

MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE JOURNALISM IN SOUTHERN SPAIN

Más de 120 años de prensa en lengua inglesa en el sur de España

Recibido 23-9-2024

Aceptado 29-11-2024

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RESUMEN Este artículo estudia la evolución histórica de la prensa en lengua inglesa en Málaga y la Costa del Sol desde sus orígenes, en esta zona del sur de España, hasta la actualidad, al tiempo que establece las principales etapas de su desarrollo y señala sus principales características. También se destacan los factores que permitieron el nacimiento y posterior desarrollo de este fenómeno mediático, ligado a la presencia de comunidades estables de residentes británicos y de otros países europeos y de fuera de Europa, en un contexto social y culturalmente permeable. También describe las características de la estructura de este sistema mediático y sus principales referencias periodísticas.

PALABRAS CLAVE Periodismo, Inglés, Residentes, Reino Unido, Málaga.

ABSTRACT This article examines the historical evolution of the English-language press in Málaga and the Costa del Sol, tracing its origins in this region of southern Spain to the present day. It identifies the key stages of its development and highlights its defining characteristics. The study underscores the factors that facilitated the emergence and growth of this media phenomenon, which is closely tied to the presence of stable communities of British residents and expatriates from other European and non-European countries, within a socially and culturally permeable environment. Additionally, this research outlines the structural features of this media system and its principal journalistic benchmarks.

KEYWORDS Journalism, English, residents, United Kingdom, Malaga.

Como citar este artículo:

GARCÍA GALINDO, J. A., LÓPEZ ROMERO, L. y NOVAS MARTÍN, G. (2024): "More than One Hundred Years of English-Language Journalism in Southern Spain", en *Revista Internacional de Historia de la Comunicación*, (23), pp. 125-141. <https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/RIHC.2024.i23.08>

1. Introduction

Throughout human history, migratory processes have been instrumental in the creation of multicultural societies around the world. Wars, exile, political and economic crises, as well as social and cultural factors, have played a decisive role in shaping the demographics of contemporary societies. The settlement of foreign communities in territories historically not their own led to the need for new media and communicative structures aimed at these populations. Given their lack of proficiency in the language of the host country, these communities required such vehicles not only as bridges to help them navigate and understand their new environment (Zubrzycki, 1958; Matsaganis, Katz & Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Peña, 2018), but also as tools to unify and forge shared identities within and between communities (García Galindo, 2009; Deuze, 2006; Doshi & Saleem, 2017; Prévost & Dechamps, 2024).

These migratory flows, which have been a constant throughout history, were particularly significant during the 19th century, a period that coincided with the rise of the printed press, which reached its zenith with the emergence of mass media (Conboy, 2004; Bingham & Conboy, 2015). This transnational language press model began to establish itself as a distinct media category (Colligan, 2022). However, the terminology used in this field varies widely in the academic literature, with terms such as foreign-language press, ethnic press, diaspora press, immigrant press, and minority press, among others (Blau, 1998; Delacroix, 1998; Gómez-Escalonilla, 2008). All these terms reflect the existence of a form of journalism that is delocalized from the country of origin (García Galindo, 1998; González Cruz, 2003; Viçens-Pujol, 2019; Hernández; Garabedian, 2019).

In recent years, an increasing number of studies have focused on analyzing this synergy, not only from its origins in the 19th century (Richet, 2022; Cronqvist & Hilgert, 2017) but also through its evolution to the present day. Key works providing a global overview, often from a pan-European perspective and published in multiple languages, include Geitz (1992), Cooper-Richet (2020), Brake, Bell, and Finkelstein (2000), and Richet (2022). These studies also examine the continued relevance of this phenomenon today, as migratory movements remain a defining characteristic of contemporary demographic diversity.

The settlement of European populations in Spain has long been a focus of scholarly inquiry, examined from local, national, and international perspectives. In the case of Málaga, notable contributions include the works of Villar García (1982) and Krauel (1988), which focus on 18th-century Málaga, as well as more recent studies addressing the impact of mass tourism (Delgado & Sortino, 2018; Huete & Mantecón, 2010; Mazón, 2018; Rodríguez, 2018; King et al., 2000; Echezarreta, 2005; O'Reilly, 2000, 2008; Durán, 2011). Despite this, research on the foreign press published in Spain has historically been limited. However, the past few decades have witnessed a growing academic interest in this area, particularly in strategic tourist regions such as Andalusia, the Balearic Islands, the Canary Islands, the Costa Brava, and Madrid. Of particular note are the studies by González Cruz (2003), Almeida Aguiar (2004), and Yanes (2010) on the earliest English-language newspapers published in the Canary Islands. These

works provide valuable insights into the profile of British residents—primarily affluent businesspeople—and their social and informational needs during the late 19th century. Research by García Galindo (1995, 1999), Serra Busquets (2002), and López Romero (2009) has further explored the characteristics of residential tourists who migrated to Spain following the tourist boom of the 1960s.

