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# The Business Media for the Rural World – an Analysis on the Romanian Audiovisual

#### **Abstract**

Starting from the findings a Romanian research group gathered during the project "Models of mass-media consumption in the Romanian rural world: traditional identities, European identities" of the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies, University of Bucharest, this article identifies some risk factors in the conceptual design of an audiovisual programme for the rural world. These factors are: (1) differences in the definitions of the public – in our case, the Romanian peasant – as they are held by the journalist, the programme editor, the sources and by the public itself; (2) a quasi-general lack of vision about the future of the rural world, based on a lack of information; and (3) deficiency in applying journalistic information gathering techniques and text writing rules.

The conclusions are based on media product analysis of business journalism programmes broadcast by the Romanian public broadcasting services for rural audiences and on questionnaire-based and in-depth interviewing with potential members of the public.

**Keywords:** Rural media consumption, business journalism, programming, audiovisual, Romania.

In 2008, during a research project on media programming and consumption by rural audiences of the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies, University of Bucharest, the project team discovered that the public television programmes, targeted at the Romanian peasants, were a great success. The representatives of rural audiences were not saying a word about public radio programmes which were more numerous. They did not dislike the radio business programmes for peasants; they simply had no idea the radio programmes existed. The success or failure of the cultural products targeted at the rural world, in the case of a similar product type – business journalism – and

of a similar financing model – public radio and television, may be explained, in the easiest way, by differences in production and consumption, imposed by the medium – radio or television. There are also some other explanations, as this article is going to prove.

The differences in consumption patterns, for radio and television, are obvious. In a study carried out in 2007, by INSOMAR for the Romanian National Audiovisual Council, on audiovisual consumption habits, there are clear differences between the two media. TV consumption satisfies information needs (93.3%), entertainment desires (76.5%) and cultural needs (for fictional films – 68.6%, and music – 57.7%). In rural areas, 77.9% of the interviewees declare they watch TV on a daily basis (INSOMAR, 2007). Usually, the viewers do not engage in a different activity while watching TV, unless it is a music or entertainment programme (e.g. a contest). The radio is used for entertainment purposes, as a background to other activities. Listeners follow music and entertainment programmes (47.1%), news (40%) and sports (24.2%).

This article which uses the point of view of conventions coordinating the actions of social actors, be they journalists, farmers, journalists' sources, advertisers, government representatives, explains why the project team reached qualitative results similar to the national quantitative data about media consumption, gathered by INSOMAR.

The media teams which develop cultural products for the rural world, face difficulties in raising revenues from commercial sources. As a consequence, the radio and TV programmes for rural areas, depend mostly on state financing. In the case of print publications and Internet sites, financial viability is guaranteed by the owner, who hopes that the market will develop in the future (Surugiu 2009).

State financial support, through the compulsory fee and state subsidies, allows public radio journalists to disobey professional conventions, as the article will show. The interest to advertising revenues is low, thus, the interest in attracting audiences is low. Professional conventions are conceived in order to help professionals produce marketable cultural products. Overruling professional conventions, the conclusion shows, is the reason for which radio news programmes for the rural world become irrelevant for the target public.

Starting from the findings a Romanian research group gathered during the project 'Models of mass-media consumption in the Romanian rural world: traditional identities, European identities' of the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies, University of Bucharest, this article identifies some risk factors in the conceptual design of an audiovisual programme for the rural world. The factors are: 1. irreconcilable differences in the definitions of the public – in our case, the Romanian peasant – as they are held by the journalist, the programme editor, the sources and by the public itself; 2. a quasigeneral lack of vision about the future of the rural world, based on a lack of information; and 3. deficiency in applying information gathering techniques and text writing rules.

### Theoretical Framework

The statistical data above are a description, in numbers, of the effects of the Romanian production and consumption conventions, for radio and television. The way these conventions develop and are negotiated by the social actors may be studied from a neo-institutionalist perspective.

