del País Valencià</i> (Valencia) <i>Ullal</i> (Xeraco) <i>Llum i Claredat</i> (Quart de Poblet) <i>El Crit del Palleter</i> (Catarroja) <i>Cadafal</i> (Vila-real) <i>Bresca</i> (Vilallonga) <i>Evos</i> (Vall d'Ebo) <i>Batlía</i> (Valencia) <i>Almaig</i> (Ontinyent) <i>Recull</i> (Xàbia) <i>La Memòria d'Abans</i> (Valencia) <i>Au!</i> (Morella) <i>La Belluerna</i> (Teulada)	Politics <i>Lluita</i> (Barcelona-Valencia) <i>Som</i> (Valencia) General history <i>Afers</i> (Catarroja) Education <i>Allioli</i> (Valencia) <i>Papers d'Educació</i> (Valencia) Ecology and environment <i>La Casa Verda</i> (Valencia) Economics, law, politics <i>Revista Valenciana d'Estudis Autonòmics</i> (Valencia) Comics <i>Camacuc</i> (Valencia) Theatre <i>Tramoia</i> (Elx)
Literary magazines <i>El·lipsi</i> (Gandia) <i>L'Aiguadolç</i> (Pedreguer) <i>Daina</i> (Valencia) <i>L'Horabaixa</i> (Algemesí) <i>Passadís</i> (Benicarló)		
Agriculture <i>Camp Valencià</i> (Valencia)		

SOURCE: Martínez Sanchis (2016).

in the local language – in 1985, only 28.6% of the adult population knew how to read Valencian – along with a weak identity awareness that was accentuated by the lengthy shadow cast by the identity conflict known as the Batalla de València (Valencia Battle), which discouraged businesspeople from investing in media in the local language.

In conclusion, the trend was the creation of many magazines, which diluted the energy to create a newspaper in Valencian and with a Valencian standpoint that was independent of Madrid's media agenda. Furthermore, the democratic forces (both nationalist and others) promoted a third newspaper in Castilian – *Diario de Valencia* (1980-1982) and later *Noticias al Día* (1982-1984) – as alternatives to *Las Provincias* and *Levante* (Martínez Sanchis, 2016).

3. Expansion and professionalisation of the media (1987-2007)

Between 1987 and 2008, the Catalan-language media went through a phase of diversification, journalistic professionalisation, technological upgrading and growth. New titles appeared, put out by private enterprises that created their own newsrooms. In 2008, 170 media were issued in Catalan (23 newspapers, 80 specialised magazines, 30 radio stations, 22 TV stations, 14 digital media and one news agency). Only five offered regional and national contents (Radiotelevisió Valenciana [RTVV], *El Temps*, *L'Avanç*, *Saó* and the Valencian edition of *El Punt*), while the others were scattered around the Valencian Country in an amalgam of small news media or specialised media outlets with modest, fragmented audiences.

Regarding the press, no newspaper reached acceptable levels of readership in the entire Valencian Country. The market was overwhelmed by the daily press in Spanish put out by the major state-wide media groups (Vocento, Prensa Ibérica, Prisa, Grupo Z), which published regional or provincial editions (*ABC*, *El País*, *El Mundo*) or county editions (*Levante-EMV*, *Las Provincias*, *Información*), leaving little room for the local autochthonous press.

The differences between the press in Catalan and Castilian were abysmal. The total print run of the 23 newspapers in Catalan published in 2008 was 102,950 copies, compared to the more than 689,000 average daily copies (July 2006-June 2007) of the 18 Spanish-language newspapers, either paid or free, in the Valencian Country. This disproportion could also be seen in the local press. In 2007, 87 local and county newspapers were published, 68 (78.2%) of which were written in Spanish and 19 (21.8%) in Catalan (Martínez Sanchis, 2010a: 38-73).

The major new development during this period was the appearance of audiovisual media in Catalan, a fundamental historical milestone in both the media and sociolinguistics. The pioneer was the regional TVE centre, which started the 2 pm news programme *Aitana* in 1971, using Spanish as well because it also covered Murcia, Almeria and Albacete until 1982. More than a decade had to go by before Valencian regional TV appeared, and along with it the first *Televisió de Catalunya* (TV3) broadcasts in the Valencian Country in April 1985 via repeaters installed by the association

Acció Cultural del País Valencià (ACPV). Between 1985 and 1989, TV3 became the benchmark TV station in the local language, despite pressures and lawsuits from the Spanish and regional governments to hinder its reception. TV3 continued broadcasting until it was disbanded on 17 February 2011 because of the fines that the Valencian Government imposed on the ACPV.

RTVV began broadcasting on 9 October 1989. First came Canal 9, with generalist programming. Later, in October 1997, Notícies 9 was launched, which became Punt 2 in 1999. After that, the 24/9 news channel and the international channel TVVi were launched. RTVV lasted 26 years, until it was closed in November 2013 by the regional government chaired by Alberto Fabra, after it had become indebted to the tune of €1.2 B and suffered from constant scandals regarding disinformation and manipulative information.

RTVV's management was marked by the government's use of it, the unbridled growth of its staff and the fact that it was not actually an engine driving the Valencian audiovisual sector. This was joined by an audience dominated by state-wide TV channels – Canal 9 was always quite low on the audience rankings for generalist TV stations, according to Sofres – and a languishing Canal 9 as an engine of linguistic normalisation, given that it used Catalan-Spanish bilingualism from the very start. In fact, a study from 2006 by the trade union CCOO reveals an uneven use of Catalan – low on Canal 9 (36%) and high on Punt 2 (95%) – and only a tentative focus on Valencian audiovisuals, which accounted for just 25% (Martínez Sanchis, 2010a: 86-93).

Despite this, Canal 9 became the largest mass communication medium in the local language in the Valencian Country. According to the *Llibre blanc d'ús del valencià* (White Paper on the Use of Valencian) published by the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (Valencian Academy of the Language, AVL), in 2004 the population over the age of 15 who watched TV in Valencian showed the following trends: Canal 9, 48.61%; Punt 2, 17.48%; TV3, 10.33%; Canal 33, 3.65%; and local TV stations, 3.99%. Nonetheless, Spanish-language television has always dominated in the screen. For example, in 2006, Canal 9 audience share in the Valencian Country was 16.4%, behind Tele 5 (22.1%), TVE (19.7%) and Antena 3 (19.1%) (Martínez Sanchis, 2010a: 87).

Regarding local TV, the sector grew moderately from the launch of Telecarlón in Benicarló in 1984 until 2007. Of the 132 local TV stations in Valencia counted in 2007 (cable, over-the-air and DTT), only 13 have a high level of Catalan use, including Canal 37 TV Marina Alta, Canal 56 Televisió Comarcal de Vinaròs, Canal Castelló TV, Gandia TV, La Pobla Televisió, Ribera TV, Sueca TV, Telecarlet, Canal Nord Televisió in Morella, TV d'Uixó, TV Onda, TV Ontinyent, Televisió Comarcal de la Costera and Berca TV in Algemesí. However, the regional government's award of the DTT licenses (42 local and 2 regional) on 30 December 2005 changed the TV map. The majority of these licenses were granted to state-wide media groups affiliated with the PP (Spain's conservative nationalist political party), which heightened the Castilianisation of the Valencian media space (Martínez Sanchis, 2010b: 115-139).

Regarding the radio sector, between 1976 and 2008, Catalan-language radio was limited to Ràdio 9 and a small cluster of local radio stations, most of them public. In 2008, there was a

total of 30 broadcasters. Ràdio 9, created in 1989, has never had large audiences, while private radio stations mainly use Spanish. In 1993, of the total of 2,748 hours of daily radio broadcasting in the Valencian Country, only 493, or 18%, were in Valencian (Xambó, 2002: 205-208). Radio listenership in Valencian has always been imperceptible. In fact, in 2004 only 3.23% of the population over the age of fifteen listened to radio in the local language according to the AVL, a share that is divided between Ràdio 9, Catalunya Ràdio and local stations, including the municipal stations in Alzira, Benicarló, Cocentaina, Ondara, Pego, Canals and Picassent, and the private stations Ràdio Vila-real and Els Ports Ràdio (Martínez Sanchis, 2010a: 76-83). In 2006, the Xarxa d'Emissores Municipals Valencianes (Network of Valencian Municipal Broadcasters, XEMV) was created to exchange programming.

