

# IDEOLOGIES OF DEVELOPMENT: THEIR EVOLUTION AND INFUENCE OVER THE DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION PARADIGMS

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**Abstract:** *The paper presents an historical overview of the various development ideologies that have associated specific messages and communications paradigms. The presentation starts with the postwar period and the modernization, or developmental ideology with its accents on industrialization and urbanization, capital inflows and a focus on building institutions inspired from western democracies. The associated communications paradigm is the diffusion theory, a wholehearted belief in the power of mass communication, considered not only as a means of dissemination of information but also an indicator of modernization. The communication themes concentrate on the western civilization values of modernity. This is followed by a short presentation of the reaction to the unsatisfactory outcome of the developmental approach and of the failure of the mass-media dissemination model as a panacea for development communication. This reaction was embodied by the appearance of the dependency theory promoters and of the post-modernists and post-structuralists whose ideas are briefly presented. An important space is dedicated to the models based on participation and spirituality in the Asian and South American regions. These have created real schools of thought and practice, based on dialogue and the empowerment of the beneficiaries and their participation in the design and implementation of the development projects. Communitarianism and sustainable development are presented in the context of their influence on the community driven development, where development communication has a critical, defining influence. The conclusions of the chapter show the present tendency of leaving the ideologies for pragmatism and the relatively elastic lines in the practices of the development communications.*

**Keywords:** ideologies, international development, communication, participation, diffusion

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## **Modernization or developmental theory and the diffusion paradigm**

Socio-economic development and international development in particular have appeared as a distinctive activity after the Second World War and in the aftermath of colonialism with the need to rebuild the economies destroyed by the war and to support the new states that appeared following the de-colonization.

Trumann launched one of the first doctrines expressed coherently and grounded in a multidisciplinary approach in his inaugural speech on January 20, 1949. It is known as the theory of modernization and economic growth or the developmental theory. It was the beginning of the Cold War and the superpowers were re-designing the world in their race to establish spheres of influence. The post-colonial countries were keen to affirm their independence and were in a process of finding and defining their own identity and the socialist ideas of equity and economic prosperity sounded promising. As such, the modernization theory in the social sciences and developmental theory in the economic sector represented an answer to the global offensive to communism in a period of nation building of new, independent countries. Modernization regarded all relevant spheres of life: economy, politics, social and was supported by a series of theoretical and empirical reference works developed by renown sociologists and economists in the American and western European academic spheres such as Rostow, Lerner, Parsons, Merton all of them motivated by the McCarthyism of the '50s, by the generous public funding for this domain, but also from a real sense of patriotism.

According to the Modernization theory, the ideal world was represented by the western societies, mainly by USA and Great Britain, as centers of innovation, industrial and technological development. They represented also the ideal in terms of democracy and fundamental rights, entrepreneurship and rule of law. By contrast, the third world countries were defined as having mainly anachronic traditional institutions, an underdeveloped labor market, lacking capacity to use their own resources, overpopulated and with pre-democratic structures. The main elements of the modernization theory resided in democratization and political pluralism, creation of secular modern states and nation building.

From an economic point of view, modernization was based on neoclassic economics and proposed capital accumulation, entrepreneurship, industrialization at the expense of agriculture and economic progress by adopting and adapting western technologies to the conditions of the third world. In 1960, Walt Whitman Rostow developed a reference model regarding the dynamic of economic growth, an essentially neoclassic model which defines five phases of economic growth: the traditional society, the preconditions for the takeoff of growth, economic growth, maturity and sustaining growth through increasing mass consumption (Rostow 1960). This essentially developmental economic theory changed in time becoming more pragmatic, balancing between giving the state an increasing role as a market regulator to a deeper neoliberalism in the 80's and 2000's focusing on the private property, individual liberties and entrepreneurship.

The social dimension of the modernization theory focuses on urbanization, promotion of education and alphabetization, social mobilization for economic development and bureaucratization of the public administration. The supremacy of the western culture was affirmed as being a center of modernity, innovation and industry where such values as performance, success and rationality were rewarded.

### ***The Diffusion Paradigm***

From a communicational point of view, modernization was based on a set of theories and recommendations, which are collectively grouped in the diffusion paradigm.