This study focuses on southern Spain, specifically Málaga, a region notable for hosting one of the highest concentrations of foreign-language press outlets in the country (López Romero, 2009), as well as the Costa del Sol and its surrounding inland areas. The research spans over a century of English-language print media history, from 1915 to the present. By integrating existing literature with a structural analysis grounded in historical-narrative methodology, and drawing upon primary sources, this article underscores the broader significance of this media phenomenon. It traces the emergence and evolution of the English-language press in Spain within diverse historical, political, and economic contexts, emphasizing its pivotal role in Spanish society over the years.

The methodology of this research is based on primary sources. Unfortunately, no copies of the studied press are preserved in newspaper archives—except for a few exceptions—either because they were not deposited by the publishing companies or due to the limited interest of archives or libraries. Some newspaper titles from the early and mid-20th century are available in the Málaga Municipal Archive and the Málaga Provincial Library, while others, such as *Sur* in English, have their newspaper holdings available in the newspaper's own archive. Other magazines and newspapers are preserved in private collections, but these are minimal.

2. Early English-language journalistic initiatives [1915-1931]

Until researchers come up with new data, the earliest evidence of the existence of journalism aimed at the British resident community dates from 1915. During the First World War, although the colonies of foreign residents in Malaga benefited from Spain's neutrality in the conflict, they did not remain oblivious to it; on the contrary, they actively campaigned in favour of the interests of their respective countries. The colonies of the Allied countries were particularly active in Malaga. As a result of this activity, the weekly newspaper *Los Aliados* (*The Allies*), a journalistic outlet defending allied interests in Spain, was first published in 1915. Louis Lyon was the Editor-in-chief, and it was written in French, English and Spanish. For propaganda purposes, this publication was founded with a twofold aim: to defend the interests of its homeland, in this case the Allied countries, as well as those of the host country (García Galindo, 1995: 258-259). A very illustrative case is the article authored in September 1915 under the title "Allied propaganda in Spain compared to German propaganda", in which the Malaga daily complained about the superiority of German propaganda: "Our enemies are more active, more intelligent, more practical and even more... than us, since their propaganda service in

this country is superior, under all circumstances, to that of our 'French Propaganda in Spain' Committees, whose effectiveness we have never been able to appreciate" (*Los Aliados*, 11 September 1915, p.1. cited in García Galindo, 1995: 259).

Yet, as a result of the maturing of Malaga's news journalism and its being a city open to new initiatives, two projects of recognised interest emerged there aimed at the British community settled in the city. In 1926, the monthly magazine the British Colony Gazette was born, and in 1930 the Malaga-based newspaper *La Unión Mercantil* launched a weekly section written in English under the title of the 'Weekly English News'. The first of the two, in particular, helped to promote the incipient tourist activity on the southern coast of Andalusia. It received support from the Spanish Traveller Information Bureau in London (García Galindo, 1999, 2002, 2004). Written in English, it came into being with a twofold objective. On the one hand, it was aimed at advertising Malaga as a tourist destination for foreign visitors and residents and, on the other hand, it sought "to promote closer ties between the members of the British colony in Malaga" (*British Colony Gazette*, no.3, p.5, 18 August 1916). All the contents of this publication were also offered in a Spanish version, since by legal mandate it was compulsory for all articles published in a foreign language to be also translated into Spanish (López Romero & Serrano Porras, 2016: 180). Some of the sections it contained were the following: prominent personalities, letters to the editor, poems, our mailbox, our notebook, gossip column, chatting about many things, replies to correspondence, among books, etc. The gazette did not seek to address political debates or international news.

Among travellers and foreign residents in the city its British community is described by the *British Colony Gazette* in the following terms: "As the leaves begin to fall, many English people in turn begin to consider where they can seek sunshine from November to April" (*British Colony Gazette*, no.5, p.7, 21 October 1926).

