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What can the state do?

Creating social capital in civil society

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to give suggestions on how states can generate social capital in civil society. This is done by comparing the established literature on the topic with the unconventional approach implemented by Antanas Mockus, former mayor of Bogotá. Three influential political scientists are here selected to portray central aspects of the established literature. Their writings are compared with the approach underlying Antanas Mockus work and his attempts on creating social capital in civil society.

We find that Mockus' approach in many aspects is similar to the established literature but also that certain dimensions are yet to be explored. Mockus provides us with an alternative method to change civic expectations and perceptions in order to reach social change. Further, unexplored pedagogical and educational interventions combining art and theatre with social change and the creation of social trust is something we find when reviewing the case of Mockus. We acknowledge that further research can be conducted on this topic, especially when it comes to the role of leadership and its impact on the creation of social capital.

Key words: social capital, social trust, civic culture, governance, Antanas Mockus
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The idea for this paper was first conceived when one of the authors was doing an internship in the NGO Corpovisionarios, created and led by Antanas Mockus. Six months were spent fully engulfed in the concept and approach that is Cultura Ciudadana (Civic Culture). Meetings, workshops and discussions were on a daily basis held that all related to and depend on the understanding of Cultura Ciudadana. This led to an interest for how to help spread the message and further develop the concept.

This paper would not have come about if it were not for the openness and generosity that the staff at Corpovisionarios showed the young and curious Swedish student. He brought back home with him not only the theory and method surrounding Cultura Ciudadana, but also fond memories of the hardworking and honest persons in the staff – which today are regarded as dear friends–, working on improving the level of social capital in Colombia and Latin America.

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1 Introduction

Putnam (1994, p. 185) famously stated that the act of building social capital is the key to making democracy work. That is, democracy wouldn't work without a certain level of social capital in civil society. This is derived from the fact that a lack of social capital negatively affects institutional performance, with consequences such as corruption and clientelism (ibid., p. 157). With this in mind, it is relevant to study how states and institutions can generate social capital.

The first statement in the previous paragraph is something that Rothstein (2003) and Fukuyama (2000) concur in. Rothstein further adds that the key to avoiding social traps – i.e. harmful actions from individual actors originating from negative anticipations of how others will respond to certain actions – caused by the lack of social capital is to change the expectations citizens have of each other. However, it is not quite clear how this change of expectations can be generated or even which the causes of social capital are (Hooghe – Stolle 2003). It can generally be stated that while Putnam (2001) claims that civic associations and civic participation create social capital as well as pressure institutions, thus making them more effective, Rothstein (2013) is of the opinion that social capital is created at the output-side of the public institutions – i.e. the side responsible for implementation of public policies.

Antanas Mockus, former mayor of Bogotá, Colombia, during two periods – 1995-1997 and 2001-2003 –, came to power with the explicit intention to change the expectations citizens have of each other, facilitate societal co-existence, provide effective and honest public administration, lower corruption as well as the level of violence in the city. This was done through an unusual concept of governance originating from his many decades of teaching at universities (Mockus 2012).

Before taking office, Bogotá was seen as the most dangerous city in Latin America (Sommer 2017, s. 249). Upon leaving office the annual homicide rate had decreased with over 50% (Cala Buendía 2010, p. 21), deaths in traffic

accidents dropped dramatically and an end was put to the clientelist relationship with the Government and the Council (Mockus 2002, p. 25).

The attempts Mockus made at implementing projects aiming to generate social capital might be relevant to investigate with the intention of understanding how social capital can be generated as well as adding to the established literature on the topic.

1.1 Background

Prior to becoming mayor, Antanas Mockus was principal of the National University of Colombia in Bogotá (Mockus 2012, p. 143). In the early nineties he became a national notoriety when he pulled down his trousers, exposing his bare bottom, to gain the attention of a large group of protesting students. Mockus had to resign from his position, but this unorthodox act made him gain popularity among people desperate for change and with no faith in the existing political structure (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2006, p. 459).

In 1995 Mockus ran for mayor of Bogotá with the explicit agenda of cleaning up a city heavily plagued by violence, corruption and unruliness (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2017, p. 459). When he took office, he did so with a different approach, tackling the problems facing the city in a very unconventional way by turning to art and using it as a method. Mockus used his concept of Civic Culture, a concept striving to harmonize moral, legal and cultural norms, to change the expectations citizens have of each other in the public sphere (Sommer 2017, p. 252). This approach strived to educate the citizens, to use the city as a classroom with the goal of changing the way citizens interacted with each other, authorities and the city itself (Cala Buendía 2010). In other words, Mockus intended to create a common ground on which a very fragmented population could unite (Tognato 2017, p. 29).