Theoretical or empirical studies of institutions, understood as stable social structures formed out of the conventions negotiated among social actors (Scott 2004), are focused mainly on how these structures are maintained, created or changed (Becker 1976, 2008; Douglas 2002; Scott 2004). Some studies analyze why individuals or organizations fail to obey institutional pressures (Oliver 1991). This article will describe a case in which existing conventions related to the production of a cultural product are broken and new conventions regarding the consumption of this product cannot be negotiated with the public. The result, in our case, is not the creation of a new social structure, based on an innovative cultural product, but the failure of the product. The case discussed is focused on the audiovisual business media offer for the Romanian rural world.

Thus, this article exposes the risk factors in the conceptual design of an audiovisual programme for the rural world, from the institutions' point of view.

Two concepts derived from the institutional approach to cultural products will be used in this paper. One of these concepts is the *professional world*: an institution-like structure, based on conventions, formed by all the persons and organizations required by the existence of a certain type of event or object (Becker 1976, 2008). The second concept is that of the *professional system*: a subset of conventions that sustain the production and consumption of a cultural good or service (Becker 2008).

Describing the arts, Howard S. Becker talks about a professional world around a productive activity. Becker (1976: 703-704) explains: [I] define a world

as consisting of all those people and organizations whose activity is necessary to produce the kind of events and objects which that world characteristically produces... [An art world] might include people who conceive the idea of the work (e.g., composers or playwrights); people who execute it (musicians or actors); people who provide the necessary equipment and materials (e.g., musical instrument makers); and people who make up the audience for the work (playgoers, critics, and so on). The concept can also be applied in other professional fields (Becker, 1976). Thus, in the case of a news programme, taken as a cultural product, the relevant professional world is the professional world of journalism and includes information sources (such as politicians and bureaucrats), buyers of advertising time which assures the financing of the programme, alongside all personnel involved in news production and distribution.

Such different activities of those that compose a professional world are coordinated by reference to a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in the artefacts of the world, adds Becker (1976: 704). The last trait of the professional world underlined by Becker (1976) is that all those involved in a world share the same vision of the value of what they produce in a collective fashion.

Around cultural products, creators may build a professional system; this is a sub-system of conventions that sustain the production and consumption of a certain event or object (Becker 2008). Thus, inside one professional world several different products may coexist: such as scandal-based news about stars and public interest news about politics or about the business environment.

Working inside the world of journalism, viewed as a professional world, implies: 1. knowing the relevant conventions; 2. knowing and working with the relevant actors: a. journalists, b. sources (such as officials, businesspeople and workers, unemployed), c. editors, programme creators, management, d. public (listeners, viewers, readers), e. advertisers, f. support organizations (e.g. professional organizations).

The professional system around a cultural product, such as an audiovisual journalistic product, is aligned around a shared set of values (the third trait Becker identifies for a professional world). The managers involved in the production and promotion of an audiovisual journalistic product may create a set of conventions and gather the relevant actors around: 1. a shared vision about the future of the community; 2. a shared mission for the editorial team, inside the newsroom, about the contribution of the product to this future of the community and 3. a shared ideal about the product, that includes the product placement on a market of similar products.

Our interest in this article is built around Romanian radio and television business programmes for the rural world. We are interested in how the editorial teams seem to respond to the existing institutional pressures and how they create a professional system around the journalistic products (if they manage to create one). Business journalism refers to media products centred on how business is done, how an organization is run, how money is earned, spent and lost. Thus, journalistic products about how farms are run or about legislation that affects the farm and landowners are identified as business journalism products.

This article is one of the results of a research project, 'Models of mass-media consumption in the Romanian rural world: traditional identities, European identities', of the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies, financed by the University of Bucharest. The discussion is based both on quantitative and qualitative data gathered in this project in 2008, starting from cultural product analyses and audience analyses.