Many British surnames are linked to the economy and politics of the city. In fact, the first English cemetery in Spain appeared in Malaga in 1831 thanks to the efforts of the British consul William Mark (Grice-Hutchinson, 1989).

This journalistic experience led one of the most influential local newspapers in the city, *La Unión Mercantil* (1886-1936), to offer an exclusive weekly space in English to cater for "the numerous English-speaking tourists who visit us on a regular basis as well as our guests from Britain who come to spend the winter here each year in increasingly greater numbers" (López Romero & Serrano Porras, 2016: 183).

These publications offered an interesting portrayal of the social, cultural and economic life of the British community in the city of Malaga. The correspondents from British or American media were, for the most part, the architects of these local contents, a trend that was to follow a similar path in the evolution of the English-language press in the period of the tourist boom in the 1960s and residential tourism from the 1970s onwards. An interesting example was Ernesto Yaldwyn, editor of the *British Colony Gazette*, who was also the Malaga correspondent

for The Times. He was a member of the *Círculo Inglés de Málaga* (Malaga English Circle) (García Galindo, 2011; López Romero & García Galindo, 2018: 31).

3. The 1960s and 1970s: at the dawn of a new model of information

The civil war in Spain (1936-1939), won by the dictator Francisco Franco, and the subsequent dictatorship led to the cancellation of any kind of foreign language publication, at least during the first two decades in which the country was immersed in an autarchy. In the midst of Franco's dictatorship, the English-language press once again began to publish newspapers and magazines in Malaga during the period of economic development that had been favoured by (among other factors) the emerging tourism sector of the 1950s and 1960s. Likewise, the new *Ley de Prensa* (Press Law), known as the Fraga Law, in 1966, lowered the level of censorship, allowed a climate of greater freedom and the possibility of creating new media, including foreign language media. It was at this time that the magazine *Lookout* on the Costa del Sol was born (1963-2002), one of the longest-lived examples of this type of journalism in Malaga and in Spain (García Galindo, 1998). Equally important was the appearance of the English-language *Majorca Daily Bulletin* in Mallorca in 1962, which is still active today (Serra Busquets, 2002). From the point of view of content, the magazine offered rigorous journalistic work focused on political, economic and social issues of interest to British residents living on the Costa del Sol. It was, without a doubt, an excellent reflection of the transformation of the Costa del Sol into one of the most important tourist areas on the Spanish coast (López Romero, 2009a).

As one of the most important examples in the south of Spain, it is worth highlighting some of the main characteristics that led *Lookout* to success. Between 1972 and 1995 it was under the direction of Ken Brown, a British resident in Torremolinos and correspondent for the newspapers *Daily Mirror*, *Sunday Mirror* and *Daily Express*, and this was when the magazine reached its greatest success. Published monthly, it ran to more than 150 pages and had five editions spread over the most important tourist sites in Spain; it had a national and international distribution; it had, among others, important contributors, including the Hispanist Ian Gibson or Tom Burns, correspondent of the newspapers *Financial Times*, *Washington Post* and the magazine *Newsweek*. Politically significant articles such as "Meet Spain's New Presidente" or "Can foreigners vote in a local election?" appeared in 1983 to explain the transition to democracy after the death of the dictator and foreign residents' possibilities of voting are proof of its goal of becoming a newspaper of an integrative nature. Topics such as economics, Spanish history, culture, cuisine, leisure, tourism, nature and reports on the purchase and sale of property, wills and insurance were covered in the pages of a magazine that is still remembered today by foreign residents who enjoyed reading it (López Romero, 2009).

As had already happened in 1926 and 1931, the new English-language newspapers were to have an increasing impact on promoting tourism in the area. This was achieved by providing information on the country's cultural events such as fairs, the bullfighting and flamenco industry, offering reports on tourist areas and monuments, explaining the culinary culture, offering cooking recipes, informing about the construction of new hotels and leisure infrastructures, etc. This situation led to the launch of *The Visitor's Tribune* (1963), *Spain Today*. *The Bimonthly International Magazine for People Interested in Spain* (1964) or the 'Today' section in the evening newspaper *La Tarde* (García Galindo, 1998).