Ràdio 9 was launched with the goal of generating a Valencian radio space of its own, but over the years it has never managed to become a benchmark station. Sudden changes in management, high debt, a lack of clear criteria from political spheres regarding the type and quality of the contents and a constant process of Castilianisation have diluted this broadcaster's impact. In contrast, the Spanish-language programming of the major state-wide stations has gained a solid foothold over the past 40 years. In 2007, the generalist stations SER, COPE, RNE, Onda Cero and Punto Radio had a total average daily audience of 1,443,000 listeners, while Ràdio 9 only had 50,000 and Catalunya Ràdio 8,000 (Martínez Sanchis, 2010a: 77).

The Government of Valencia is largely to blame for this situation. The regional governments under both the PSPV-PSOE (Spain's socialist workers' party) and the PP have favoured the entry of outside stations more aligned with their ideologies when granting the FM radio licences provided for in the Spanish Government's different radio broadcasting technical plans.

However, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the digital media (hybrid and native) took off in both official languages. The corpus of Valencian cybermedia in 2011, compiled by Professor Guillermo López at the Universitat de València, included 465 media on the Internet (234 press, 133 radio and 58 TV), 89 of which are Catalan-language cybermedia (19.14%).

4. Crisis and media closures (2008-2015)

The Catalan-language media stopped growing between 2008 and 2015. This stagnation was caused not only by the great recession of 2008-2012, which led to a crisis in advertising, the closure of media and layoffs of journalists, but also by the Valencian Government's and some conservative town councils' hostile policies towards the media in the local language.

The policy to promote Valencian in the media launched by the socialist government of Joan Lerma was dismantled by successive PP governments. Eduardo Zaplana cancelled the grants to the Valencian-language press and radio, which was followed by the economic sanctions issued by Francisco Camps's executive against the ACPV to force it to stop TV3 and Canal 33 broadcasts

in the Valencian Country, which happened on 17 February 2011. The ignominy culminated with the closure of RTVV via a Valencian Parliament agreement on 27 November 2013 due to the PP's absolute majority. This undoing plunged the audiovisual media into crisis.

Later, on 21 January 2014, the ACPV suppressed the Catalunya Ràdio and Catalunya Informació signals in the Valencian Country on the orders of the Spanish Ministry of Industry, with the approval of the regional government, as part of a calculated policy to linguistically isolate the Catalan media space. The disappearance of RTVV and the audiovisual media from Catalonia has been one of the greatest attacks on the normalisation of the language in the Valencian Country during democracy.

Parallel to the fall of the main regional media, 50 smaller media outlets in the local language were closed, 35 of which (70%) were local and county in scope. The drop in advertising due to the recession and the impact of digitalisation primarily affected the press, which led to the closure of emblematic county newspapers like *Crònica* in Vall d'Albaida, *Papers de l'Horta*, *El Cresol* in Horta Nord and *L'Expressió de la Ribera*. But the recession was not the only reason: in some cases, as it happened with Gandia TV, Info TV and Aldaia Ràdio, they were closed due to arbitrary political decisions (Martínez Sanchis, 2019: 92-94).

Likewise, Catalan also regressed because of the local and regional DTT licenses granted in 2005 and 2010, most of which were awarded to non-Valencian Spanish-speaking media groups. In 2010, of the 28 privately owned local TV stations that broadcast in DTT in the Valencian Country, only 13% offered programming wholly in Catalan, 31% used both languages but more Valencian and 57% broadcast primarily in Spanish, flying in the face of the legal obligation to broadcast at least 25% of their programming in Catalan (Altarriba, 2010).

The local DTT map was reorganised after the Supreme Court ruling handed down on 18 July 2012. The ruling nullified the Government of Valencia's award of 42 local DTT licenses on 30 December 2005 because it did not comply with the objective function of assessing bids. This forced the regional government to award them anew on 23 June 2015, which allowed new companies to enter the fray.

5. Steady growth and stabilisation (2016-2023)

There was sustained growth in the media between 2016 and 2023. In fewer than seven years, the number of news media rose from 98 in 2007 to 167 in 2023. We are currently witnessing a period of stabilisation, with the convergence of a series of positive factors in the market that are halting some of the earlier changes. Some of these factors are:

1. The economic recovery after the global recession from 2008-2012 fostered the reactivation of commercial advertising in the media and investments to improve new media technologies.

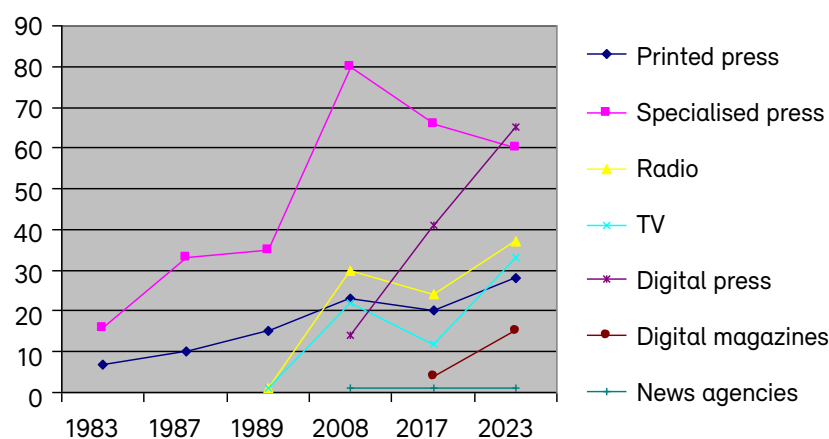
2. The reopening of Valencian radio and TV in 2018 with the brand À Punt Mèdia reactivated the audiovisual sector.
3. The reorganisation of the local TV market after the new award of DTT licenses in 2015, as well as the advent of online TV, contributed to increasing local TV, which rose from 12 stations in 2017 to 31 in 2023.
4. The Valencian Government's favourable policy by awarding grants to foster Catalan in the private media meant that between 2016 and 2023 the Valencian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport awarded €15,461,743, while the AVL gave out €290,000.
5. The adaptation of the local news to the new digital media is gaining momentum, which is favouring the stabilisation of the local and county paper press with digital versions (hybrid model), along with the rise of the digital native press.
6. The stabilisation of local radio is prompting the reactivation of the Xarxa d'Emissores Municipals Valencianes (XEMV), which encompasses 32 broadcasters, as well as their collaboration with À Punt FM to share programming.

6. Number and type of media in 2023

The corpus of Catalan-language media presented here contains data from September 2023. In Table 2 we have indexed 164 news media divided into printed newspapers (28), radio broadcasters (37), TV stations (33), digital media (65) and news agencies (1). Additionally, 75 specialised magazines on different topics are published (60 on paper and 15 digital), leading to a grand total of 239 titles. Despite this, in Figure 1 and Table 2 we quantify the evolution of Valencian

FIGURE 1

Evolution of the media in Catalan in the Valencian Country (1983-2023)



SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on Martínez Sanchis (2010a, 2013, 2016 and 2019).

media in Catalan between 1983 and 2023 in order to assess the growth which they underwent in that period.

We should note that the scope of news coverage of the majority of those media is local. Of the 164 media tallied, 136 (82.9%) focus on the municipality or county, while 28 (11.1%) include content on the entire Valencian Country.

TABLE 2

Evolution of the media in Catalan in the Valencian Country (1983-2023)

	1983	1987 ¹	2008	2017	2023
News media					
Printed newspapers	7	10	23	20	28
Radio broadcasters	–	–	30	24	37
TV stations	–	–	22	12	33
Digital media	–	–	14	41	65
News agencies	–	–	1	1	1
Total	7	10	90	98	164
Specialised press on different topics					
Specialised printed press	16	33	80	66	60
Specialised digital press	–	–	–	4	15
Total	16	30	80	70	75
Total media + specialised press					
Total	23	43	170	168	239

1. RTVV began broadcasting in 1989.

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on Martínez Sanchis (2010a, 2013, 2016 and 2019).

6.1. Low digitalisation rate of the paper press

Thus far, the Catalan-language press has not managed to create any daily newspaper in Valencia. Different weeklies that are now defunct (*El Periòdic*, *El Punt-PV*, *L'Avanç* and *Jornada*) expressed an interest in becoming dailies at some point, but they never took that step due to a lack of income and readers. In fact, the majority of newspapers in the local language only survive with huge doses of perseverance and austerity. The veteran publications *Saó*, founded in 1976 and regional in scope, and *El Temps*, founded in 1984 and extending throughout all the Catalan-speaking territories, have a great deal of survival experience.