## Romanian Rural World, in Statistics

On 1 July 2007, 44.9% of the Romanian population lived in rural areas (the following statistics are taken from *The Romanian Statistical Yearbook*, 2008). The percentages have looked similar since 1990, when 45.7% lived in Romanian villages. The percentage of women living in rural areas is slightly higher than the percentage of men living there (50.2% to 49.8%). In rural areas, employment by status, is as follows: 35.9% are employees, 0.8% employers, 37% self employed or members of an agricultural holding or co-operative and 26.3% are contributing family workers. Practically, over 65% can be seen as working in a family economic unit or co-operative.

The percentage of unemployed, understood as those people looking for work, was around 4.9% in rural areas in 2007, as compared with 7.7% in urban areas. As a general percentage, 61.7% of the rural population has work. Among the active population, almost 3.01% had tertiary education, but 45.22% had nine classes or less.

In 2006, more than 4,100,000 individual agricultural holdings, with an average of 2.2 ha, formed 65.5% of the total Romanian agricultural area in use. In 2007, only 21.6% of the agricultural holdings made a profit, as they had several tens of hectares; there was a very slight improvement, nevertheless, as compared with earlier years (Străuţ 2008). The livestock per 100 hectares of

land had declined from 1990 for cattle, pigs, sheep and goats; other numbers, related to machines or fertilizers, also had a declining trend. Officially registered rural tourist boarding houses increased in numbers in the last decade, from none in 1995, to 61 in 1996, 536 in 2001 and 1259 in 2006. Agnes Nemenyi and Ruth Rossier (2010) identified four business life types in Romanian villages: 1. traditional sustainable agriculture combined with a high rate of international migration; 2. a good perspective for farming, but many young people work in other sectors; 3. agricultural cooperatives and 4. agricultural activities combined with activities complementary to agriculture (trade, industry and other services).

# **Rural Programming and Rural Audiences**

In Romania, there are several national radio and television stations for rural audiences. There is a public broadcast radio channel, Radio Antena Satelor (Radio Villages Antena); there are two privately funded music channels: Etno TV – owner, Silviu Prigoană (broadcasts music, a cooking show and talk-show on medical and juridical issues) and Favorit TV – owners, Viorel and Ioan Micula (broadcasted in 2008 music and a TV show with village mayors). The TV channels are broadcast through cable and satellite networks. These radio and TV channels also reach urban audiences.

Radio audience measurements are questionnaire based and are carried out three times a year; TV audiences are measured by means of people metres, on a continuous basis. For the spring and summer of 2008 (the period of interest for the study), the urban daily reach of Radio Antena Satelor was of 275,000 listeners (a 3.9% market share). In Bucharest, Radio Antena Satelor had an average of 56,000 listeners, a 3.7% market share. For spring 2008, the national reach of Radio Antena Satelor was around 900,000 listeners, with a 7% market share. The rural audience was not specifically identified by the pool, but it can be determined, for Radio Antena Satelor, at around 600,000 listeners (www.audienta-radio.ro¹, accessed 12 February 2009). Radio Antena Satelor broadcasts folk music, news and chat shows.

The TV stations have a smaller audience. Etno TV had a measured national audience of 71,000 viewers (29,000 urban viewers) in March 2008, and around

www.audienta-radio.ro, the official site of the Asociația pentru Radio Audiență (The Association for the Radio Audience).

47,000 viewers (22,000 urban) during June. Favorit TV, on the other hand, had 57,000 (20,000 urban) during springtime, and 35,000 viewers (13,000) in the summer (www.arma.org.ro², accessed 24 August 2009). National public television stations have programmes dedicated to the rural world, like *Viaţa Satului* (*The life of the village*) or *Ferma (The farm)*, with news and features, music programmes and shows. The national public television stations have larger audiences. TVR1 had 181,000 (105,000 urban) during March 2008 and 287,000 viewers (191,000 urban) during June (www.arma.org.ro, accessed 24 August, 2009).

There is no information about the print media audiences in rural areas. The National Readership Survey, developed by the Romanian Audit Bureau of Circulations (BRAT), had no interest, in 2008, for the rural population or the small town population, as the universe of the study is formed by 'the Romanian population aged between 14 and 64, living in urban centres with over 50,000 residents' (www.brat.ro, accessed 12 February 2009).