One of the defining works of the diffusion paradigm that contributed to the support of the Modernization theory and marked, at the same time the formal debut of development communication - in the diffusion sense- was the 1958 book by Daniel Lerner "The Passing of Traditional Society - Modernizing the Middle East". The conclusions of this study, which covered mainly Turkey and few other Middle Eastern countries, were extrapolated to the whole postcolonial and developing universe, without special regard for cultural differences. A series of technical and theoretical parts remain valid today but many of the sociological and philosophical founding ideas appear today as ethnocentric and lacking cultural sensitivity. In essence, Lerner's theory is that the catalyst of the change from traditional to modern society is a developed mass-communication through mass media. The logic of the transformation is based on open ended arguments and dictating that modern societies cannot function in the absence of a developed mass-media system, or that exposure to mass-media will generate in the population of traditional societies the desire to work and live in a better, parallel world, concluding that when a critical mass of the population will desire a modern lifestyle this will be the start of a change process. And because "*...the Middle East wishes to become same as the Western world...the Islam is impotent against the rational and positive spirit*" (Lerner, 1958 apud Shah, 2011, p. 217) as it is embodied in the western democratic institutions.

The main instrument to achieve this, the communication means vehicle to fill in the informational and cultural void was the mass media. Diffusion through radio and television was seen as the obligatory and sufficient instruments. Lerner's work as a sociological manifest of modernization has served for many years as an underpinning of the explanations of the dynamic and changes in the third world (Shah, 2011). It has also been severely criticized for its paternalistic positions, its lack of cultural sensitivity and limited scope. Third world sociologists and economists were especially vocal in criticizing these views, which condemned oriental cultures to disappear as being sterile and anachronic according to western standards. From a strictly communicational point of view the main deficiency of the model is the premise that the one way, top-down communication through mass-media will lead in short time to important attitudinal and behavioral changes, the "magic multipliers" which will determine by itself the transition from a traditional to a modern society.

This theory did not stand the test of time as shown by the present rise of the Islam, the mediocre performance of the development programs conceived under this paradigm as well as the permanent conflicts between the national cultures and the "ready-made" models of intervention.

In spite of this, this paradigm survived under one form or another in the methodologies of the development organizations, mainly in the US public official development assistance programs. Often this leads to implementation issues and disconnects between the needs and the design of the programs (Petrescu, 2000). An example are some of the democracy assistance programs which led to dysfunctions between the state and the civil society and in other sectors as well, with severe and harmful reactions of the authorities with recent examples the backlash against NGOs in the Russian Federation, Egypt and Sri Lanka in the last few years.

Putin has accused the United States for the problems that he, and by extension Russia, faces now. He accused America of organizing the anti-Putin demonstrations and he banished the USAID. He also declared illegal that Russian NGOs receive US financing. (Demdigest, 2012)

However, it would be wrong to wipe out all the theories and techniques developed under the influence of the modernization theory and during this period, not all of them influenced ideologically. A good example is the Diffusion of Innovation Theory, developed initially in 1969 by Everet Rogers, which started out from situations in USA, which he extrapolated to the rural environment of the developing world. Post-modernist theoreticians of development communications criticize this theory as being a classical example of arrogant exogenous intervention in an indigenous culture. What is remarkable is that Rodgers himself, until his death in 2004 has continuously adjusted and modified his initial approach focusing on the need for more participatory approaches and adapted culturally (Rogers, 2002). At the same time, most of the field practitioners, including the author apply his theory and method of diffusion of innovation as suggested by him.

A concrete exemplification of the plusses and minuses of the developmental theory were the structural adjustment programs in the Central and Eastern Europe in the post-communist period and which focused on the transition for a command to a market economy. In Romania concretely, the six failed "Stand-by" programs with the IMF and the World Bank programs known as SAL, FESAL, ASAL, PSAL1 and 2. These programs had as a theoretical basis a set of macroeconomic and organizational reform recommendations known as the *Washington Consensus*. The economic theory on which these recommendations were based was very solid and applied consistently it has reached its objectives. However the costs were far higher and it took far longer than expected because of several factors that were neglected which theoreticians of the IFIs on the 19th street, NW considered externalities some of which were not even seriously considered. One of the main deficiencies was related to the institutional capacity meaning the timing and functioning of fundamental institutions which regulate and allow the functioning of the markets,

such as contract enforcing authorities and laws, reducing the informational asymmetries, commercial conflict resolutions, etc. From a social and communicational point of view one of the main deficiencies was the lack of a communication and education program to support the transition. A transition that was at the same time an ideological transition from an economically ignorant society, used to a bankrupt social protection system that ensured a mediocre but foreseeable future to a system that can function only if the society accepts willingly the inevitable uncertainty of a market economy. Many economists and leading politicians, architects and champions of the transitions have become victims of their success and have recognized this weakness: Joseph Stiglitz, the chief economist of the World Bank, Jacek Balcerowicz in Poland, Ciorbea and Roman in Romania. Source - personal discussions, unpublished speeches, etc.