Amongst the most famous projects Mockus carried out as mayor was one where he put mime artists on crosswalks to improve interactions between pedestrians and drivers to showcase the benefits that follow when citizens observe rules that facilitate co-existence (Falconi 2017, p. 80). These mime artists were to publicly point out what was inappropriate with individuals behavior by making

gestures and mocking them. When good actions were spotted the mimes would incite the public to applaud the action (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2006, p. 461). This approach was successful in uniting civil servants and citizens to promote a proper behavior on the streets. Over 482 intersections were used, and 425 mimes were put on the streets (Falconi 2017, p. 82).

Another project worth mentioning is one called Bogotá Coqueta, Bogotá flirts, where Mockus diffused cards with one white side and one red side to pedestrians and drivers in Bogotá. The red side showed a hand giving a thumbs-down, a sign of disapproval, while the white side showed a hand giving a thumbs-up, a sign of approval. The signs were intended to encourage citizens to regulate each other's behavior through peaceful means, utilizing them to signalize their reactions to actions of others.

The outcome was successful in promoting citizen-to-citizen education, and some drivers even attached the cards to the windows of their cars (Falconi 2017), which might be a sign of affinity for the project. There are more projects worth mentioning and investigating, but due to a limited amount of space they will be left for the reader to explore.

Mockus' two terms as mayor have by many been associated with huge success and radical change of the city of Bogotá. What has been observed is a reduction of the homicide rate from 82 (1993) to 35 (2000) per 100,000 inhabitants – more than a 50% drop. Deaths in traffic have been reduced from 1,387 (1995) to 834 (2000). Progress was also made in the restoration and respect for public areas and an end was put to the clientelist relationship between the government and the Council (Mockus 2002). Also, the city's tax revenues increased from 200 million dollars per year (1990) to 750 million dollars per year (2003); an increase in tax revenues such as this can according to Rothstein (2003) partly be explained as a sign of increased levels of social capital.

An increased amount of social capital has been shown to have a role in encouraging political participation (Albarracin, J – Valeva, A 2011), a fact that leads to the conclusion that higher institutional pressure also should be expected. After Mockus, a candidate named Sergio Fajardo has followed closely his footsteps, clearly inspired by his work in Bogotá (Forman 2017, p. 345). Fajardo, in line with Mockus, aims at lowering corruption, increasing transparency,

improving tolerance and understanding in the country through the same methods and theory – Civic Culture – that Mockus used (Linares 2018). It can be argued that Fajardo partly is a product of Mockus as well as the discourse that Mockus helped shape; After all, he was the Mockus' Vice President candidate in the 2010 presidential elections (El Tiempo 2010). Further, it might be the case that Fajardo and his running for president in 2018 can be understood better when viewing the attempts at constructing social capital made by Mockus. If this might also be an argument for the success of Mockus, we leave to the reader and further studies to investigate.

1.2 Purpose and research question

The aim of this thesis is to study the approach surrounding the projects implemented by Mockus, with the overall ambition of learning how states, state actors and institutions can approach the difficult and not always manageable task of generating social capital. Our hypothesis is that the Mockusian approach can reveal new aspects on how the state can be used to generate social capital in civil society.

Research question:

- Can the Mockusian approach contribute anything to the established literature on generating social capital through the state?

1.3 Definition of social capital

Social capital is an umbrella term, containing several aspects of social interaction and norms (Rothstein 2003, p. 111). Because of this, there are many ways to define social capital. The theories reviewed in this thesis are based on partly different definitions. Since we focus on the Mockusian approach, which is based on civil society and social interaction, we have chosen to define social capital as the level of social trust and the expectations citizens have of each other. This is to

say, the higher the level of social trust and positive expectations of others, the higher the level of social capital.

1.4 Method

To answer our research question and general purpose of the study we will analyze the approach and theories used by Antanas Mockus and his administration during his two terms as mayor of Bogotá and compare them with the established literature in the field of social capital related to political science.

We will firstly do an overview of the theories presented in the established literature on social capital. These will be summarized in the next chapter of the thesis. What we find here we will assume to be representative of the main progress that has been made on the topic within political science.

After reviewing the established literature, we will look at and review the approaches used by Mockus during his time as mayor. Since our general hypothesis is that Mockus' approach might reveal relevant aspects or dimensions that have not been thoroughly explored in the established literature, we will make a comparison between aspects of the established literature and Mockus' approach. This investigation will look for aspects that both comply with, disagree with as well as are not mentioned in the established literature.

Since our ambition is somewhat theory-developing, we intend to comply with the tradition of focusing on few cases and gather a lot of information about them rather than on many cases containing little information (Esaïsson et al. 2012, p.112). Nonetheless, important information will undeniably be overlooked in our strive to focus on relevant cases and material. Rather than looking at specific projects we will try to identify core aspects of the projects and highlight how they might be related to the established literature. Our method contains hints of grounded theory, in which theory needs to fit the empirical findings. Even though we do not use many cases – generally recommended when using grounded theory (Esaïsson et al. 2012, p. 127) –, we hope that our findings might generate some theoretical conclusions.