The local press is distributed in the regions where the language is flourishing the most, specifically in the counties located between Alcoi and Gandia and around the cities of Valencia and Castellón. They are newspapers founded in the last third of the twentieth and first third of the twenty-first centuries, and three small media groups particularly stand out. In the north is Comunicacions dels Ports SA – which publishes the weekly *Notícies* in Morella and runs Els Ports Ràdio, Nord TV and the digital *Comarquesnord.cat* – and the company Artes Gráficas Castell, which publishes the sister weeklies *7 Dies Actualitat* in Benicarló and Vinaròs. In the south is the company Alcoi Més Ciutat, which publishes *El Nostre Ciutat* – written in Spanish on paper and Catalan in the digital version – around which the free newspapers *El Nostre Banyeres*, *El Nostre Xixona*, *El Nostre Muro*, *El Nostre Bocairent*, *El Nostre* and *El Nostre Xarpolar* revolve. This group encompasses the area of Alcoià, Comtat and Foia de Castalla (Peidro, 2022).

TABLE 3

Printed press in Catalan (2023)

<i>Notícies</i> (Morella)	<i>Ciutat de Carlet</i>
<i>7 Dies Actualitat de Benicarló</i>	<i>La Veu d'Alginet</i>
<i>La Veu de Benicarló</i>	<i>Alberic Informa</i>
<i>Crònica de Vinaròs</i>	<i>Suheca.com</i> (Sueca)
<i>7 Dies Actualitat Vinaròs</i>	<i>El Nostre Oliva</i>
<i>Poble</i> (Vila-real)	<i>L'Informador</i> (Xàtiva)
<i>Saó</i> (Valencia)	<i>El Grat</i> (Alcoi)
<i>El Temps</i> (Valencia)	<i>El Nostre Banyeres</i>
<i>Diari Ara</i> (newsroom in Valencia)	<i>El Nostre Xixona</i>
<i>L'Opinió de Torrent</i>	<i>El Nostre Muro</i>
<i>Nou Torrentí</i> (Torrent)	<i>El Nostre Bocairent</i>
Torrent Informatiu	<i>El Nostre Xarpolar</i> (Alcoià)
<i>Infotur.com</i>	<i>Barcella</i> (Banyeres de Mariola)
<i>L'Alcúdia 752</i>	<i>Periòdic Punt i a Part</i> (Crevillent)

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on the resolutions of the Valencian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport and AVL agreements on awarding subsidies to foster Valencian in the media. 2016–2023; Xarxa d'Emissores Municipals Valencianes (Network of Valencian Municipal Broadcasters, XEMV).

The scope of the local press is mainly town-wide, with 20 titles that account for 82.1% of the total, while only 5 newspapers (20%) are county-wide (Table 3), and they all have modest print runs (*Notícies* prints 1,099 copies and *L'Alcúdia 752* around 5,000).

We should also highlight the fact that the paper press adapted to the digital world late and has a low digitalisation level. Only 8 of the 25 newspapers indexed have digital versions, namely *7 Dies Actualitat Benicarló*, *La Veu de Benicarló*, *7 Dies Actualitat Vinaròs*, *Poble*, *L'Opinió de Torrent*, *Infotur.com*, *La Veu d'Alginet* and *Suheca.com*, and some of them have different supports than the printed version. The coexistence of a paper and digital version reinforces the brand.

The local press is weak and fluctuating, and over the past 40 years many publications have closed, just as new ones have emerged, the former unable to withstand the ups and downs of

the market at times of advertising crises. And it is difficult for them to hold up against the competition from the county editions of Spanish-language newspapers like *Levante-EMV*, *Información*, *El Periódico Mediterráneo* and Vocento's *Las Provincias*.

Nonetheless, the Valencian language makes a fairly strong showing in magazines specialised in different topics sustained by universities, publishing houses, associations, public administrations and trade unions. There are currently 75 of them circulating (60 on paper and 15 digital). They are long-standing magazines that survive through reliable income from these organisations and subscriptions from a loyal readership that appreciates the quality of their contents. Many of these magazines have earned prestige in the scholarly and scientific communities in their field, and some of them are disseminated throughout the entire Catalan-speaking domain. They include *L'Espill*, *Mètode*, *Caràcters*, *Caplletra* and *Arxius de Ciències Socials*, published by the Universitat de València, as well as the magazine *Debats*, founded in 1982 by the cultural organisation Institució Alfons el Magnànim of Valencia Provincial Council. Initially written in Spanish, it has published versions in Catalan and English since 2017.

Critical political, economic and cultural magazines also stand out. Examples include *El Butlletí* published by the ACPV, *Papers Associatius de l'Horta Sud* of the social entity Fundació Horta Sud and *Allioli* issued by the trade union STPV-Intersindical Valenciana, along with the cultural magazine *Lletraferit* put out by La Drassana publishing house, the literary magazines *L'Illa* and *TDX* published by the Bromera publishing house and the history magazine *Afers*. The performing arts are represented with publications like *Eq'iliquà* and *TEA3* and the children's comic with *Camacuc*.

Likewise, around 20 cultural magazines are published in the counties, which do important work promoting the local heritage and folk traditions. The longest-standing one is *Buris-ana*, founded in 1956 by the cultural organisation Agrupació Borrianenca de Cultura. More recently, *Bastida* was launched in 2019 by the Federació d'Instituts d'Estudis del País Valencià (Federation of the Valencian Country Institutes of Studies).

6.2. Stabilisation of radio

The radio sector (Table 4) has undergone some adjustments which have not necessarily led to audience growth yet have stanch the decline which started after the closure of RTVV. À Punt Ràdio and the reactivation of the XEMV's local stations have fostered the bare survival of radio in Catalan. In 2023, 37 broadcasters were active, 81% of them owned publicly and many of them with their own website.

À Punt FM was launched in October 2018 at the Programme Production Centre in Burjassot. In 2022, it incorporated a new multipurpose studio that enables it to make radio, TV and online programmes simultaneously. The new studio hosts the news space *Les notícies del matí* and cultural and sports broadcasts. In 2018, À Punt FM signed an agreement with the Federació Valenciana de Municipis i Províncies (Valencian Federation of Municipalities and Provinces) and

the XEMV to foster exchanges of contents, news beats, programme production, event coverage and specific contents for websites. The outcome of this work is the magazine *El Rall*, published with the collaboration of the XEMV broadcasters. In December 2018, according to the Spanish General Media Study (EGM), À Punt FM had 22,000 listeners per day, a figure that had risen to 42,000 by 2022 (Moreno, 2022).

TABLE 4

Radio broadcasters in Catalan (2023)

Regional public broadcaster	Municipal broadcasters	
À Punt FM	Ràdio Benicarló	Valldigna Ràdio
	Alzira Ràdio	Ràdio Vila-real
Private broadcasters	Aldaia Ràdio	Ràdio Manises
Els Ports Ràdio	Ràdio Pego	Ràdio Bétera
Sermaestrat.com	Ràdio Cocentaina	Llosa FM (Llosa de Ranes)
Radiolavallduixo.com	La Veu d'Ondara	Marines Ràdio
Lateuaradio.com (Vinalopó Mitjà)	Ràdio Banyeres	Ràdio Xàbia
Xtradio.es (Costera)	Ràdio Altea	Mislata Ràdio
	Ràdio Alginet	Guadassuar Ràdio
Sports radio	Ràdio Rabosa (Almàssera)	Ràdio Benicarló-Info Maestrat
VCF Ràdio	Ràdio l'Om de Picassent	Ràdio Jove (Càlig)
	Ràdio Sol d'Albal	Ràdio Túria (L'Eliana)
Educational radio	Ràdio Benigànim	Ràdio Banyeres de Mariola
Vox UJI Ràdio/Universitat Jaume I	Canals Ràdio	Ràdio Pobla (Pobla de Vallbona)
Radioescola/Federació Escola Valenciana		

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on data from the XEMV and the resolutions of the AVL and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports granting subsidies. Years 2016–2023.

However, the generalist state-wide broadcasters are in the overwhelming majority. According to the third wave of the EGM in 2023, SER has an average of 485,277 listeners per day in the Valencian Country, followed by COPE with 378,955 and Onda Cero with 213,187, while À Punt Ràdio has 17,590 listeners.² No figures are available for the small local broadcasters.