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed the consolidation of a new journalistic offering in English (but also in other languages), which ran in two directions: one aimed at the promotion and development of tourism and the other, at the communities of British – and European – residents who settled in different areas of Spain. This phenomenon continues to the present day, giving rise to a new dual news model, which breaks with traditional local journalism and is diversified by new audiences.

4. The press in democracy: the 1980s and 1990s

After the death of the dictator in 1975, Spain underwent a political process of transition towards democracy. The first national elections were held in 1977 and a new constitution was adopted a year later. The 1970s was a decisive period for the increase in residential tourism in Spain, with the foreign population in the country growing considerably, which contributed to the rise in the number of press outlets destined for these communities.

With democracy now re-established, the 1980s offered new journalistic experiences aimed at the British and the English-speaking population, with an abundance of weekly newspapers in English. This is the case of *Sur in English* (1984), a newspaper created at the behest of the local newspaper company *Sur*, which is still active today, *The Entertainer* (1985), which continues today under the title of *The Euroweekly News*, or *The Market Place* (1989).

Today, *Sur in English* is the longest-running English-language newspaper still operating. It started with a print run of 10,000 copies and at one point grew to 65,000. The initiative behind its creation was as a leaflet offering information about the Costa del Sol at the World Travel Fair in London. However, the British couple Jerry and Joan Davis planned to continue it as a "free newspaper aimed at English-speaking expatriates with content about what was happening in the places frequented by this community" (López Romero, 2009: 73). The free press formula therefore began in this sector, as the level of advertising allowed the printing costs to be covered. Known as "the Bible of the Costa del Sol", 70% of the newspaper is based on information published by the Malaga daily *Sur*, while the remaining 30% is produced by the staff of *Sur in English* (López Romero, 2009: 75). This is one of the big differences between *Lookout*, a product created by the direct initiative of foreign residents, and *Sur in English*, an information outlet born from the local daily newspaper, *Sur*.

Other journalistic formulas emerged during this period, some focused more on celebrity news such as *Marbella Magazine* and *Marbella Times*; others with sensationalist overtones like the *Sunday Sun* (1993) – imitating the design and journalistic style of *The Sun* newspaper based on news about scandals and events occurring on the Costa del Sol, *Coast to Coast Time* (1994) or *Calahonda Times*; still other specialised publications for women such as *Costa Woman*, *Absolute Marbella* (1995), *Views* (1997) or *Essential Magazine* (1999), amongst other titles (López Romero, 2009a). These types of women-centred publications are similar to other current titles such as *Cosmopolitan* or *Elle*, based on fashion, health, beauty, decoration, design, etc.

The 1990s was the period in which the English-language press became firmly established in Malaga. This journalistic evolution was also noticeable in other parts of Spain, especially in coastal areas with high rates of tourism and residency. During those years, new titles appeared with their headquarters in several Spanish towns. This is the case of *Round Town Costa del Sol* edition (which has its head offices in Alicante) or the general information weekly *Costa del Sol News* (1996-2018), a sister publication of the *Costa Blanca News*, founded in 1973.

5. The expansion of the English-language press in the first decade of the new century: an analysis of its structure

In addition to the aforementioned publications, which continue with their journalistic activity during these first decades of the 21st century, at the turn of the century new journalistic initiatives in English sprang up, giving rise to an information ecosystem of great social and cultural richness. The first census to count the foreign language press that exists in our area of study was carried out in 2005. A total of 124 publications were registered, which is a very significant figure that has not gone unnoticed. It is noteworthy that in several municipalities on the Costa del Sol, the number of foreign-language newspapers is higher than that of the local press. According to López Romero (2009a), 73% of what was registered was written in English. And of this percentage, 41% appeared on a monthly basis and were mostly magazines. They all share the fact that the product is free of charge, with the exception of four or five newspapers and magazines with prices between 2 and 5 euros, which represents a second source of funding, after advertising.

In terms of location, the media registered in this census were located mainly in Marbella, with a total of 35 publications, and in Mijas, with 14. According to the data provided by this study, the development of the English-language media landscape in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s took place in parallel to the increase in the British population living in the area, with a slower pace in the first two decades, and a steady growth from 1998 onwards. Census figures reported the presence of approximately 30,000 Britons on the Costa del Sol at the beginning of the 21st

century. However, according to the figures from the consulate, this population could be up to three times larger, as not all of them are registered.