Another aspect itself important is the theory behind the projects; Mockus has written extensively on the thoughts and theories behind the projects. This will also be taken into account, be compared to and discussed in relation to the literature.

1.5 Critique

Since social capital is a very hard thing to measure, it can very reasonably be argued that we know rather little of whether or not Antanas Mockus in reality generated any type of social capital at all. If that is the case, then there would be no apparent reason to study his approach. Further, since it is a phenomenon hard to define, it might be difficult to clearly even be aware of what to search for when trying to appreciate the effects.

Claiming that Mockus and his Civic Culture were the sole reasons for the change taking place in Bogotá is not justified. For example, both during and before his time as mayor, police controls, efforts targeting the drug cartels and much tougher laws were put into force (Ramos 2017, p. 366). These are potential factors that also might explain the social changes that took place. Further, the available data do not offer conclusive evidence about the role that Civic Culture had in lowering the crime rates in Bogotá. Rather, they suggest it played a minor role (*ibid.*, p. 369). Thus, it can be argued – in line with Tognato (2017, p. 500) – that Mockus with his Civic Culture approach primarily encouraged people to show solidarity towards each other and accept solidarity from others.

Regarding the applicability of Civic Culture to other contexts, Mockus (2012, p. 145) himself believes that his approach can be applied to other developing as well as highly developed cities. Sommer (2017) is of the opinion that one should not strictly strive for Civic Culture in any context, but rather adopt the approach on which it rests. In some cities or contexts, new projects based on the approach should be implemented rather than copying old ones. Dundjerovic and Navarro Bateman (2006, p. 466) do for example believe that Mockus' approach might be relevant to a global position of integration and citizen ownership of urban space in metropolitan cities.

In contrast to this, some political theorists do not believe that Mockus' approach should be studied to learn the conditions under which something similar

might be created, but rather in order to learn about the unique person he is. This since they emphasize the important role that Mockus' charisma played in the success of Civic Culture (Tognato 2017, p. 536). Perhaps Mockus at best can tell us the importance of culture in society and that interventions can be carried out in many different ways, not just in Mockusian ways (ibid., s. 519). The previous is hard to judge, but we agree with Sommer in that Mockus' approach has potential to be applied to other contexts.

2 Theoretical framework

This chapter will present the dominant theories regarding social capital in political science. It aims to provide a general overview that will constitute the basis for the coming analysis and comparison.

As mentioned before, the concept of social capital is quite broad and hard to precisely define from a political science-perspective. The established literature we have reviewed is divergent when it comes to definitions, approaches and implications regarding social capital. However, we have chosen to focus on three influential authors in this field, Robert D. Putnam, Bo Rothstein and Francis Fukuyama. These are also quite explicit in their recommendations regarding how they believe social capital can be generated.

2.1 Robert D. Putnam

Putnam regards social capital to be connections among individuals, social networks and norms of reciprocity as well as trustworthiness that arise from those connections (Putnam 2000, p. 19). He also includes features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can make civil life more efficient by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam 1994, p. 167).

In his famous book *Making Democracy Work*, Putnam (1994) investigates how social capital affects democratic society and the performance of institutions. His conclusion is that citizens in civic communities – where the level of social capital is high – expect better governments and that they, in part through their own efforts, get it. These citizens demand more effective public service and are prepared to collectively act to achieve their demands. Contrastly, citizens in regions where the level of social capital is lower, more commonly act

opportunistically and cynically. Without exception Putnam concludes that the more civic the context, the better the government.

According to Putnam, in contexts where norms of generalized reciprocity and civic engagement exist, social trust and cooperation will be encouraged since incentives to defect from the norms are reduced. Therefore individuals are able to trust each other due to the dominating norms and networks that surround their actions (Putnam 1994, p. 177).

Putnam (1994, p. 177) means that if a society is able to move towards promoting cooperative solutions, it will self-reinforce in the process. The more dense networks of civic engagement, the easier it will be to spot defectors from the norm - which makes it riskier and less tempting to defect.

Changing civic community and levels of social capital is a long process according to Putnam (1994). He means that it has deep historical roots and that institutional change because of this moves very slowly. Even slower than changing institutions is the practice of erecting norms of reciprocity and strong networks of civic engagements. Putnam mentions that more than two decades are necessary to trace effects on culture and social structure (*ibid.*, p. 185). Therefore he calls for patience when it comes to generating social capital and not expect immediate results.

Rather than changing national initiatives, Putnam stresses that local transformation of local structure is the way to go (1994, p. 185).