6.3. Revival of TV

The launch of À Punt TV broadcasting on 25 April 2018 and the reorganisation of the local DTT licenses in June 2015 helped to lay the groundwork for a minimal TV base in Catalan. After almost five years without public TV, À Punt TV was entering a competitive and changing media market with certain disadvantages: the crisis in the public TV model, a miniscule budget (the lowest of all the regional TV stations in Spain in local languages) and overwhelmingly Spanish-language programming.

2. <https://www.extradigital.es/que-radios-generalistas-son-las-mas-escuchadas-en-la-comunitat-valenciana-cv/>

There is a consensus that À Punt TV has played a positive role in promoting the use of the language, which it uses in all the programming, and that it offers professional quality standards coupled with a political pluralism that makes it more democratic than the former Canal 9. Programmes like *La Colla*, *Terra Viva*, *Bona vesprada*, *Tresors amb història*, *Valencians pel món* and *Zoom* and live broadcasting of Valencian festivals are very popular and considered high quality. Another positive aspect is the creation of the digital platforms Apuntmedia.es, A Punt Global and Bon Dia TV, as well as the collaboration between À Punt, IB3 and TV3 in creating products, co-productions of fictional series and simultaneous broadcasts, which contributes to the cohesion of the Catalan-language media space.

However, À Punt TV has not managed to gain a large loyal audience. Even though the figures from March 2023 showed a record audience of 4.4%, À Punt is far from having the influence that other regional TV stations do. With figures from 2022, À Punt's average annual screen share was 3.1%, far under the 14.1% of Catalonia's TV3 (the audience leader in its territory), Aragón TV (10.6%) and Televisión de Galicia (10.5%). It also lags behind Canal Sur in Andalusia (8.9%), ETB2 (8.6%), TPA in Asturias (7.4%), CMM in Castilla-La Mancha (6.4%), TV Canaria (5.6%) and TeleMadrid (5.6%). However, these data do not compensate for the fact that all the regional broadcasters only account for 8.4% of the total screen share in Spain (Barlovento Comunicación, 2022).

Likewise, the insufficient budget lowers the possibilities of increasing its societal influence. The €67.91 M budget of the Corporació Valenciana de Mitjans de Comunicació (Valencian Media Corporation) in 2022 contrasts with the €300.64 M of the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals (Catalan Media and Audiovisual Corporation), the €172.63 M of Euskal Telebista (the Basque equivalent) and the €121.56 M of RTV Gallega (the Galician equivalent).³ This risible budget cannot do much to reactivate the Valencian audiovisual sector.

Furthermore, there are no real prospects for improving the current situation. The PP and Vox (right-wing political party) majority in the Valencian Parliament paved the way for the Law on the Audiovisual Corporation of the Valencian Community, approved on 27 June 2024, which repealed the previous law approved by the "Botànic" coalition government in 2016 that had helped to revive the public radio service. The new law increases political control over the governing bodies, opens the door to Spanish-language programming and sows uncertainty about the organisation's financing. Furthermore, it eliminates the Citizen Council, a public participatory body which kept watch over the medium's quality and independence, and puts the Board of Directors in charge of drafting the News Council's rules (Tena, 2024).

3. Total budget of the main regional radio and TV corporations in Spain in 2022: <https://es.statista.com/estadisticas/663576/corporaciones-autonomicas-de-radio-y-television-segun-su-presupuesto-espana/>.

6.4. Reorganisation of local TV

The reorganisation of the DTT map in 2015 contributed to “Valencianising” the local TV space, when some of the Spanish-language DTT awardees in 2005, like Unidad Editorial, Libertad Digital and Mediamed, lost their concession. On the other hand, companies that used Valencian were granted licenses in 2015. In 2023 there were 24 Catalan-language broadcasters. Notable ones include Ribera Televisió in the Ribera and Valencia area; TVCS Retransmisiones in the Morella, Vinaròs and Castellón area; Televisió Comarcal d’Alcoi in the Alcoià and Comtat counties; and Comarques Centrals Televisió, which broadcasts in the Xàtiva-Ontinyent, Gandia and Dénia area.

Likewise, some long-standing TV stations remain, such as Nord TV in Morella, Maestrat TV in Vinaròs, Canal 56 TDT in Maestrat, TEVE4 in Castellón, Cullera TV, Berca TV in Algemesí, Sueca TV and Tele Safor in Gandia. Also, Spanish-language stations that use Catalan in some programmes, such as Levante TV and Información TV de Prensa Ibérica, which is active in fourteen provinces, were awarded DTT licenses in 2015.

6.5. Consolidation of the digital press

The Internet is where the language is the most normalised. The burgeoning initiative of journalists and small businesspeople has fostered the expansion of the cybermedia. The figure of 89 cybermedia in 2011 rose to 150 in 2023, distributed as follows: newspapers (65), specialised press (20), radio (32) and TV (33).

Online newspapers can be found in almost all the counties and the main Catalan-speaking cities. In 2023, there were 65 digital newspapers, 49 (75.3%) of which offered local and county contents, while sixteen reported on the entire Valencian Country, a feat that the county-printed press had never managed to achieve.

Regarding the regional press, in addition to the digital versions of *Saó* and *El Temps*, there is also the Valencian version of Europa Press and the Valencian sections of *VilaWeb*, *El Punt-Avui* and *Ara*, published in Catalonia. These three digital media keep the Valencian territory integrated into the Catalan media space. The regional newspapers include new digital ones that report on all topics, most notably *Diarilaveu.cat*, funded with Valencian corporate capital and founded by Moisès Vizcaino in 2013 under the title *La Veu del País Valencià*, whose first period ended in 2016. It was the first publication in Catalan that managed to report news from the entire Valencian Country every day. On 5 April 2017, it was revived and began to be published under the title *Diari La Veu*. In 2019, it closed due an unsustainable economic situation. Throughout its lifetime, it promoted the different sections *PilotaVeu*, *AulaVeu* and *CulturaVeu*. The publication of the newspaper, renamed *Diarilaveu.cat*, was relaunched in April 2022. It currently keeps running the specialised websites *Laveudelsllibres.cat* and *Nosaltreslaveu.cat* on social activism and analysis (Vizcaino, 2022: 30-33).

Likewise, there are nineteen local digital newspapers in the local language in the cities of Castellón, Valencia and Alicante and in the capitals of the Catalan-speaking counties.

Additionally, 30 county and supra-county newspapers are published, which reach 20 counties. The counties with the most titles are Alcoià, Comtat, Ribera Alta, Ribera Baixa, Costera, Vall d'Albaida, Safor, Marina Alta, Horta, Ports, Alt Maestrat, Baix Maestrat, Plana Alta and Plana Baixa. Examples include València Extra, Comarquesnord.es, Eldiari.online, Castelloextra.com, Hortanoticias.com in Valencian, Tucomarca.com in Valencian, Diariodealicante.net/val, Les-muntanyes.com, Infoniu.es and Aramultimedia.com.

Despite this vitality, the audience shares of the Catalan-language digital media are quite low compared to their Spanish-language counterparts (Table 5). In September 2023, OJD Interactiva recorded 85 digital media in the Valencian Country, 46 of which (54.1%) were in Spanish and 39 (45.8%) in Catalan, the vast majority being newspapers. Together they had 20,469 unique users, 19,440 (94.97%) of whom accessed the cybermedia in Spanish, while 1,029 visited online media in Valencian, which accounted for a tiny 5.02% of the total audience. Taken together, the main Spanish-language digital newspapers have 19.5 times more unique visitors than the top ten in Valencian.

TABLE 5

Audience of the 10 digital newspapers in Spanish and Catalan with the largest readership in the Valencian Country (September 2023)

Digital newspapers in Spanish		Digital newspapers in Valencian	
Title	Unique users	Title	Unique users
Levante-EMV.com	9,378,847	Valenciaextra.com	409,799
Elperiodicomediterraneo.com	3,430,410	Actualitatvalenciana.com/ca	96,362
Valenciaplaza.com	1,737,603	Diarilaveu.cat	89,941
Diario.es/comunitat-valenciana	1,189,375	Eltemps.cat	59,558
Elperiodic.com	719,136	Diaridelmaestrat	59,352
Alicantepiazza.com	687,675	Valenciadiari.com	41,443
Castellonplaza.com	289,314	Comarcalcv.com	38,721
Lamarinaplaza.com	222,668	E6d.es	33,821
DiarisigloXXI.com	208,366	Diaridigital.es	20,247
Denia.com	147,676	Castellonoticias.com	19,728
Total	17,010,768		868,972

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on data from OJD Interactiva: Digital media in the Valencian Community.

