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The Catalan language's current status and prospects in conventional and social media in Andorra

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ABSTRACT

Andorra is a small country. Some actually define it as a town-state. Demographically, the country is diverse, with a large number of inhabitants from abroad who have made Andorra their home. This has clear consequences, not necessarily negative ones, and one of them can be seen in the media, which serve an important purpose in spreading knowledge of the language, fostering integration and social cohesion. The large number of Andorran media, all of them produced and designed in Catalan and whittled down in the past decade into a few newspapers — both print and digital — along with radios and TV. These media outlets face two challenges: to continue conveying what is happening in Andorra in Catalan, and to do so while adapting to evolving news consumption habits via social media, where other languages are predominant.

KEYWORDS

Andorra, media system, media, Catalan language.

A small, diverse and complex country

Andorra is a small, mountainous country whose 468 km² are home to 85,000 people, although it welcomes an annual seasonal population (including tourists, hikers and temporary workers) of more than 17 million people (Government of Andorra. Department of Statistics, 2023). With demographic figures like these, it is easy to conclude that Andorra has a rich social and cultural fabric, which, along with a diverse political-institutional architecture – coprinces, Government, General Council, seven parishes and all their satellite organisations and institutions – forms an extraordinarily broad and dynamic network that generates a high level of activity.

Since the second half of the twentieth century, Andorra has been home to a large immigrant population, most of whom came from Catalonia and the rest of Spain, with many eventually settling in the country; therefore, it is clear that the sum of all these factors – a dynamic society, immigration, a small territory and unique institutions – shapes the languages present in people's everyday lives and the way they prefer to use them. Even though Catalan is the official language and benefits from specific legislative protection, it coexists in the public sphere – sometimes significantly – with other languages spoken by people who have moved to Andorra from other countries.

The latest study on language proficiency and usage among the Andorran population (Andorra Recerca i Innovació. Grup de Sociologia, 2022) examines the current situation and the evolution of language dynamics in Andorran society from 1995 to 2022. The first factor it notes is a kind of stabilisation in the percentages of the two largest national groups among people over the age of 15: Andorran nationals account for 43%, while Spanish nationals make up 23%.

The third-largest group, Portuguese nationals, has dropped slightly in favour of other non-EU nationalities, for the most part Argentinean. Many initially come to Andorra for seasonal work on the ski slopes, but some renew their work permits and stay once the season is over, primarily to work in the hospitality industry. The last significant group consists of French nationals, whose percentage has remained stable between 12% and 17% over the past twenty years.

Naturally, these figures vary if we consider the entire population, not just those over the age of 15, but the differences are not substantial, as proven by a comparison with figures from the Department of Statistics. The clearest example is in the two groups with the strongest presence: Andorran nationals account for 45% of the total population, while Spanish nationals account for 24%.

There are two other figures worth noting. First, the young population attending school in the country has a strong command of Catalan, a conclusion reached by a study on language proficiency and usage. Second, 44% of adults state that Catalan is their mother tongue, while 40% identify Spanish as their first language.

As we present this introductory overview of the country, two figures are essential for understanding this broader framework. First, the study on Catalan usage indicates that in a multiple-choice question, 63.7% of respondents state that they speak Catalan as their primary language when

interacting with other people, while 48.6% use Spanish. In third place is Portuguese, with 12.3%, and the remainder is distributed among French, English and other languages. Second, the Catalan proficiency indicator averages 8.3 on a scale of 0 to 10, while Spanish proficiency scores higher, with an average of 9.3. The Catalan proficiency indicator encompasses four parameters: listening comprehension, reading, speaking and writing.

In this preliminary evaluation, which is basically statistical but of considerable significance for an understanding of the linguistic situation in Andorra, it is clearly seen that Spanish is Catalan's main competitor in the country in the Pyrenees. Since Spanish prevails in many areas of social and personal life, Catalan is often relegated to being an institutional and institutionalised language. Examples to further illustrate this point: the prevalent language in restaurants, nightclubs, department stores and public transport services is Spanish. Additionally, it is worth considering that Catalan speakers switch languages when their conversational partner speaks Spanish.