### **The dependency theory, the post-modernism and post-structuralism**

The 60's and an intellectual boiling pot against modernizations' failures mainly in the South American continent have led to the development of a new ideology - the dependency theory. Its leaders, *las dependistas*, see a geopolitical role of the development or rather of the underdevelopment. In their view, the relation between the developed North and the underdeveloped "Global South" is one of dependency, oppression and exploitation through political and economic means such as import tariffs on raw products, unsustainable debt, neo-colonialism etc. At the same time they see the underdevelopment as being caused by structural causes: lack of participation to political decision making, access to information, access to assets such as land, capital, etc. Moreover, development is a weapon in the arsenal of the global political struggle. The recommendations of the dependistas are the cooperation between the third world countries, delimitation and distancing from the developed North and the global market, in parallel with an orientation towards one's inner resources and self-sufficiency and "autonomy" (Servaes, 2007).

In the communication arena, this ideology has contributed decisively in the appearance of the *New World Information and Communication Order* an initiative of the unaligned countries within UNESCO from the 60 to the 80's. The concrete manifestation of this movement has been a resolution of the UNESCO on culture and information also known as the Mac Bride report. The report included a number of generous recommendations regarding the democratic development of the mass media and telecommunications in the developing world but also a number of recommendation that made it impossible to achieve the consensus necessary to make it achievable and to be implemented. It also led to the US and UK and other countries to leave the UNESCO.

### **Post Modernism**

Chronologically, the next ideological development is the post modernism and connected to it the post structuralism in communication sciences. It is difficult to define post-modernism because it refuses to be defined clearly, denying the absolute truth. It is best defined by what it is against, by their rhetoric: anti-

capitalist, anti - consumerism, pro-ecologist, pro-feminist and neo-Marxist. Post-modernists criticize the aspirations and endeavors towards liberty and prosperity considering them hypocritical as long as these are just a cover-up for the "oppression of poor exploited masses". From the social and economic point of view, the post modernists support the equal distribution of incomes and assets, full equality of rights. They join and are sometimes confused with pro-ecologist and pro -feminist movements, agnostic or atheistic but also with the movements based on a theological underpinning either Christian - such as the liberation theory but also renunciation theory of oriental, Buddhist, descent, however, they don't focus on the socio-economic development as much as re-organizing the communities (Midgley & Livermore apud Sandu, 2010).

Regarding communication and development communications particularly we distinguish several areas of interest. First of all, for the post-structuralists, as cultural allies of the post modernists, language doesn't stop at transmitting information. It actively builds knowledge through what is called epistemological pluralism and through building of significant meaning. Other postulates regard the traditional scientific means of accumulating information and knowledge and which the post structuralists disconsider totally. In their view, generally accepted views are just probabilistic explanations within a limited scope. Another difficult challenge in understanding post structuralism is its very terminology, abstract and specific.

Regarding development, the postmodernists (of course, not all) believe that in view of the large number of oppressed people - women, minorities, refugees, poor, etc.- ethical considerations should be above objective criteria; therefore, the objective of research in social sciences should be the freedom and empowerment of the oppressed rather than the search for an elusive absolute truth which is, in any case just an elusive mirage (Servaes & Arnst, 1999 in FAO, 2008). The role of development communication should not be the dissemination/diffusion of exogenous knowledge to the target groups but rather to set them free from oppression following a process of active self-awareness that empowers the individuals and the community. (See lower down the dialogic model of communication).

### **Ideologies based on spirituality**

A place apart in the landscape of socio-economic development ideologies as the models based on the main religious traditions such as the liberation theory which we will call ideologies based on spirituality, adopting Melkote's system, (Melkote & Steeves, 2011). We will examine two examples that have had a lasting influence on the development communication: Emancipation and the dialogic paradigm theoretically defined in Paolo Freire's book "The Pedagogy of the Oppressed", 1970 and the Sarvodaya Movement of Sri Lanka anchored in the Buddhist values and traditions.