7. Funding for the use of the language in the media

In the Valencian Country, there has been a fluctuating policy of economic assistance to foster the use of Catalan in the private media. Between 1986 and 1995, 102 million pesetas (€613,032) were granted for the use of Valencian in the press and radio (Xambó, 2001). In 1996, the PP government cancelled these subsidies, but in 2005 the AVL restored them and awarded a total of €583,000 between 2005 and 2017. This was joined by the annual contributions to the digital version of Europa Press in Valencian. Indeed, between 1986 and 2015, the Valencian Country was the autonomous community whose local language was not Spanish which had the fewest subsidies for its local language, far behind Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia and the Balearic Islands (Martínez Sanchis, 2010a: 84-85 and 117-122).

The situation changed for the better with the “Botànic” coalition government from 2016 to 2023. During that period, the Valencian Ministry of Education awarded a total of €15,461,743. Likewise, from 2017 to 2023, the AVL awarded €290,000 in funding for local and county press and radio. The grants from the Valencian Ministry of Education were divided into two groups: Programme A for media wholly in Catalan and Programme B for media partly in Catalan. These grants encouraged the Spanish-language media to use Catalan more. However, the distribution system favoured Spanish-language media because they have larger audiences, which has been the source of criticism from some editors who accuse the Valencian Government of discriminating against the local language. In fact, in 2023, the total of €2,279,999 was divided into €1,171,299 (86.5%) for media partly in Catalan and €308,700 (13.5%) for media wholly in Catalan.

Despite the criticism, the funding for Spanish-language media in Programme B increased the presence of Catalan in the regional media and the state-wide media with regional editions. This includes newspapers that publish supplements or daily sections in Catalan, such as *Levante-EMV* with the *Panorama* culture section, the weekly education supplement *Aula*, pages devoted to Valencian *pilota* (a handball sport), the *Lletraferit* cultural section of *Valencia Plaza* and the supplements *Quadern* in *Mediterráneo* and *Arts* in *El Mundo-CV*. Likewise, much of the Spanish-language county press offers digital versions in Catalan, like *Loclar* and *El Periòdic d'Ontinyent* in Vall d'Albaida, *El Nostre Ciutat* in Alcoià and Comtat and *Tu comarca.com* in Bunyol. Furthermore, there are around a dozen local titles that publish a good number of contents in Catalan, such as the group *El Periódico de Aquí* and *El Meridiano* in Horta.

There are also audiovisual media with programmes in Catalan, especially on culture, festivals and farming, including Cadena SER in its local editions in Vinaròs, Castellón, Xàtiva and Ontinyent, and COPE in its editions in Alcoi, Gandia, Alzira and Sagunt, as well as Levante TV and 7TeleValencia.

Institutional funding has contributed to the use of Catalan in Valencian society but has not managed to pull the Catalan-language media out of their marginality.

8. Use of the language in news and advertising

We want to mention the study entitled *Ús de les llengües en els mitjans de comunicació de la Comunitat Valenciana, 2023* (Use of languages in the Valencian Community's communication media, 2023), published by the Government of Valencia shortly before the last regional elections. Conducted by Investratègia, the study analyses a survey of media directors and editors at 519 general and thematic media outlets (55.3% radio stations, 31.4% digital newspapers, 5.2% printed newspapers and 8.1% TV stations), while also observing the languages used in news, programmes and advertising in the traditional edition of each medium. The fieldwork was conducted from 22 March to 5 April 2023. The report reveals the unquestionable predominance of Spanish. In fact, the local language only appears in 22.9% of the news, 26.8% of the radio and TV programmes, 13.5% of the advertising paid for by customers and 14.7% of the media's own advertising. However, the use of Catalan is higher in the digital media, reaching 26% in the news and 20.3% in the media's own advertising.

Likewise, the study situates the radio audience in Valencian at 3%. Furthermore, the radio stations play more music in foreign languages (52.1%) than in the two official languages of the Valencian Country. Music in Catalan only has a paltry 3.3% share.

9. Catalan in the Valencian social media

The study entitled *Xifres sobre els continguts en valencià a les xarxes socials (2022-2023)* (Figures on the contents in Valencian on social media, 2022-2023) by Aitor Muñoz Hortelano analyses the follower, views and content bases of content creators registered on the Poblet.info website, created specifically to view everyone who generates Valencian-language contents on the social media, in August 2022 and 2023. In 2023, Poblet.info had 230 registered creators.

The results are as follows. The videos with the most visits on YouTube are learning videos. Aina Monferrer's channel has done particularly well, going from 838,025 to 1,114,015 visits thanks to 210 language learning videos. Channels like Patà i Avant, Home Roig i Gos Pelut and Alvamoll7 are the most active on the platform.

Instagram is one of the most active media. In August 2023, there were 518,664 followers and 39,860 posts among the 69 registered accounts. Cabrafotuda was the most popular, with more than 100,000 followers, with tres.voltes.rebel and larutadelsesmorzars in second and third place, respectively. The account with the most posts is musicaenvalencia.

TikTok has 40 accounts that have a total of 470,769 followers and 12,868,522 likes. Cabrafotuda is once again the most popular account on this platform, with 213,000 followers, followed by Apitxat with 85,800 followers and alegriadepoble with 44,500. Other prominent creators are ginamartiinez, mariamandarinaa and lsquad_elpiset. The growth in the number of TikTok

followers is similar to that of Instagram, given that many creators post the same content on both platforms.

Twitch, the streaming platform par excellence, is the one with the lowest consumption rate and the fewest creators: 32 channels were registered in 2023, with a total of 11,227 followers, but fewer than ten of them posted content regularly. TeteJunior, Simmer_Valenciana, BesugoXavier and Nosekefik are the most constant creators. Finally, podcasts are the format that has grown the most, with conversational contents being the most common. In August 2023, 58 podcasts were registered on Poblet.info. Club Babalà and Agres i Dolces are two good examples.

In short, Aitor Muñoz concludes that even though few people create content in Catalan on the social media, there is moderate growth, especially on TikTok and Instagram, as well as in podcasts. However, he notes that Catalan is suffering from discrimination, given both the platforms' algorithms and the self-hatred shown by so many Valencians when communicating in these spaces, where they choose to use more global languages.

10. Conclusions

The Statute of Autonomy and the LUEV have not managed to overcome centuries of media Castilianisation or develop influential mass communication media in Catalan – but from a Valencian standpoint – which can gather large audiences capable of articulating a collective identity rooted in the unique features of the Valencian people. The media market is characterised by an amalgam of small news media or specialised media with modest, fragmented audiences which have contributed to restoring the local language, yet none of them is able to attract a massive, heterogenous audience today. What is more, if we exclude À Punt, the presence of the media in Valencian is largely imperceptible by the majority of the Valencian people, since they are limited to the local and county spheres.

Even though the situation today is better than it was in 1976, the media in Valencian have come upon many political and economic barriers. The Government of Valencia has not truly striven to foster a solid, local, Valencianist media system. Its media policy regarding the language has basically focused on developing regional radio and TV – with many shortcomings – and granting subsidies to private media that use the language. The rest has been left in the hands of the market laws and audiovisual legislation set by Spain, which benefit Spanish-language media. Furthermore, few Valencian businesses invest in media in the local language, and the Valencian Government provides no facilities for doing so. Based on the Spanish legislative framework, the regional government has contributed to the Castilianisation of the Valencian audiovisual space by assigning local FM radio and DTT licenses to large state-wide Spanish-language media groups. This is coupled with Madrid preventing – with the regional government's meek acceptance – the creation of a Catalan media space through the open reciprocity of public audiovisual media from Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Country.

External dependency is also palpable in the press, a sector where Spanish-language newspapers with a provincial readership prevail. With a media ecosystem like this one, bereft of a voice of its own and independent of the political and media debates in Madrid, the Valencian identity with Catalan linguistic roots is blurring, and in some counties and cities it is virtually invisible.

The political conflict over the language – systematically stoked by the forces on the right – is perpetuating the diglossia that the language is suffering from, which strips it of social prestige. Likewise, feeding the secessionism and linguistic isolationism of Valencian from the other Catalan-speaking communities weakens the language, which, we must recall, is minoritised and needs special protection. Taking Valencian out of political clashes is essential to the language's survival. There is a need to create a solid, active language policy based on consensus and shielded from political winds.