This practice of switching from Catalan to Spanish in conversation takes place 74% of the time when speakers find themselves in this situation, according to published statistics. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the perception in the country of Spanish becoming the predominant language in social interactions in everyday life is real, despite studies that reflect a high level of Catalan proficiency. However, knowing a language does not necessarily mean using it, and this is the core issue.

To reverse this trend, in April the General Council passed a new law on Catalan (Llei 6/2024) which promotes its preservation and guarantees citizens' right to be served in the official language. The new articles of this law include provisions such as the obligation to prove basic proficiency in Catalan in order to secure the first renewal of a residency permit; mandating that public service workers initially greet people in Catalan; and, requiring professionals to know essential Catalan vocabulary related to their field. Months before its approval, the mere announcement that the government was drafting this law with new language requirements led to a doubling of student enrolments in the free Catalan-for-adult courses offered by the Language Policy Department at different centres across Andorra, while registrations for official Catalan exams also rose considerably. Furthermore, once the law was passed in April, the Catalan courses reached full capacity, leaving waiting lists of prospective students unable to enrol.

It was essential to provide this brief introduction to Andorra's linguistic landscape before addressing the main topic of this article. We could even further dissect these concepts in a way that would help readers understand the unique features of Andorran society in an effort to avoid stereotypes or conventional clichés that are attributed to it simply because its official language is Catalan. Our linguistic "challenges" or "hurdles" are not so different from those of neighbouring Catalan-speaking territories. In fact, some believe that the situation in Andorra is even more complicated than in Catalonia (Caus, 2015). However, if there is one advantage in remedying linguistic short-comings is that Andorra is a state, and a language that has the power of a state behind it – if that state is aware of it – enjoys better protection through legislation promoting its knowledge and use.

Andorra's historical evolution as a country of migrations directly affects its inhabitants' language use and media consumption. This shift primarily began when Andorra transitioned from being an agrarian economy, in which many Andorrans emigrated to seek subsistence abroad or send remittances home, to a third-sector economy that experienced considerable economic development in the twentieth century, attracting many immigrants and a large seasonal population. This prompted a transformation of the country at all levels: social, political, economic and cultural. That was precisely when the press took off in Andorra, especially in the last third of the twentieth century. Indeed, the press bears witness to the country's transformation.

Carles Pont and Jaume Guillamet, Journalism professors at Barcelona's Universitat Pompeu Fabra, divide the history of the press in Andorra into four main periods (Pont & Guillamet, 2009):

- 1. Andorran press published abroad (1917-1937)
- 2. Origins of the press published in Andorra (1952-1969)
- **3.** The first newspaper and a steep rise in publications (1970-1989)
- 4. The second newspaper and consolidation (1990-2005)

Pont and Guillamet's study was published in 2009, but the last period analysed ended in 2005, just as digital formats were beginning to compete with traditional print media, and even audiovisual media were beginning to overshadow the written press. However, in Andorra this shift was still in its infancy, and digital newspapers were in no way the dominant format. Likewise, the sole public audiovisual medium, Andorran TV, did not yet dominate Internet broadcasting. The phenomenon of social media had only just taken off with the appearance of Facebook in 2004 and the rise of audiovisual consumption via YouTube.

Twenty years later, Pont and Guillamet's publication requires updating because Andorra's media landscape has taken a step towards adapting to online consumption over the past two decades. Meanwhile, certain publications that successfully adapted – or were newly created – have gained ground amid novel news consumption habits, given that new forms of communication via the Internet have had the biggest impact on print newspapers with the appearance of new solely digital titles. It is obvious that television and radio have also adapted in a world that is constantly evolving, especially through increased availability of podcasts and on-demand programming.