Local and regional information in English is found in the newspapers, most of which are free and distributed on a fortnightly basis. Following in the footsteps of the newspapers *Sur* in English and *Costa del Sol News*, a series of new proposals emerged as of the year 2000. In this regard, 2002 saw the launch of *El Sun* in Mijas, which is the case that most resembles a sensationalist English tabloid produced on the Costa del Sol; a year later, the *Mijas Semanal* and *El periódico de Estepona* appeared, as examples of publications in which local information gained relevance over other types of content. Other newspapers created during this period were *Daily Málaga*, at the initiative of the local newspaper *Diario Málaga*, *Insight News* in 2004, *Sol Manilva*, *The Iberian Times* and *Infonerja* in 2005.

The magazine market was very prolific at this stage. Alongside the aforementioned magazines located along the western fringe and focused mainly on lifestyles, new ones also appeared in inland areas of the province. These were *La Chispa* (2002), *Inland Magazine* (2003), *Local Connection* (2004), *The Grapevine* (2005) and *Country Life* (2005). Although this new focus on non-coastal municipalities is noteworthy, the coast remained the preferred area for the publication of this format. *Social Life Magazine* (2003), *Costa Life* (2004), *Costa Magazine* (2004), *Dreamlife Fuengirola* (2005) and *Xmagazine* (2005) are some examples of these new creations.

According to studies, 43% of these publications had a circulation of between 20,000 and 30,000 copies at the beginning of 2000, when the digital press had not yet led to a drastic reduction in the amount of printed press (López Romero, 2009).

6. The English-language press between crises [2008-2020]

The period between the international economic crisis that began in 2008 and the global health and economic crisis caused by the Covid-19 pandemic has brought about, for different reasons, a contraction of the journalistic phenomenon we are analysing, with no concrete horizon or way out of the current situation in sight for the time being. Between 2008 and 2016, despite the economic situation suffered by the European Union, which is the main source of the residents who have traditionally settled in Malaga and on the Costa del Sol, the English-language media continued to have a very strong presence in this territory. This can be explained by the fact that the crisis did not manage to disrupt the relationship of the European resident population with an area in which they had established themselves both socially and economically.

There have indeed been many newspapers and magazines with an ephemeral life that appeared and disappeared very quickly over these years. However, despite this oscillation, the English-language press published on the Costa del Sol during this period continues to be abundant. According to data from the last census we carried out, in 2018, most of these media began in two distinct stages. The first was during the early 2000s, and the second is from 2010 onwards. The data from the 2005 and 2018 censuses show that the period of greatest expansion was between 2003 and 2005 (López Romero, 2009: 308), and it was from 2006 onwards that many of the media initiatives launched in previous years disappeared. From that year onwards, there was a decline in the English media structure on the Costa del Sol, probably due to the crisis in the print media and the subsequent economic crisis that affected many of the companies that advertised in these media both locally and nationally, with the disappearance of titles and a reduction in the number of professionals employed in the media. This is the case with the discontinuation of the newspaper *Costa del Sol News* in 2018 after 22 years in circulation, as well as *RTN (Reporting the News) Costa del Sol*, which ceased publication the same year. Similarly, the magazine *Absolute Marbella* was discontinued in 2008 after a 13-year run. Despite this reality, new media continued to appear, some with a short lifespan of only 2 or 3 years.

Since 2010, however, we have seen the launch not only of new media, but also of digital versions of ones that already existed.

According to data from 2018, there are 113 media for foreigners produced in our area of study, of which 46 are exclusively in English. Furthermore, there are currently 26 bilingual and trilingual media outlets in operation, with the English-Spanish dyad being the most common (17). These figures lead us to deduce that the economic crisis has reduced the production of English-language press in Malaga, which has fallen by 50%. Nonetheless, the sector continues to have a strong presence in the market, and English is still the main language of the foreign language media produced on the Costa del Sol.

7. An overview of the present: a mosaic of languages with a predominance of English

The contraction discussed in the previous section persists today, largely due to the convergence of several new factors that are exerting significant influence on the foreign-language journalism market—particularly English-language media—in our study area. These factors include: (a) the long-standing crisis affecting the sector as a whole; (b) a readership crisis; (c) the decline of print media due to the crisis of paper; (d) the rapid development of digital media; (e) uncertainty among British residents following Brexit, which led to the repatriation of many individuals—approximately 3,000 British citizens were removed from the Costa del Sol's population census as a result of Brexit; and (f) the socio-economic and cultural disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Within this context, the English-language media in Málaga and the Costa del Sol is also experiencing a crisis, albeit with the distinctive characteristic of being highly responsive to fluctuations in social, political, and economic conditions while maintaining strong local roots. This dynamic suggests that further research will be necessary to determine whether the crisis facing this multilingual media ecosystem is structural or circumstantial.