Moreover, the Valencian Government has to set clear legal and political criteria to mitigate the media dependency on Spanish, while establishing a favourable framework for operators and companies that use the local language. If this language is not considered useful by the political powers-that-be, the people will be unable to see it as useful or prestigious. If we do not bring the language back from the brink of marginality, we may never change its difficult status of being on the verge of disappearance. We Valencians are facing the challenge of saving our language and creating our own cultural and media market.

11. Appendix

TABLE 6

Evolution of the knowledge and use of Catalan (%) in the Valencian Country as a whole (areas where both Valencian Catalan and Spanish are linguistically dominant) (1992-2021)

1992	2005	2010	2015	2021	Difference 2021-1992
Understands Valencian Catalan fairly well or perfectly (%)					
83.2	73.3	68.8	72.4	75.8	-7.4
Knows how to speak Valencian Catalan fairly well or perfectly (%)					
61.1	52.1	48.5	50.9	50.6	-10.5
Knows how to read Valencian Catalan fairly well or perfectly (%)					
43.6	50.8	45.3	52.9	57.2	+13.6
Knows how to write Valencian Catalan fairly well or perfectly (%)					
15.8	29.8	26.4	34.7	40.8	+25

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on the surveys of the Valencian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.

TABLE 7

Evolution of the knowledge of Catalan (%) in the Catalan-speaking area (1992-2021)

1992	2005	2010	2015	2021	Difference 2021-1992
Understands Valencian Catalan fairly well or perfectly (%)					
90.5	78.1	74.4	77.6	79.4	-11.1
Knows how to speak Valencian Catalan fairly well or perfectly (%)					
67.5	57.4	57.3	56.4	54.9	-12.6
Knows how to read Valencian Catalan fairly well or perfectly (%)					
47.8	54.8	50	57.2	60.9	+13.1
Knows how to write Valencian Catalan fairly well or perfectly (%)					
16.7	32.4	29.5	38.3	44.4	+27.7

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on the survey on knowledge and social use of Valencian, Valencian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport).

TABLE 8

Knowledge of Catalan by region (%) in the Catalan-speaking area (2021) (understands, speaks, reads and writes fairly well or perfectly)

Region	Understands	Speaks	Reads	Writes
Region of Alicante	68.5	36.4	46.9	32.8
Region of Alcoi-Gandia	79.4	68.1	67.5	55.5
City of Valencia and metropolitan area	80.7	51.1	59.6	40.5
Region of Valencia	88.7	71.1	74.9	57.8
Region of Castellón	83.3	64.9	65.3	50.2

Region of Alicante: counties of Baix Vinalopó, Alacantí, Valls del Vinalopó and Marina Baixa.

Region of Alcoi-Gandia: counties of Marina Alta, Comtat, Alcoià, Vall d'Albaida and Safor.

Region of Valencia: counties of Ribera Alta and Ribera Baixa, Costera, Camp de Túria and Camp de Morvedre.

Region of Castellón: counties of Plana Alta, Plana Baixa, Alcala'tem, Ports, Alt Maestrat and Baix Maestrat.

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on the survey on knowledge and social use of Valencian, 2021, Valencian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.

TABLE 9

Valencian press in Catalan (1983)

Culture, politics, religion <i>Saó</i> (Valencia)	Culture, heritage, local traditions <i>Buris-ana</i> (Borriana) <i>Raons</i> (Picassent) <i>Acció Cultural del País Valencià</i> (Valencia) <i>Ullal</i> (Xeraco) <i>Llum i Claredat</i> (Quart de Poblet) <i>El Crit del Palleter</i> (Catarroja)	Literary magazines <i>Lletres de canvi</i> (Valencia) <i>Raval de Lletres</i> (Benicarló)
Culture and thought <i>L'Espill</i> (Valencia)		Energy <i>Indicadors de Conjuntura</i> (Valencia)
Local and county information <i>El Diariet de Traiguera</i> <i>La Veu de Lliria</i> <i>Vinaròs-El Diariet</i> <i>Generalitat</i> (Valencia) <i>L'Alcora Avui</i> <i>La Veu de Xàtiva</i>	Satirical magazines <i>L'Encarnella</i> (Elx) <i>El Pardalot Engabiati</i> (Valencia)	Politics <i>Lluita</i> (Barcelona-Valencia) <i>Som</i> (Valencia)
Education <i>Allioli</i> (Valencia)		Agriculture <i>Camp Valencià</i> (Valencia)

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on Martínez Sanchis (2016).

TABLE 10

Cybermedia in Catalan (hybrid and native) (2011)

Digital press		Radio		TV	
General regional news	5	Public regional	2	Public regional	2
General local or county news	21	Municipal stations	20	Private regional	2
Specialised press	11	Cultural	3	Local municipal	6
Citizen publications	9	Private	1	Local private	5
Municipal newsletter	1	University	1		
	47		27		15
Total	89				

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on Martínez Sanchis (2013).

TABLE 11

Media in Catalan that closed in the Valencian Country between 2008 and 2015

TV	Radio	Cybermedia
RTVV Group		L'Informatiu.com
Canal 9	Ràdio 9	Edeta.cat
Punt 2	Sí Ràdio	Pàgina 26
		Vinaros.net
Catalan Audiovisual Media Corporation		Bondiatorrent.com
TV3 i Canal 33	Catalunya Ràdio	Indymedia La Plana
		Laveudelaribera.com
Local broadcasters		VilaWeb newsrooms in Castellón, Benicàssim, Gandia, Meliana, El Campello and Alicante
InfoTV	Aldaia Ràdio	
Gandia TV	Sedaví Ràdio	
Tele Carlet	Radio Sol ²	
TV Puçol		
Tele Cullera		
TV Ontinyent ¹		
Printed press		
News press	Specialised magazines	
<i>L'Avanç</i> (Valencia)	<i>La Casa Verda</i> (AE-Agró)	<i>L'Accent</i>
<i>El Punt Avui-PV</i> (paper) ³	<i>Silenci</i> (Horta)	@alter.cat
<i>El Cresol</i> (Horta Nord)	<i>Eines</i> (Valencia)	<i>Brúixola</i> (Valencia)
<i>Crònica</i> (Ontinyent)	<i>Nou Dise</i> (Universitat València)	<i>Papers d'Ecologia i Medi Ambient</i>
<i>Papers de l'Horta</i>	<i>Camp Verd</i> (Unió de Llauradors)	<i>La Cabota</i>
<i>Quinze Dies</i> (Safor)	<i>La Roda del Temps</i> (Horta)	<i>El Metropolità</i> (Valencia)
<i>La Chicharra</i> (Sueca)	<i>Cendra</i> (Valencia)	<i>Pensat i Fet</i> (Edicions del PV)
<i>L'Expressió de la Ribera</i>		<i>El Brillantet</i> (Benissa)
<i>Horta al Dia</i>		<i>Cadafal</i> (Vila-real)

1 and 2. Public broadcasters that closed and reopened after the 2015 municipal elections.

3. The local monthlies of *El Punt* in Alaquàs, Aldaia, Castelló de la Ribera, Silla and Montserrat also closed.

SOURCE: Prepared by the author.

TABLE 12

Place where news media in Catalan are published/issued by geographic regions within the area of Valencian Catalan linguistic dominance (2023)

Place	Paper press	Radio	TV	Digital media	News agencies	Total	%
Region of Alicante	–	1	–	1	–	2	1.2
Region of Alcoi-Gandia	8	8	9	6	–	31	18.9
City of Valencia and metropolitan area	5	9	9	16	1	40	24.4
Region of Valencia	8	11	7	20	–	46	28
Region of Castellón	6	8	8	18	–	40	24.4
Outside Valencia	1	–	–	4	–	5	3.1
Total	28	37	33	65	1	164	100

SOURCE: Prepared by the author.