Standardisation of the language, treatment of news and identity

Even though it is a small country, Andorra has a surprisingly large number of local media outlets, although there are good reasons for this. Demographically, we could compare Andorra to a Catalan county or French department and use that comparison to try to find analogies in their

media dissemination. However, they are not actually comparable. Andorra is a state, a town-state if you will – as defined by Jordi Cinca, the Minister of Finance from 2011 to 2019 during the governments of Antoni Martí – with all that this entails, not only institutionally and politically, but also in terms of citizens' habits. And the press is no exception.

Just like everything else in the digital age, Andorran media share globalised spaces of dissemination, with a clear influence from the Spanish press, chiefly from Catalonia, but not necessarily in Catalan. Its influence on the press in Andorra, and journalism in general in the country, has consequences that affect not only international news – which is primarily consumed via Catalan or Spanish media – but also the linguistic style of Andorran journalism. Indeed, the majority of media professionals come from Catalonia, with only a small percentage from Andorra, and most of the professionals have been educated in Barcelona. So, what are the consequences of this situation? There are two essential ones.

The first has to do with the language, specifically the fact that the standard variant of Catalan – that is, central Catalan – is used most often, while the northwestern dialectal variant, which corresponds to the spoken language of Andorra and the Pallars counties in Catalonia, is marginally used. This dialectal variant is virtually absent from the spoken discourse of news anchors and presenters of other TV and radio programmes, and even more notably, from the written media. This Catalan variety is therefore highly marginalised in the Andorran press.

The second consequence directly affects the way the news and its content are managed. Journalism as practised in Andorra shows similarities with the journalism practiced in Catalonia, which in turn is heavily influenced by the Spanish journalism model (Caus, 2015: 86-88). This is a logical consequence of the fact that, as mentioned above, most professionals are from Catalonia or have been trained there. All of this is reflected in the low level of identity awareness within the sector, a phenomenon which – like it or not – is also evident in Andorran society.

The media

Nonetheless, it is true that what Carles Pont and Jaume Guillamet defined as the Andorran press system does exist (Pont & Guillamet, 2009: 36), in terms of frequency, length, language, content and the town of publication. This press landscape has been shaped over time by different historical milestones, such as the publication of *Poble Andorrà* in 1974, which heralded the appearance of the first newspaper published wholly in Catalan since 1939.

Andorra has many sectoral or thematic publications, but here we shall only discuss those covering general news content, grouped together by format. They are all publications or broadcasts in Catalan, except for parallel local programming from other broadcasters, which we will discuss below. TV stations do not provide translations for statements made by people onscreen

speaking Spanish or French because they take it for granted that Andorran people have proficiency in all three languages. It is worth noting that classes in the Andorran education system are taught in Catalan, French and Spanish as the languages of instruction, in addition to separate language courses for these subjects, along with English. This means that in secondary school, for example, mathematics may be taught in Spanish and chemistry in French. The final outcome is – or should be – that young people complete their compulsory education with knowledge of all four languages.

Regarding the printed press, there are only two newspapers: *Diari d'Andorra*, which is published daily seven days a week, and *Bondia*, a free newspaper available at newsstands and in shops from Monday to Friday. This marks one of the substantial changes seen in the past twenty years: the decline of print newspapers, which have dropped from four to two. *El Periòdic d'Andorra* and another free newspaper, *Més Andorra*, once completed this quartet, but the financial crisis of the late 2000s and the unstoppable encroachment of digitisation have transformed the land-scape. While *El Periòdic d'Andorra* has only been available in digital format since 2024, after considerable staff cutbacks *Més Andorra* disappeared completely when it was absorbed by the *Bondia* publishing company.

Therefore, there has been a swift evolution in the media systems, and Andorra has also experienced the repercussions of the advent of digital media. In the early 2000s, just as print newspapers were beginning to adapt to the new era, exclusively digital publications started to emerge, and one newspaper – *Bondia* – began to combine print and online news.