## The Data of the Study

The 'Models of mass-media consumption in the Romanian rural world: traditional identities, European identities' project team gathered data related both to the offer of business journalism programming for rural areas and to the declared consumption of these types of programming. Thus, the TV programme monitored was *The life of the village*, from TVR1 (national PBS): four editions from May and June 2008. The radio programmes monitored were from Radio Antena Satelor (national PBS): *Orizonturi europene (European horizons)* – six editions in May and June 2008, *Sat românesc, sat european (Romanian village, European village)* – nine editions, and *Viața la țară (Life in the countryside)* – four editions. The items followed by the researchers were: the formats presented in the radio or television programme, the socio-demographic profile of the guests or of the interviewees and the type of information presented. The categories followed were: information about European funding, presentations of best practices, local information, cultural information, geographical areas presented and other types of information.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> www.arma.org.ro, the official site of the Asociația Română pentru Măsurarea Audiențelor (The Romanian Association for Audience Measurement).

In order to gather information about the audience, the team applied a questionnaire to 110 respondents and took more than 40 in-depth interviews in five communes: Drăguţeşti commune (Gorj county: ca 5,100 inhabitants), Însurăţei commune (Brăila county: 7,300), Voineasa commune (Vâlcea county: 1,700), Densuş commune (Hunedoara county: 1,800) and Berzasca (Caraş-Severin county: ca 4,000 inhabitants) (www.searchromania. net, http://www.portiledefierpn.ro/berzeasca.htm³, accessed 12 February 2009). Not all the interviews were used in this analysis, since not all respected the project guidelines. The sample is not representative of Romanian rural areas, but the findings should at least be considered as informative.

The radio programmes were formed by news, interviews and music, combined. The main trait of these radio programmes was that they were difficult to follow and, at times, difficult to understand. For example, in an interview during the *European Horizons* programme (5 June, week time, 18.00–19.00), a source explained the meaning of intensive agriculture. Farmers had to make use of types of plants with *a high ecological plasticity* (explained) and of *technical methods for working the soil* (explained). The source talked about possible results. Even if the source explained, his presentation of intensive agriculture was difficult to follow on radio and difficult to remember. There were no images and the source did not repeat what he said, so redundancy was reduced to a minimum. Information was not proposed, and later replayed, so that the listener could understand and retain it for later use. The listeners were not used to following this type of discourse, since very few of them had followed agricultural courses at high school or university (as shown by statistical data).

In interviews or news texts, the radio reporters were, at times, more technical or as technical as their sources. Here follows a news report (*Romanian village, European village*, 9 June, week time, 10.00–11.00 am): 'The Commerce and Industry Chamber in Timişoara will implement the project *Common agricultural policy, a viable alternative for a sustainable rural development*, financed by the General Directorate for Agriculture and Rural Development. The objective of the project is [raising] the awareness of the general public regarding the common agricultural policy, increasing the information degree of the small agricultural producers regarding the benefits of the implementation of the common agricultural policy.' The fragment has little useful information

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> http://www.portiledefierpn.ro/berzeasca.htm – site made by members of the internet community and www.searchromania.net – site made by members of the internet community.

for listeners and does not say what the project is really about: the Timiş county area and milk, cereals and wine fields (www.cciat.ro<sup>4</sup>, accessed 24 August 2009). There was no tangible or easy to follow information. The reporter read several lines from a technical presentation of a European project. 'Raising the awareness of the general public regarding the common agricultural policy' did not mean much, but 'explaining the legislation regarding milk, cereals and wine for the Timiş farmers' was clearer.

The image of the peasant the reporter addressed, was different from the image of the peasant some sources have. For example, during the 30 May edition of *European Horizons*, the reporter talked about all peasants as possible landlords/farmers and implied that all the money a peasant earned could be invested in agriculture. His source, on the other hand, replied that peasants are normal people who probably use money as all of us do. Nevertheless, had they worked abroad, they could have applied what they had learned in their daily work, the source added.