TABLE 13

Valencian magazines in Catalan specialised in different topics (2023)

Printed magazines

Regional/national culture, language and thought

L'Espill, Caplletra, Arxius de Ciències Socials, Debats, Lletraferit

Local and county culture

Buris-ana, Bastida, El Tempir, Espai Carraixet, La Falzia, Bresca, Dau al Deu, Traiguera, Tossal Gros, El Llombo, La Pedralta, Benimaclet-Entra, La Fontanella Costur, Memòria Viva de Barxeta, Mainhardt, L'Escudella, Vila de Càlig, Tossal, Plaerdemavida, Almaig, Aigua Clara (Benassal), Quaderns del Museu de Xàbia

Literature and books

Caràcters, Llavors, L'Illa, L'Aiguadolç, Solcant les Lletres

Science

Mètode

Festivals and traditions

Revista d'Estudis Fallers, La Traca, Cendra, L'Amfibi

Performing arts

Eq'iliquà, TEA 3. Revista dels Teatre

Associationism

Papers Associatius de l'Horta Sud

Comics

Camacuc, Xiulit

Education

Allioli (STPV-Intersindical Valenciana) Sembra (Federació Escola Valenciana) El Full (La Nostra Escola Comarcal)

Maths

Problemes Olímpics

Music

Caramella, A Contratemp, Notícies Musicals, Sons de Xaloc

Photography

Magazín Fotogràfic

Young people

Comunica't

Entertainment and leisure

Estil (Sueca)

Religion

Cresol, La Fulla de l'Olivar

Hiking and environment

Centre Excursionista de la Serra d'Espadà, Camp de l'Espadar (Castellón)

Economics and business

Empal (Algemesí)

History

Afers

Digital magazines

Culture, science and society

*Tempsarts.cat [El Temps de les Arts]
El Butlletí Electrònic d'Acció Cultural del PV
Laveudelsllibres.cat
Nosaltreslaveu.cat
Pilotaviu.com
Aulacodi.cat, Escenacultural.net
Gargots (gargotsrevistaliteraria.blogspot.com/)
Lesbandesdemusica.com
Tresdeu.com
Afandeplan.com*

Environment

Samarucdigital.com

Health and food

Criar.cat

Sport

*Pilotaviu.com
Blanquinegres.com (València CF)*

Meteorology

Oratgenet.com

SOURCES: Prepared by the author based on the resolutions of the Valencian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport and agreements of the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (Valencian Language Academy) on the subsidies granted to foster Valencian in the media, 2016-2023, and the data of OJD Interactiva on the digital media in the Valencian Community.

TABLE 14

TV broadcasters in Catalan in the Valencian Country (2023)

Digital terrestrial television	Online TV
Regional À Punt TV (DTT)	Regional Apuntmedia.es À Punt Global Bon Dia TV
County DTT TVCS Els Ports Nord TV (Morella) Maestrat TV (Vinaròs) TVCS Maestrat Canal 56 TDT (Maestrat) TEVE4 (counties of Castellón) TVCS Castelló València Televisió Horta Televisió Televisió Comarcal Gandia Ribera Televisió Cullera TV Berca TV (Algemesí) Sueca TV Tele Safor Televisió Comarcal Xàtiva-Ontinyent Televisió Comarcal Televisió Televisió Comarcal d'Alcoi (Alcoià and Comtat) Televisió Comarcal Dénia	Local and county-wide Canal56.com/online Televisiódigitalontinyent.com Comarcal.tv Telepobla.tv (Pobla de Vallbona) L'Elianatv.com TV-A.es (Alcoià and Comtat) Ribarroja.es/ayuntamiento/tv_riba_roja
	Sport Proximiatv.es (Valencian <i>pilota</i>) Pilotavalenciana.tv/ca
	University Mediauni.uv.es/uvtv/tv (Universitat de València)

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on the resolutions of the Valencian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport and agreements of the AVL on the subsidies granted to foster Valencian in the media. 2016-2023; Xarxa d'Emissores Municipals Valencianes (Network of Valencian Municipal Broadcasters, XEMV).

TABLE 15

Digital newspapers in Catalan in the Valencian Country (2023)

Digital with regional content	
Daily newspapers Diarilaveu.cat Elperiodic.com/val Noticiescomunitat.com Valenciadiari.com Valencianoticies.com Duoticies.com Diarilaterreta.com Comunitatdiari.com Diarimillars.es	History and local magazines Eltemps.cat Revistasao.cat
	News agency Europapress.es/comunitat-valenciana (in Valencian Catalan)
	Regional editions of outside digital newspapers VilaWeb (Valencian Country edition) Ara.cat-paisvalencià Directa.cat-portada-pais-valencia El Punt-Avui-País Valencià

TABLE 15

Digital newspapers in Catalan in the Valencian Country (2023) (*Continued*)**Digital newspapers with county or supra-county contents****Local newspapers**

Comarquesnord.es
 Eldiari.online
 7diesactualitat.com
 Diaridelmaestrat.com
 Diadia.cat
 Diaridebenicassim.com
 NotíciesCanal56.com
 Revistapoble.net
 Hortanoticias.com/valencià
 Actualidadvalencia.com/ca

 Grup València Extra [Valenciaextra.com, Castellóextra.com and Alacantextra.com]
 Infoturria.com
 Elperiodicvalencià.com
 Lexpressio.es
 Riberaexpress.es
 E6d.es – El Sis Doble
 Riberaabaixa.info
 Cronica.es
 Diariserpis.com
 Infoniu.es
 Periodiccontinyent.com/va
 Loclar.es/valencià
 Diaridigital.es
 Aramultimedia.com
 Elnostreciutat.com/val
 Lesmuntanyes.com
 Noticiasmarinaalta.es

 Diariodealicante.net/val
 Tucomarca.com/valencià

Counties with news coverage

Ports, Alt Maestrat and Baix Maestrat
 Ports, Alt Maestrat, Baix Maestrat and Montsià
 Alt Maestrat and Baix Maestrat
 Alt Maestrat and Baix Maestrat
 Alt Maestrat and Ports
 Plana Alta, Plana Baixa and Alcalatem
 Alt Maestrat and Baix Maestrat
 Vila-real and Castellón province
 Horta Nord and Horta Sud
 València, Paterna, Torrent, Sagunt, Alzira, Mislata, Burjassot and Ontinyent
 Main counties and cities in the Valencian Country

 Camp de Túria
 Horta Nord, Horta Sud, Ribera Alta and Ribera Baixa
 Ribera Alta, Ribera Baixa and Safor
 Ribera Alta
 Ribera Alta and Ribera Baixa
 Ribera Baixa
 Ribera Alta and Ribera Baixa
 Safor
 Safor, Ribera Alta, Ribera Baixa, Vall d'Albaida, Costera and Alcoià and Comtat
 Vall d'Albaida
 Vall d'Albaida
 Costera and Canal de Navarrés
 Alcoià and Comtat
 Alcoi, Alcoià and Comtat
 Alcoià and Comtat, Vall d'Albaida, Safor, Costera, Marina Marina Alta (digital *Canfali* in Valencian Catalan)
 Alacantí, Baix Vinalopó, Marina Baixa
 Camp de Túria, Ribera Alta, Ribera Baixa, Costera, Hoya de Buñol, Canal de Navarrés, Rincón de Ademuz, Requena-Utiel, Los Serranos and Valle de Ayora-Cofrentes

Local digital with local contents

Vinarosnews.net	Benimacletentra.org	Annanoticias.com
Laveudebenicarlo.info	Laopiniondetorrent.es/valencià	Suhecapiuntcom.com
Revistapoble.net (Vila-real)	Laveudelliria.com	Algemesialdia.com
Castellonoticias.com	Betera.com	Portaldexativa.es
Vila-realinformacio.com	Laveudalginet.es	Infobenissa.com
Castello24.com	Laveudalgemesi.es	Denia.com
Actualitatdiaria.com (Castellón)		

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on the resolutions of the Valencian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport on the subsidies granted to foster Valencian.

TABLE 16

Subsidies of the Valencian Government to foster Valencian in the media (2016-2023)

Directorate-General of Language Policy and Management of Multilingualism		Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (Valencian Language Academy)	
Year	Total amount in €	Year	Total amount in €
2016	2,181,745	2017	30,000
2017	2,850,000	2018	35,000
2018	2,400,000	2019	35,000
2021	2,850,000	2020	45,000
2022	2,899,999	2021	45,000
2023	2,279,999	2022	50,000
		2023	50,000
Total	€15,461,743		€290,000

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on the resolutions on subsidies of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Universities and Employment and the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (Valencian Language Academy).