The first exclusively digital news platform was *fòrum.ad*, a portal launched in the early 2000s. Its content has always relied on information from news agencies or other media, as it has no newsroom of its own. It also publishes press releases from different institutions and organisations.

However, if we focus solely on journalism produced in Andorra in Catalan, the media landscape is structured as set out below, according to the distribution platform of each outlet. *Diari d'Andorra* has expanded its website, evolving into a digital multiplatform newspaper, although it still releases its print version. It has launched an audiovisual space, *Diari TV*, from which it broadcasts live events and parliamentary sessions, and airs special programmes such as electoral debates. It also has a music channel with an appealing format for younger people, devoted exclusively to news on the country's music, its artists, as well as a calendar of shows and concerts held in Andorra featuring both local and international bands. It is worth recalling that *Diari d'Andorra* is the oldest of the Andorran media. The paper was launched in 1991 and the publisher is Premsa Andorrana SA. Its offerings also include the printed edition of the weekly magazine *7 Dies* and the Sunday supplement *DMG*, which is included with the printed newspaper and can also be viewed on its website. It updates its online news in real time and has accounts on Instagram, Facebook and X, where it shares daily headlines, main news articles and opinion pieces with links. It has a significant number of followers, more than 17,500 on Instagram.

L'Altaveu is a general news portal with no print version that has gradually added multiplatform news. It offers real-time news content online, supplemented by weekly podcasts and audiovisual reports on trending issues. On social media, it has accounts on Instagram, Facebook, X, YouTube and LinkedIn and offers up-to-date content via really simple syndication (RSS). Like *Diari d'Andorra*, it has a considerable number of followers on the leading social media platforms – more than 12,500 on Instagram – and posts the main news items there with links to its web content.

The other general print newspaper is *Bondia*, a free publication available Monday to Friday which also has a digital version. It offers traditional newspaper content with the usual sections: national, regional, cultural, sports news and opinion. Even though it has recently updated its corporate image, *Bondia* has yet to make the big leap and become a fully-developed online multiplatform newspaper: it does not have podcasts or videos of its own but only reposts videos from YouTube that it finds relevant. It has accounts on X, Facebook, Instagram – with more than 13,000 followers – and YouTube, and it is able to syndicate its content.

El Periòdic d'Andorra is one of the longest-standing newspapers in the Andorran media scene. However, in 2024 it ceased its print edition and is now only available digitally, although subscribers can download a PDF version. Operating with a minimal newsroom, the newspaper only offers news from the previous day without providing online real-time updates about current events or using multimedia formats beyond text and photography. It also maintains accounts on major social media platforms.

Two digital newspapers complement the general printed press: *Ara.ad* and *Poble Andorrà*, the latter recently rebranded as *Digital Andorra*. The former is the Andorran counterpart to the Catalan newspaper *ARA* and is part of the same company as the Agència de Notícies Andorrana (Andorra News Agency, ANA). Like other media outlets, it is also active on social media, albeit with fewer followers. The only news agency, ANA, not only offers newsroom services for the media and corporations on all platforms – text, audio, image and video – but also publishes open-access news.

There are many radio and TV channels in Andorra, but there is only one public TV station with programming designed in and by the country: Andorra Televisió. Lòria TV, a channel that belongs to Mútua Elèctrica in the parish of Sant Julià de Lòria, was initially only aired via cable until Andorra Telecom, the country's telecommunications provider, extended fibre-optic coverage to all households in the country and therefore began to offer TV channels via this technology. Pirineus TV, which belongs to the Cadena Pirenaica group, also reaches Andorra, but its news is primarily focused on the Catalan counties of Alta Cerdanya, Baixa Cerdanya, Alt Urgell, Pallars Jussà, Pallars Sobirà and Alta Ribagorça.