### ***Emancipation, the Dialogic Paradigm and the Participatory Approach***

The theology of liberation tied to the names of Gustavo Gutierrez and Theillard de Chardin of the 70's has set its sights on the fight against poverty by attacking its supposed source: the sin. It does this by exploring the relations and connections between the Christian theology (mainly roman -catholic and the political activism regarding the social equity, poverty and human rights. Freire was deeply connected to this movement of the catholic leftists and their community clubs that have started initially as prayer meeting places and which he used to mobilize the community for educational purposes.

Concisely, for Paolo Freire development communication must not be a transmission of information as it is essentially in the modernization theory, but a means to emancipate and liberate from oppression each individual and community, a means achieved through a structured dialogue which leads to self awareness and therefore to finding a solution.

Starting from theology, Freire considers that all individuals want to be free from any form of internal oppression. Therefore, development should be focused on eliberation from oppression. The individual has the innate capacity to develop but can only achieve it through reflection and in a contrasting relationship so as to recognize progress. This relationship is achieved through communication (education) by means of an emancipated dialogue described as a specific form of dialogue, egalitarian, non patronizing, in an atmosphere of love and humility and which examines progressively the contexts of oppression (Melkote & Steeves, 2011). The ideas behind this are that once the oppression methods are identified the individuals have the internal resources to overcome them.

For Freire another critical aspect of the dialogic paradigm is the "critical spirit". Outside of critical spirit there is no true dialogue. As the dialogue is the only real form of communication and without communication there is no education, by default the only true and viable form of education and communication is the one in which the educator and the student are in a bilateral situation in which the first will first of all ask himself what should be the subject of the dialogue (Freire, 2006).

*"For the anti-dialogic banker educator the problem of content is reduced to the program he will present in a discursive manner to his students. And he answers himself this question, organizing his program to satisfy that need. For the dialogic professor - student, who asks himself always questions, the content of his curricula is neither a given, nor an imposition - fragments of information to be deposited in his students - but a structured, organized and developed representation of things about which his students want to find out more" (Freire, 2006, p. 45)*

In an interesting convergence of the religious left with the Marxist left - a post modernistic characteristic otherwise - one of Freire's sources of inspiration was Mao - Tse Tung which he often quotes: " *...you know what I always said: we need to teach the masses in a structured way what we have received from them in a sporadic, confused manner*" (Mao-Tse Tung apud Freire, 2006, p. 41).

Beyond the spiritual and pathetic accents and idealistic approach, the dialogic

paradigm has proven itself of real value. It has opened up alternative means, participatory approaches to development. One important aspect is the capacity to mobilize the individuals and the community with which a real dialogue is opened. Secondly, the influence of this dialogue as long as it is empathic on the designers and actors of the interventions has led to dramatic changes in the development practice, mainly in the community driven development. The identification of the sources of oppression (or, in neoclassic economist terminology - developmental challenges) is indeed a method to empower individuals and the community, especially if you provide them the incentives and the minimum resources to overcome them. In this sense, the dialogic paradigm has contributed decisively to frame the concept and practice of empowerment, especially in the poverty alleviation projects, as a means to ensure the sustainability of the programs (Papa, Singhal & Papa, 2005).

What remains to be discussed is to what degree the "pure" dialogic approach, without the input of external information and resources can be efficient in improving the quality of life of the subjects. This dialectic dialogue- diffusion is actually at the foundation of all recent interventions in development communications and will come back again and again.

The participatory approach has been one of the results of the dialogic school of thought and it dominated the development practice during the 80's (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 1988). Development projects were designed and implemented only with the consultation and with the participation of the beneficiaries, as depositories of the local knowledge and experience and close to their culture, which increased the chances of sustainability. This approach is synthetically presented by one of the leading development communicators, Jan Servaes:

*"These new approaches maintain that that the starting point should be the community. It is at this level that that the living conditions are presented and problems are identified and interactions with other communities are obtained. The most developed form of participation is the self-management. This principle implies the right to participate in the planning and developing the media content and production. However, not everybody needs to be or wants to be involved in the practical application. Much more important is that participation is possible in decision-making regarding the subjects discussed and the selection procedures. One of the fundamental obstacles in adopting the participatory strategies is that it threatens existing hierarchies. Still, participation does not mean that that there is no role for development specialists, planners and leaders. It only means that the point of view of local groups is taken into consideration before the allocation and distribution of resources is decided, and that proposals for policy changes are taken into consideration." (Jan Servaes, 2007 in FAO, 2008, pg. 6).*

### ***Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement***

The term *sarvodaya* sends us directly to Mahatma Gandhi and it can be translated as "well-being for all" and it is a concept that promoted the idea of civic service to help the needy as a condition of spiritual life. Gandhi was therefore one of the first ideologues and theoreticians of community based development (which in practice



had started during the colonial administration). *Sbaramadana* is a Sinhalese and Sanskrit term that means, "voluntary sharing of time and resources through energy and work". Ayaratne, a Sri-Lankan pedagogue influenced by the Gandhian philosophy that he modified and adapted to the Buddhist religion and philosophy, initiated this movement in Sri Lanka at the beginning of the 60's. The "middle way", the living model proposed by the Buddhist religion and which ensures happiness are: that life involves suffering and pain; the causes of suffering are our ego and our desires; suffering is relieved when we are liberated from human desires. To achieve this state the Buddhist philosophy encourages the disciples to climb certain steps and adopt a number of positive behaviors and encourages attitudes of compassion, altruism, modesty which lead to personal development.

The Sarvodaya Movement offers thus to its disciples a means to achieve their objectives of spiritual emancipation and personal development. It offers the means and a noble goal for the disciples to engage and exercise their physical and spiritual resources. To this end, teams of Sarvodaya volunteers will serve as community facilitators, will mobilize the community to participate in exercises to identify in a participatory manner the needs and objectives of the community and will promote the Movement's values, philosophy and methodology of community development. The process is replicated in other communities in cascade. At present, around a third of the Sri - Lankan communities are members of the Sarvodaya Movement.

From the communications point of view, Asian sociologists consider that the Aristotelian system of communication that is at the basis of western communication is symmetrically opposed to the Buddhist system, as shown in table 1.

**Table 1.** *Western versus Buddhist communication model*

<b><i>Aristotelian Model</i></b>	<b><i>Budhist Model</i></b>
Focus on sender	Focus on receiver
The influence, the persuasion of the message	Comprehension of the message
Focus on control	Focus on choice
Accent on the external process	Accent on both internal and external process
The relation between sender and receiver is asymmetrical, with bias favoring the sender	The relation between the sender and the receiver is symmetrical
Focus on the intellectual/rational approach	Focus on empathy

Source: Wang & Dissananyake, 1984

The Sarvodaya Movement is not a particular case, but a better known one. Community development initiatives based on volunteering are frequent in the Asian space where the philanthropic and spiritual based volunteering is spread widely. Similar examples can be found also based on other faiths and churches, protestant and new protestant or Islamic (the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt

actually started out and continues to be also philanthropic organization). To conclude, we can say that these movements use the religious values and practices to facilitate and mobilize individuals and communities to achieve their empowerment and development.

### **Communitarianism**

The communitarianism is a social philosophy, which is based on the idea that the "Good" should be defined socially. This idea is in contrast with the fundamental idea of liberalism, which maintains that each person determines his own "good" or "utility" in an individual manner. Communitarians tend to underline the importance of the "common good", of common base values and the responsibility of the individual towards the common good. Even more, communitarians maintain that the very notion of individual as a self-standing agent is uncertain as long as individuals are integrated in various communities and social structures. Individual choices are actually reflections of their culture, developed through social interactions. Neither is the state the main actor, which can slide towards authoritarianism. The community is seen as the ideal place to develop the "good society", a society that is based not so much on neutral rules and processes but on a shared moral culture (Etzioni, 2011). Although communitarianism is a small philosophical school it has had a considerable influence over the public dialogue and political discourse and is widely spread in the US academic spheres. This political influence made itself felt in the increasing community based approach in poverty alleviation programs.

### **Sustainable development**

Sustainable development is seen by some to be just a new terminology that brings nothing new to development or at best it is seen as a more inclusive economic concept. However the wide spread of this concept, the way it drives at present the visions, expectations, rhetoric and actions of political parties, governments as well as of the development institutions makes it an ideology in the opinion of the author.