References

- ALTARRIBA FIGUILLEM, Laia (2010). "La TDT local als Països Catalans: una oportunitat perduda per millorar la vertebració de l'espai català de comunicació". *Mèdia.cat* [online] <https://www.media.cat/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Informe_Mediacat_TDT.pdf> [Retrieved: 16 August 2024].
- (2017). *Tu, jo, nosaltres. Jornada, fem possible un nou diari*. [Jornada, SCCL]
- ASSOCIACIÓ DE MITJANS D'INFORMACIÓ I COMUNICACIÓ (AMIC) (2017). *Rànquing de mitjans de comunicació digitals en català (Dades OJD Interactiva)*. Barcelona: Associació de Mitjans d'Informació i Comunicació.
- BADOQUE ARIBAS, Anselm (2009). *La política lingüística dels governs valencians (1983-2008): Estudi de les polítiques públiques*. València: Universitat de València.
- BARLOVENTO COMUNICACIÓN (2022). *Análisis de la industria televisiva-audiovisual 2022*. Barlovento Comunicación [online]. Madrid: <https://www.cineytele.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Informe-anual-2022_Barlovento-Comunicacion.pdf> [Retrieved: 7 August 2024].
- CANET, Vicent (2023). "Govern PP-Vox al País Valencià: prova de foc per À Punt?". *MediaCat.cat* [online]. <<https://www.media.cat/2023/07/10/govern-pp-vox-al-pais-valencia-prova-de-foc-per-a-punt/>> [Retrieved: 28 July 2024].
- CERDÀ, Paco (2010). "La TDT apaga el valencià". *Levante-EMV* [online] <<https://www.levante-emv.com/cultura/panorama/2010/04/01/tdt-apaga-valencia-13158151.html>> [Retrieved: 7 August 2024].
- CRESPO, Javier [et al.] (1987). *La informació a la Comunitat Valenciana*. València: Generalitat Valenciana. Direcció General de Mitjans de Comunicació Social.
- DÍAZ NOCI, Javier (ed.) (2009). *Kazetaritza hizkuntza minorizatueta: Espainiako kasua*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.
- "El Gobierno de Fabra dejó adjudicadas 42 TDT a dos días de la llegada de Puig". *Levante-EMV* [online] (2015). <<https://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2015/11/13/gobierno-fabra-dejo-adjudicadas-42-12500661.html>> [Retrieved: 7 August 2024].

- “El valencià, novament relegat de les ajudes públiques als mitjans de comunicació”. *Diari La Veu* [online]. <<https://www.diarilaveu.cat/llengua/el-valencia-novament-relegat-de-les-ajudes-publicques-als-mitjans-de-comunicacio-109024/>> [Retrieved: 10 September 2024].
- FIGUERES, Josep M.; MURCIANO, Marcial; OLIVA DE LA ESPERANZA, Llúcia; SÁEZ CASAS, Albert; DOMINGO, David; ESTEVE, Antoni; DELGADO, Matilda; XAMBÓ, Rafael (2002). *El català en els mitjans de comunicació: Situació actual i perspectives*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana de Comunicació. [Direction: Josep Maria Martí]
- GIFREU, Josep (2014). *El català a l'espai de comunicació*. Bellaterra: Universitat de Barcelona; Castellón de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I; Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra; Valencia: Universitat de València.
- KUCUKALIC, Esma; TORREMOCHA, Fulgencio (2016). *Crisi al sector dels periodistes i periodistes gràfics a la Comunitat Valenciana (2007-2016)*. Valencia: Unió de Periodistes Valencians.
- LIDÓN, Inma (2018). “Las emisoras municipales podrán emitir informativos de À Punt”. *El Mundo-CV* [online]. <<https://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2018/07/29/5b5c9a31e2704ea3618b4648.html>> [Retrieved: 10 September 2024].
- LÓPEZ GARCÍA, Guillermo (ed.) (2010). *El ecosistema comunicativo valenciano: Características y tendencias en la primera década del siglo XXI*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanc.
- (2013). *Cibercomunidad: El espacio de la comunicación digital en la Comunidad Valenciana*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanc.
- (2019). *La comunicació a la Comunitat Valenciana (2010-2018)*. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim - Centre Valencià d'Estudis i Investigació.
- LÓPEZ OLANO, Carlos (2018). *RTVV: Paradigma de la triple crisis de las televisiones públicas*. Valencia: Tirant Humanidades.
- MARTÍNEZ GALLEGU, Francesc-Andreu (2008). *La gran historia de la Comunitat Valenciana*. Vol. 10. *La democràcia reconquistada: de la Transició a la normalització democràtica (1975-2008)*. Valencia: Prensa Valenciana. [Directed by Francesc-Andreu Martínez Gallegu and Antonio Laguna Platero]
- MARTÍNEZ SANCHIS, Francesc (2009). “El periodisme valencià en llengua catalana”. In DÍAZ NOCI, Javier (coord.). *Kazetaritza hizkuntza minorizatueta: Espainiako kasua*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, pp. 555-584.
- (2010a). *Periodisme contra les cordes: El valencià en els mitjans de comunicació*. Paiporta: Denes.
- (2010b). *Periodisme local i comarcal: La comunicació valenciana de proximitat*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València.
- (2010c). “La informació de proximitat del País Valencià en l'àmbit dels territoris de llengua catalana”. XAMBÓ, Rafael (ed.). *Monogràfic Arxius de Ciències Socials*, No. 23: *Sociologia dels mèdia al País Valencià* [online], pp. 37-57. <https://www.uv.es/~sociolog/arxius/arxius_23.html> [Retrieved: 22 August 2024]. [Edited by Rafael Xambó]
- (2013). “Els cibermitjans en valencià”. In LÓPEZ GARCÍA, Guillermo (ed.). *Cibercomunidad: El espacio de la comunicación digital en la Comunidad Valenciana*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanc, pp. 103-123.
- (2016). *Prensa valencianista. Repressió, resistència cultural i represa democràtica (1959-1987)*. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; Castellón de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I; Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra; Valencia: Universitat de València.
- (2019). “Comunicació en valencià: mitjans i mercat”. In LÓPEZ GARCÍA, Guillermo (ed.). *La comunicació a la Comunitat Valenciana (2010-2018): Crisi i canvi*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, pp. 85-112.
- MARZAL FELICI, Javier; BAS PORTERO, Juan José; CASERO-RIPOLLES, Andreu; FRANCÈS DOMÈNECH, Miquel; GOMEZ-MOMPART, Josep-Lluís (2015). *Bases per a la renovació de l'espai comunicatiu valencià i la restitució del servei públic de radiotelevisió* [online]. Societat Cooperativa Catalana Limitada, SCCL. <<https://repositori.uji.es/items/350738a4-8e81-4ec4-a8cd-fbb82c62d461>> [Retrieved: 5 August 2024].
- MORENO, Claudio (2022). “La radio de À Punt celebra cinco años en antena con el crecimiento de sus oyentes”. *Levante-EMV* [online]. <<https://www.levante-emv.com/ocio/tv/2022/12/21/radio-punt-celebra-quinto-aniversario-80230288.html>> [Retrieved: 5 August 2024].

- MOYANO, Sergio (2023). "RTVV recupera la primera emissió en valencià de la televisió". *RTVE-CV* [online]. <<https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20231010/rtve-recupera-primer-emissio-valencia-televisio/2457964.shtml>> [Retrieved: 25 September 2024].
- MUÑOZ HORTELANO, Aitor (2023). "Xifres sobre els continguts en valencià a les xarxes socials (2022-2023): Anàlisi estadístic dels continguts creats en llengua valenciana pels creadors de les xarxes socials registrats a Poblet.info". *Poblet.info* [online]. <<https://poblet.info/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Xifres-sobre-els-continguts-en-valencia-a-les-xarxes-socials-2022-2023-Poblet.pdf>> [Retrieved: 9 September 2024].
- PEIDRO, Luis (2022). "Informar en valencià en temps difícils". *Saó*, 483; *La premsa d'informació en valencià*, pp. 38-40.
- TENA, Violeta (2024). "Què canvia amb la nova llei d'À Punt?". *El Temps* [online]. <<https://www.eltmps.cat/article/60721/que-canvia-amb-la-nova-lei-da-punt>> [Retrieved: 28 August 2024].
- VALLÈS, Ismael (2000). "Nacionalismes al País Valencià: una proposta de tipologies des de la geografia política". *Quaderns de Geografia*, 67-68, pp. 219-240.
- VIZCAINO, Moisès (2022). "Com fer premsa en valencià i no morir en l'intent. *La Veu del País Valencià*, el diari que sobreviu des de 2013". *Saó*, 483, pp. 30-33.
- XAMBÓ, Rafael (2001). *Comunicació, política i societat: El cas valencià*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre.
- XAMBÓ, Rafael (ed.) (2002). "El cas del País Valencià". In *El català als mitjans de comunicació: Situació actual i perspectives*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Societat Catalana de Comunicació, pp. 189-220.
- (2010). *Monogràfic Arxius de Ciències Socials*, No. 23: *Sociologia dels mèdia al País Valencià* [online]. <https://www.uv.es/~sociolog/arxius/arxius_23.html>.