Andorra Televisió not only offers conventional broadcasting but also uses the platform andorradifusio.ad as an online news and streaming channel where it also posts its programmes. This TV consumption via the Internet also gives viewers on-demand access to programmes they

may have missed or wish to rewatch. It shares the platform, which also offers public-service news, with Ràdio Nacional d'Andorra. It has a strong presence on social media with many followers (almost 20,000 on Instagram) and stands out as the country's only public TV station, while the remainder are international stations that have secured licenses to broadcast in Andorra.

The radio landscape is quite different. As with television, there is one public station, Ràdio Nacional d'Andorra, which features nationally-produced content. Its music channel is Andorra Música. The other stations air parallel local programming from broadcasters that have secured a license to operate in Andorra. For example, Ràdio SER Principat d'Andorra is part of Cadena SER, offering Andorran content, like news and interview programmes, as part of its local lineup during its schedule. Another example is Cadena Pirenaica, which is a conglomerate of broadcasters whose main stations in Andorra are Ràdio Valira, R7P and Pròxima FM, but they also offer parallel local programming from different Spanish stations (Ràdio Valira from Onda Cero) or Catalan stations (R7P from RAC1). Flaix FM, although primarily a music station, operates under a similar model. Furthermore, each of these stations has its own website where they publish news and digital content, with some of them even posting videos of interviews or prominent news stories.

It is important to distinguish between having a website and actually being a digital news outlet. Just because a medium has a presence on the Internet via a website where the day's edition can be read, it does not make the publication a true digital medium. Instead, it simply offers its print content in a different format. A genuine digital news outlet has a newsroom trained and designed to produce and publish news updates as they happen, covering events as they unfold from an original perspective. Thanks to the possibilities afforded by the various platforms, this type of journalism has been forced to evolve, either adapting or else perishing if they do not.

Who uses what media?

There are no recent official statistics indicating which Andorran print medium has the largest readership, because the now-defunct Centre de Recerca i Estudis Sociològics (Centre for Sociological Studies and Research, CRES) of the Institut d'Estudis Andorrans (Institute of Andorran Studies, IEA) stopped conducting surveys on media consumption some time ago. These bodies have now been restructured and integrated into Andorra Recerca i Innovació (Andorra Research and Innovation, ARI), a public-private foundation governed by a board composed of members from the government and two para-public organisations: FEDA and Andorra Telecom. ARI is divided into three main areas of work: research, innovation and digitalisation.

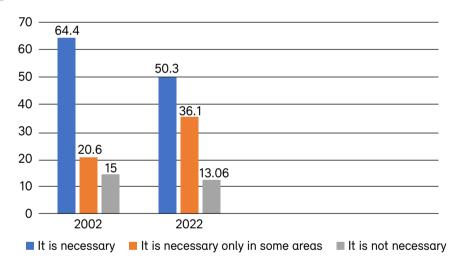
The Sociology Group within ARI currently conducts surveys, and one of its latest reports analyses both the evolution of perceptions of immigration and social segmentation in Andorra over

the last twenty years, between 2002 and 2023 (Andorra Recerca i Innovació, 2023). Why is it important to mention this report? Because one of the issues it examines is sociocultural integration, specifically the importance of knowing the Catalan language, a noteworthy issue bearing in mind the high number of immigrants in Andorra.

The study's conclusion asserts that over the period reviewed, the number of people who state that "knowing the Catalan language is necessary to live in Andorra" dropped from 64% of respondents in 2002 to 50.3% in 2022. Meanwhile, the number who state that "it is only necessary in some areas" rose from 10.6% in 2002 to 36.1% in 2022. Andorrans and people who have lived there the longest time say this (Figure 1). The main reasons they cite for saying that one does need to know the language in order to live in the country are "because it is the country's official language" and "to integrate into the country". In contrast, the reasons cited for believing that it is only needed in some areas or not needed at all include "because there is more than one language", "because it is only used in institutional contexts" and "because Spanish is more widely spoken".



Need to know the Catalan language to live in Andorra



Source: Andorra Recerca i Innovació. Sociology Group (2022).