Regarding the format of the English-language press, the majority of outlets are magazines, with 34 titles identified, most of which are lifestyle-oriented and concentrated in the western part of the province, particularly Marbella. Newspapers also hold a notable presence, with 18 titles recorded in the 2018 census. These newspapers provide a range of content, including coverage of current events and practical information to assist foreign residents with everyday needs (e.g., legal procedures and local services). Despite the inclusion of newspapers in other languages in the census, English-language titles remain predominant in this format, even amidst the broader challenges facing newspapers compared to other media types.

Magazines constitute the majority of this press segment, with the most common publication frequency being monthly (34%), whereas newspapers tend to circulate on a biweekly basis. Bimonthly and annual publications exist but are relatively rare. Additionally, some outlets lack a defined publication frequency (24%), reflecting the inherent instability of the phenomenon and the growing prevalence of digital media. In recent years, a number of outlets have transitioned exclusively to online formats, often specializing in specific topics and targeting younger audiences accustomed to modern information and communication technologies.

The reach and distribution of this press segment are difficult to quantify, primarily due to the transient nature of the communities it serves, which frequently travel between their home countries and Spain. However, based on regional distribution patterns, most outlets (37%) are regional, primarily located on the western coast of the province. Local publications, comprising 24% of the total, are concentrated in major English-speaking population centers such as Marbella, Manilva, and Mijas. A smaller but significant cluster exists on the eastern coast, particularly in Nerja.

Content in this press is typically broad-ranging and often hybrid in nature, blending leisure and entertainment articles with advertisements. Outlets where news content predominates constitute only 7% of the total, primarily corresponding to newspapers. Advertising plays a central role in these publications, with some outlets being almost entirely advertisement-based (8%). These advertisements often employ modern advertising formats, such as infomercials and advertorials, and cater specifically to the British population.

A significant portion of advertisements serves as a guide to facilitate daily life, offering information on services such as healthcare, veterinary care, gardening, plumbing, and electrical work. Given the low proficiency in Spanish among many residents (García Galindo, Novas Martín & López Romero, 2020), the press serves as an essential resource for accessing services in their native language.

One notable trend is the growing presence of specialized media, predominantly magazines but also some newspapers. Lifestyle magazines exemplify this trend, accounting for 8% of the total census (2018). These outlets, concentrated along the Marbella coastline, focus on high society and luxury goods and services. Examples include *Essential Marbella Magazine*, *Social People Marbella Magazine*, and *Society Marbella*. Some of these titles have been in circulation for over a decade, appearing in earlier censuses such as the one conducted in 2005. Many of these magazines are operated by local entrepreneurs—journalists or otherwise—based on the Costa del Sol, while others are published by larger groups producing titles in other regions of Spain. The strong commercial focus of these publications often suggests a diminished emphasis on their informational role, positioning them more as advertising vehicles with limited integrative objectives.

Since 2018, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of magazines, with emerging publications sharing common characteristics with their predecessors. However, these new editions stand out for their more contemporary focus, incorporating content on new technologies, social media, streaming platforms, as well as social and musical events. Marbella remains the preferred location, and as a result, the luxury real estate industry maintains a prominent presence in these publications. The visual and design elements of these magazines are particularly notable, with photography taking precedence over text and advertising content gaining prominence over informational articles. Representative of this period are the newly established titles *Marbella O'Clock* (2017) and *Exclusive Life Marbella* (2019), both of which continue to be published to this day.

Another noteworthy publication is *The Costa Connection Magazine*, which began in September 2019 to provide regular chronicles of the lives of foreign residents, particularly British expatriates. Its coverage includes associations and clubs, events for expatriates, and services offered in English. This magazine differs significantly from the previously discussed examples, both in terms of its content and its target audience.

Another very important sector is real estate, which also has media support (4%), some produced by the real estate companies themselves. This is the case of *The Marbella Property Magazine* published by the real estate company Panorama. Being one of the driving forces of the economy of the area, there are several proposals specialising in housing, especially luxury properties, included in the 2018 census. The preferred format is that of a magazine, but as an exception there is the newspaper *Property Magazine*, which belongs to *The Olive Press* group. Such magazines undoubtedly have a high commercial component, even though they have some informative content.