The TV programme monitored, *The life of the Village* (Sunday, 11.00–12.00) was made up of features about farmers' training and results, how a small farm works, how a meat factory works etc. The examples were filmed on the spot, both in Romania and abroad. There were also studio based discussions, with themes such as genetically modified organisms. The known conventions of the medium were followed: interviews were focused on how the sources managed to do what they did, reporters were interested in facts, technical talk was kept to a minimum, and images helped in explaining a situation. A vision about the future of the Romanian village as a European village (medium or larger farms, technology based) was informing the discussion of the reporters with their sources.

Regarding the data gathered by questionnaires, the respondents (who are, in our sample, mostly men – 59% and more educated – 28% with tertiary education, as compared to the national statistics<sup>5</sup>), 37.8% did not listen to the radio, 29.7% listened to regional stations of public radio and the rest listened to commercial radio stations, targeted at urban audiences. Radio was mainly a source of entertainment and information. In the same fashion, commercial, urban targeted TV stations were watched by more than two thirds of the

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 4}~$  www.cciat.ro, the official site of the Timişoara Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture.

 $<sup>^{5}</sup>$  For exact information regarding the questionnaire results, see the Vasilendiuc, 2009 and Păus, 2009.

respondents (76.5%). Some say that they watched TV programmes concerning rural business, but none followed the radio for this kind of information, but rather for music and news (30.6% and 26.1%).

From the respondents to the questionnaire, 31.5% got their European Union related information from rural area targeted TV programmes, and 20.7%, from the village hall, 16.2% from local and national publications and 9.9% from relatives and friends.

The large majority had some EU money-related experience, because a landowner received a grant for the land even if it was not being worked on. In addition, farmers had to comply with EU regulations regarding animals, the production and selling of farm products. Nevertheless, the respondents said that the EU money was for 'them' (for others, for those with relations), not for 'us'. Answering the questionnaire, 64.86% of the people stated they were positive about developing a business in the rural area in the future with European financial support. The in-depth interviews revealed that they were interested in rural business information, if this information was related to the agricultural history of the place and/or to business opportunities they dreamed of and believed to be possible (such as a guest house).

# Only Urban Audiences Are Relevant

In Romania, creating professional systems around the business media for rural communities proves difficult. The rural world is quasi-non-existent for advertisers. The Romanian Audit Bureau of Circulations (BRAT) analyses reading habits in medium and large urban centres. For radio, the Association for the Radio Audience has 3 waves of audience measurements, only one being general (rural and urban). For television, rural and urban audiences are identified, but *only the urban audiences are relevant* (Petrişor Obae<sup>6</sup>, media analyst). For the Internet, there are no specific measurements to indicate rural audiences.

Thus, financing cultural products for the rural world depends on public funds (public television and radio) and individual initiatives (print and Internet).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Petrişor Obae, media analyst, 12 February 2009.

Other problems are added to the financing issue. In the case of radio programmes, several conventions of the professional world are not followed. Advertising focuses on business to business (*vaccines*, *seeds*) and not on business to client. The information is abstract and highly technical. Journalists are, sometimes, more technical than the sources. Information is mixed with folk music, and the general impression of the listeners, revealed in the interviews, was that the radio programmes are based on music. Radio is used as a musical background to daily chores, not as an information provider, as the newsroom would like it to be.

The difficulties in creating professional systems around business journalism type radio programmes are based on a lack of shared definitions for the rural world among journalists and their sources, be they business representatives or authorities. No vision of the national or European Union authorities can be identified for Romanian agriculture, which presents a particular problem if compared with agriculture in other European countries. Romanian farms are very small and very numerous. Romanian peasants practise mainly subsistence agriculture (which only feeds the family). A change was not supported by subsidies provided by the Romanian or EU authorities. There were subsidies for all landowners, no matter how small the plot was or whether it was in use or not, and for animals, no matter how small the number owned. It was not until 2011 that the Ministry of Agriculture started a public discussion over a project for a law including fines for unused land.