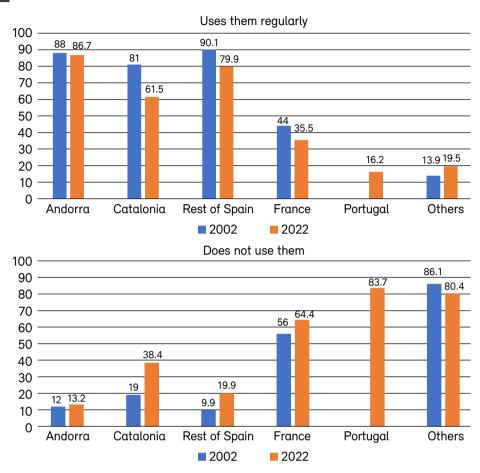
Regarding our main topic of interest – media consumption in Catalan – in response to the question about the countries from which the media (including TV, radio, press and Internet) they regularly consume originate, Andorra tops the list with 87% of respondents, followed by the rest of Spain at almost 80%, while the Catalan media ranked third with 61.5% of responses. Meanwhile, French media were mentioned by 33.5% of respondents and Portuguese media by 16.2% (Figure 2).

Even though these may seem like positive figures on media consumption in Catalan, if we add together the Andorran and Catalan media, we should avoid drawing overly optimistic conclusions because the 61.5% of media from Catalonia also includes outlets that use Spanish.

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FIGURE 2

Use of media from different countries or regions



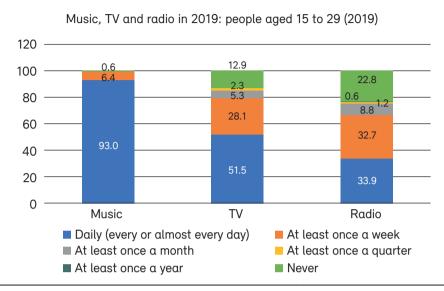
NOTE: The question on use of the media from Portugal was not asked in 2002. **SOURCE:** Andorra Recerca i Innovació. Sociology Group (2022).

One last point worth noting from this report is the section on cultural habits and practices, which notes that young people aged 15 to 29 are the least likely to use conventional TV and radio, while the percentage of people over the age of 30 who consume these media is higher (Figure 3).

FIGURE 3 Audiovisual consumption by age brackets				
	Age 15 to 29	Age 30 to 44	Age 45 to 64	Age 65+
Music (every day)	93.0%	84.7%	71.3%	53.1%
TV (every day)	51.5%	76.7%	83.0%	94.5%
Radio (every day)	33.9%	65.9%	70.7%	57.2%

FIGURE 3

Audiovisual consumption by age brackets (Continued)



Source: Andorra Recerca i Innovació. Sociology Group (2022).

These figures are important to highlight because they complement the statistics cited at the beginning of this article and help to expand our analysis of the extent to which Andorran media – created and designed in Catalan – reach different segments of society. The study on immigration mentioned above is particularly comprehensive and strongly recommended as a way to gain a highly accurate analysis of Andorran society.

So... what about the figures on consumption of Andorran media? The latest studies

As mentioned above, there are no official figures and no statistical studies by a public body providing data on the media with the largest readership, listenership or views per user. This is an unusual situation though unsurprising in Andorra. Studies that examine these audience or press consumption parameters, which are conducted regularly in neighbouring countries, have not been carried out in Andorra for some time because it is a small country where everyone knows everyone, and all media outlets rely on the same public institutions or large companies when seeking subsidies or advertising sponsorships. The available funding pool is limited, and competition for a share is fierce. The media view official statistics as a threat because they can harm or benefit certain media, and sources of financing can dry up. This concern ultimately led the official body charged with conducting surveys to stop asking about media consumption.