One subject area to consider is golf. Various specialised publications on this sport are published, accounting for 7% of the census, in different media and formats. In this respect, a number of guides are published, including the *Costa del Sol Golf Guide*, the *Costa del Sol Golf News newspaper*, or the longest-running publication of all, the *Andalucía Golf* magazine, which dates back to 1987. This type of publication serves to inform about the activities generated

by more than 70 golf courses on the Costa del Sol, but they are also mastheads that offer information about this sector in Andalusia.

Finally, in addition to the specialised media already mentioned, other options are published on different subjects, such as children and family, weddings, home and interior design, etc. Likewise, guides associated with tourism and services occupy another prominent place, given the importance of tourism in the area, and contain a large amount of advertising.

8. Conclusions

The extensive time frame covered in this study seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of a media phenomenon characterized by distinctive features that are both observable and identifiable in many countries. The period under analysis encompasses diverse phases, ranging from propagandistic information during World War I to the Franco era, the tourist boom, and the emergence of digital journalism. This research aims to present a holistic perspective on the evolution of this media form, tracing its trajectory from its origins to the present through a historical-narrative approach. By doing so, it highlights the media's extensive and varied historical development, shaped by shifting political and economic contexts. While prior studies cited in this article have concentrated on specific segments of this phenomenon, a unifying theme across these analyses is the local society's engagement with the British resident population in southern Spain and the tendency to portray this group as central to the tourism industry.

The English-language press in Spain has historical roots dating back to the late 19th century, with its emergence in the study area specifically tied to the early 20th century. This development reflects the steady influx of travelers, tourists, and residents who have arrived and settled in Spanish cities for a variety of reasons, including tourism, economic opportunities, and social motivations. Despite the challenges and shifts over time, this activity has continued uninterrupted, undergoing various stages of evolution. This study examines its progression to underscore the continuity that has been a defining feature of this phenomenon.

We contend that the English-language press remains a growing phenomenon despite contemporary uncertainties. Its persistence is anchored in the demographic, cultural, and linguistic substratum that sustains it. This foundation appears secure, given the mobility within the European Union and the sustained preference of British citizens for Spain as a destination, even in the wake of Brexit (cf. García Galindo et al., 2021). Notably, Brexit has revealed a pro-European inclination among the British population residing on the Costa del Sol, as evidenced by demographic data and their political representation in local governments (Novas, 2018). Consequently, the trajectory of the English-language press appears to be following a similar path to its pre-Brexit development.

The communities of English-speaking foreign residents in Málaga and the Costa del Sol exhibit stability, with only minor fluctuations that do not disrupt the demographic reality. These communities are highly integrated into their local environments. In the future, changes in the number of media outlets, their typology, content, consumption patterns, and means of accessing information are expected. However, journalistic formats in both print and digital mediums will continue to address the informational needs of these communities. Moreover, this phenomenon will coexist symbiotically with Spanish-language media and English-language media from the United Kingdom, accessible globally via the Internet.

This is an active and adaptive phenomenon shaped by the circumstances of its target population, particularly in response to challenges such as economic crises and the recent pandemic. Advances in information technologies have driven significant transformations, leading to the disappearance or reinvention of many newspapers and magazines discussed in this study. Older publications have increasingly adopted online formats, while others have launched directly on digital platforms to reduce costs and cater to wider or more specialized audiences. Despite these changes, the English-language press remains a vibrant reflection of the social and cultural dynamism of southern Spain.

The press has consistently served as a cultural bridge and a unifying force within the community since its inception. However, the proliferation of newspapers and magazines since the 1990s complicates the assertion of a shared common denominator across all publications. Certain magazines prioritize commercial, tourism, and leisure functions over informative or integrative roles, with content centered on design, fashion, beauty, sports, and home life, among other themes.

Acknowledgements

The study presented in this paper is part of a broader research project entitled Communication Media and European Construction: A Socio-communicative Study of EU Residents in the South of Spain and Portugal, funded by the Spanish National Programme of Research, Development and Innovation, (nº CSO2015-65837-R), coordinated by Professor Juan Antonio García Galindo of the University of Málaga, and of which the authors of this paper are research-team members.

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