Initially, this term appeared in 1987 in a report of a UN organization, the World Commission on Environment and Development, and it is better known as the Brundtland report titled: "*Our Common Future*". In this report sustainable development was defined as the development that covers the needs of the present without compromising the possibility of future generations to cover theirs. However the definition was too vague to allow the development of widely accepted indicators. In 2005 the UN summit stated the three pillars of sustainable development: economic development, social equity and environmental protection. The Rio de Janeiro summit and its Earth Charter allowed the crystallization of ideas and a practical application of the resolutions. Later, the Local Agenda 21 identified awareness, integration and community participation in decision making as main pillars in designing development projects. In 2010, UNESCO adds to this vision the cultural dimension with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of

Cultural Diversity.

## Community driven sustainable development

The focus on community of the sustainable development approach comes from two directions. First, it comes from the more or less theoretical idea that communities are by definition interested in the sustainable use of the available resources, of the natural capital and that they have an assumed social responsibility for the development of the community. Secondly, it comes from the success of the community driven development (CDD) projects, including sectorial ones related to environmental issues and sustainable development. In the last ten years only the World Bank has allocated over USD 8 billion in CDD, considered to be the most appropriate and successful methodology to address poverty. However, there are reservations regarding the scaling -up at national level of this approach and their sustainability in the long term.

Communicational aspects of sustainable development are related first to the specific message regarding the rational use of resources, seen metaphorically as an endowment, a fixed capital, of which the society should use only the dividends, meaning the re-generable resources (Roseland, 2000).

Regarding approaches and methodologies, although there is an important advocacy and behavior change communication activity that remains characteristic to sustainable community development is the dialogic paradigm, the participatory methods, or as it is proposed more recently, the *Communication for Structural and Sustainable Change*, (Servaes & Patchanee, 2007) whose genealogy can be traced back to Freire's dialogic paradigm. Partisans of this approach maintain that the sustainability element of a profound change as it is necessary in these cases must be of large social participation and permanent (as opposed to a time bound social marketing campaign) and based on dialogue, participation and cultural sensitivity. In a continuum of public participation, that starts with public disclosure of information, to consultation and to public participation to decision-making and self-management of resources, CDD places itself to the top. CDD cannot be imagined outside of an open communication that ensures transparency, open governance and a lateral and participatory communication that mobilizes the target populations. Entrusting the management of resources directly to community representatives also makes them more accountable and facilitates the community control over the implementation of the projects. In Romania, the remarkable success of the Romanian Social Development Fund demonstrated the efficiency of this system to contribute to poverty alleviation.

## Conclusions

Looking superficially at the landscape of development ideologies and the associated communication paradigms we may be tempted to draw a line. To the left of the line to place the communitarian, socialist, post-modernist ideologies associated with the dialogic and participatory paradigm. To the right of the line to put the developmental - modernization approaches based on individualistic,

neoclassical economics associated with top-down communication, impersonal and insensitive, at best a social marketing approach. Maybe up to the late 70's it worked that way. But gradually things have changed and at present that image would be false. The practice of international development is at present increasingly pragmatic, based on a market economy philosophy tempered by a market failure approach for public intervention through regulatory approaches, investments and capacity building. The community-based development is supported because it has proved to be the most efficient way of addressing poverty. The following quote best illustrates this present attitude: "*The opposite of the developmental ideology is not anything goes, but the pragmatic use of economic ideas that have been proven over time - the benefits of specialization, comparative advantages, trade gains, trade-offs, market based pricing, tight budget controls - for individuals, companies, governments and societies...*" (Easterley, 2007, p. 5).

In a similar and logical mirroring in the communication field, although there is a dialectic contradiction between the dialogic paradigm and the diffusion, the reality of the development communication practice is that we have a large choice of theories and models from which field practitioners will draw pragmatically the most appropriate elements or they will create their own model adapted to the situation. This elastic approach seems to be embraced even by the more radical practitioners. Jan Servaes (Servaes & Patchanee, 2007 p. 176) best summarizes this situation: "*...there is a large variety of theoretical models that can be used to design communication strategies for sustainable development. However, as each case and situation is different, none of these has proven to be satisfactory in the context of international development. As a consequence, practitioners will find solutions combining several theories or by developing their own conceptual framework.*"

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