Reporters have an idyllic image of the Romanian farmer, a businessman in the making. The sources that are representatives of business companies, on the other hand, draw an image of Romanian farmers by comparing them with the model of other European farmers. The lack of a shared definition is the base of the lack of shared values, thus there is a lack of a shared vision of the future of the Romanian village, a lack of mission for the newsroom, a lack of an ideal to fulfil for the radio programme.

The TV show follows the conventions of the professional world, from the programme's transmission times to image-sound information redundancy. Thus, the programme is transmitted in the morning, at the weekend, not in the evening, during work days. On TV programmes, there are few studio discussions. The programme consists of features on farms and rural businesses, information being sustained by images.

A vision about the future of the Romanian village as a European village, with medium or larger farms, technology based, is evident through the choice of themes and the realization of these themes. The mission for the newsroom

is to show Romanians that fulfilling the vision is possible, and the ideal for the TV show is high quality journalism, to inform in order to fulfil the vision.

Radio programmes are seen by listeners as a source of entertainment, not as a source of information. No professional system around business-related programming for the rural listener is created. The TV programmes are, reportedly, a source of EU information and rural viewers watch and remember the business programmes created for them, in order to receive information.

## Risk Factors in Business Journalism for the Rural World

Several risk factors related to audiovisual programming for rural audiences may be identified, after discussing the cases of the Romanian radio and TV business programmes.

Firstly, a deficiency in applying the conventions of the relevant professional world may lead to an impossibility to produce and market a journalistic product. In the cases presented above, information gathering and text writing rules were disobeyed by radio journalists. The business programmes did not provide much relevant information for the audience, the language was difficult to understand, and the transmission hours were unfortunate. The combination of news and music distracted the audience's attention. The journalists did not have a commercial or strategic logic in disobeying the rules. Such logic could have motivated a change in consumer related conventions. As a result, the radio station was not used by listeners in order to receive information, but for entertainment purposes. The information proposed was considered irrelevant or non-existent by the audience.

Secondly, differences in the definitions of the public and of its informational needs make the creation of a professional system around a journalistic product impossible. The differences in definitions held by journalists, their sources and the listeners themselves had, as effect, a lack of coherence at the level of the journalistic product. The journalists seemed to think that their listeners are future successful farmers, with a rich technical knowledge, interested in dry information. The sources know that only some of the listeners are farmers and that information needs to be explained. Listeners see themselves as entertainment consumers, when radio is involved, and do not identify real possibilities in starting a successful business, with European funds. The lack of coherence has, in turn, an effect on the values proposed. The cultural product

is misunderstood and misused (audiences remember the musical illustration, not the information).

Thirdly, a quasi-general lack of vision about the future of the rural world, based, maybe, on a lack of information or on a lack of interest (from the authorities and journalists alike) makes the creation of professional systems around journalistic products improbable.

The difficulties in financing, from advertising related sources, the cultural products whose target was the rural world and the state support allowed the journalists from the public radio to disobey professional rules. There was little interest for advertising revenues, thus for audiences, and the professional rules are designed to help journalists make better cultural products for their audience.

A lack of shared values leads to an impossibility to create professional systems around business journalistic products for the rural world. This means, in fact, a lack of vision and erroneous definitions of audiences and their needs. Thus, the business media products may be considered useless by the audience or may be used in a different way, as compared with what the newsroom intends.

Based on data gathered through cultural products for the rural audience's analyses, this article exposes the effects of the disobedience of institutional pressure, when such pressure follows the professional rules of the trade. This article does not talk about the causes of the newsroom's failure to obey institutional pressure. The newsroom's side (information gathering procedures, for example) remains to be analyzed in future research. On the other hand, intensive efforts are required in order that rural audiences change their media consumption behaviour. Nevertheless, analyzing the field of cultural products from the institutional point of view and using two sociological concepts, professional world and professional system, this article proves that, regardless of the causes, disobeying basic trade rules with no solid conceptual base, journalistic products for the rural world are doomed to failure.

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