The clearest example is the latest survey of this type conducted in 2014 by the CRES of the IEA as part of the Observatory (Observatori CRES-IEA, 2014). It is a periodic survey on various recurrent aspects of everyday life. The survey we are discussing is a curious one entitled "Television, radio, press and reading", which did not inquire about what headlines the respondents read or what radio stations they listened to, although it did ask about what TV stations they watched.

It is clear that, while there is only one local TV station in Andorra – the public channel – which therefore has no direct competition in the field of audiovisual news in the country, there are many newspapers and radio stations in fierce competition for their slice of the pie. Perhaps ten years later, in the TikTok era, the data from this old study cannot be considered accurate or up to date because it overlooks the most important part of current newspaper consumption: online media. However, it may guide us to a picture of the situation today if we extrapolate from its variables, although we should do so cautiously.

Regarding television, in response to the question about the three channels that respondents watch the most, the majority of the top five channels are in Spanish. The Catalan-language TV3 is in the lead, with 17.8% of respondents, closely followed by Antena 3 with 15.3%, Tele 5 with 12.1% and TVE with 10.6%. Andorran television ranks fifth with only 7.2% of respondents saying that they watch it. We should note that these figures are from 2014 – the only ones we have – but they do suggest that most television consumption in Andorra is in Spanish, bearing in mind that the other channels that broadcast in Catalan back then (3/24, Canal 33, Esport 3 and the now-defunct 8tv) garnered no more than 1.1%, while Pirineus TV was not even mentioned. Television in languages other than Catalan or Spanish did not fare very well either. The first French channel mentioned is TF1, with 3.9% of responses, and the first channel in Portuguese - the other large language community in Andorra - RTP, stood at 2.5%.

It is clear that the widest range of television options is in Spanish, and even though Catalan is present in television packages distributed via fibre optic by the country's telecommunications service Andorra Telecom, it accounts for a small share of all channels found in the basic package provided. Of the forty-four channels, only seven are in Catalan (Andorran TV plus the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals channels, Pirineus TV and Lòria TV, the local channel from the parish of Sant Julià de Lòria). Regarding other languages, twenty-six broadcast in Spanish, sixteen in French, two in Portuguese, two in English and one in Galician.

In terms of radio, broadcasters from Catalonia have the largest listenership with 46.3%, those from Andorra have 44.9% and those from the rest of Spain 39%. French stations lag far behind with just 7.3%.

Finally, regarding the written press, the 2014 survey did not distinguish between print and digital formats, meaning that ten years later we have no information on consumption patterns in these two formats. The overall figures showed that 90% of respondents regularly read the press from Andorra, 27% read press from Catalonia and 19% read press from the rest of Spain. Only 5.2% of respondents mentioned reading the French press. Given that the general press published in Andorra is written in Catalan, these figures mean that the majority of newspaper readership was in Catalan (91.5%), followed by Spanish (23%), trailed far behind by French (7%), English (2%) and other languages.

Conclusion

Catalan holds a clear advantage in Andorran media since all outlets report in the local language and therefore the population – regardless of their linguistic background – find out what is happening in Andorra in Catalan, as confirmed by the statistics. This changes when people receive news from elsewhere or consume other types of content, which are mostly available on platforms favouring a different language, primarily Spanish.

Right now the journalistic landscape is somewhat stable, and the main challenge facing all media outlets is offering their Catalan-language content in an appealing way online in order to capture the attention of the primary consumers on these platforms; namely, young people.

Despite the unfortunate decline of the northwestern dialectal variety, which impoverishes the language and leads to linguistic shift and consequently a notable loss of identity, we can conclude that the health of Catalan in the Andorran media is robust. Nonetheless, the Andorran press plays an extremely important role in the dissemination and knowledge of Catalan, and it deserves recognition accordingly. With a population where Spanish is gaining ground in economic and social relations (clear evidence of this is the fact that it was necessary to amend the law on Catalan to encourage its use), and where major media and platforms in other languages are omnipresent in everyday life, the existence of a microcosm that reports news in the local language is an asset that must be preserved and maintained with the goal of ensuring social cohesion.

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