Regarding the question on how to overcome dilemmas of collective action, Putnam argues that it depends on the broader social context within which any particular game is played. Here he refers to the prisoner's dilemma and claims that cooperation should be expected to be generated when players are engaged in infinitely repeated games, so that defectors get punished in successive rounds. Cooperation is lubricated by trust and therefore increased where the latter is to be found. Cooperation further breeds trust, and is found in networks of civic engagements that are essential forms of social capital. Putnam means that civic communities have successful horizontal relationships whereas less civic communities have more authoritarian vertical relationships – which are unable to sustain social trust and cooperation as well as less successful than horizontal networks in solving collective action dilemmas. Putnam's conclusion is that the

more horizontally structured a community is, the more it should foster institutional success in the specific community (Putnam 1994).

In the book *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) – reflecting over the decline of social capital in present day America – encourages leaders and activists to find innovative ways to make civic institutions and practices more effective. He finds it to be a combination of individual as well as institutional change that is needed. He and Feldstein (2004) means that it is silly to believe that civil society alone can solve problems related to a lack of social capital.

He argues that aesthetic objectives and art are important in transcending conventional social barriers. Further, social capital can be a valuable by-product of cultural activities whose main purpose might be purely artistic.

Putnam encourages policy designers to become more aware of social capital and existing stocks of social capital when implementing policy, seeking to do minimum damage of existing stocks.

In their book *Better Together*, Putnam and Feldstein (2004) write that strategies for solving collective problems may demand inefficiencies and redundancies since it requires local participation, something that might derail top-down planning. However, it might have spillover benefits that might spread beyond the targeted population. They also write that political actors expecting streamlined processes and fully predictable results may undercut the process of generating social capital. Further, true believers in positions of power and committed individuals working with grassroots participation are required. A smaller intervention is better when it comes to forging and sustaining connections, bigger interventions are better for critical mass, power and diversity. They both highlight the importance of creating shared visions of collective action, linking immediate issues to broader projects. These visions should be connected to something that participants truly care about; storytelling can here come to be a crucial technique for building social capital, as well as reaching across social divisions.

2.2 Bo Rothstein

Rothstein problematizes Putnam's definition of social capital. He argues that the central ingredient of the concept, rather than being about behavior and attitudes, is the degree of trust towards other citizens in the society in which one is placed (Rothstein 2003, p. 15). This he calls social trust, something related to credibility and reliability. Worth mentioning, Rothstein is of the opinion that the level of social capital is something hard to measure, due to the fact that it contains socio-psychological processes that aren't completely easy to get a hold on (ibid., p. 111-114).

Rather than being worn-out when used, social capital increases the more it is applied according to Rothstein (2003, p. 113); i.e., the more we interact with people that we find out we can trust, the more our trust increases as well as the likelihood of more positive interaction. Individuals can also train their ability to evaluate others trustworthiness, this is something that speaks for the fact that social capital might not be carved in stone.

Rothstein argues that without social trust in a society, there is no way to establish an equilibrium of cooperation. Something that will lead to a situation of distrust where every actor loses, even though everyone would have benefited by trusting each other – this is called a social trap (2003, p. 12). There is no existing model that explains what causes change from one position of social trust to another. Further, the literature on social capital is strongly divided regarding causes and origins of social trust (2013, p. 1013). However, Rothstein mentions that an important aspect to this lies in changing the perception and expectation citizens have of each other from negative distrust to positive trust and solidarity (ibid., s. 14). If no change occurs, then the social trap will continue to dominate as individuals continue to act opportunistically and treacherously. Even individuals with clear preferences to avoid the social trap, will act according to it since they expect nearly everyone else to act unfairly. The basic thesis here is that actors need to develop social capital in order to avoid social traps. A change is then needed in the collective rationality in order to achieve a change of the individual rationality (ibid., p. 22). Your own loyalty is defined by the loyalty of others. To achieve this change, enough people have to agree to change their behavior, something that only will be done if they also expect others to do the same (ibid.,

p. 25). Once again, expectations of others are shown to play a major part in this theory.

Rothstein (2003, p. 35) claims that the quality of government one enjoys is due largely to a high level of social trust which for example allows for governments to collect a high amount of taxes since people trust and expect governments to use the taxes well, so that everyone benefits from it. Stable democracy, high level of economic growth, low levels of corruption and crime are also things Rothstein (2003, p. 61) considers to be associated with high levels of social capital.

Once a social trap is established in a context, it seems as though it is very difficult to break out of it. It takes a long time and requires that almost everyone affected by the trap change their expectations and start trusting each other (Rothstein, 2003 p. 30).

A solution to a social trap can only be achieved if the affected ones start punishing the ones acting opportunistically. Rothstein (2003, p. 164) also points out that there needs to exist institutions that effectively punish individuals that are engaged in opportunistic and deceitful behavior. The problem here is that not all forms of deceitful behaviors are illegal, a fact that highlights the importance of other sanctions than legal ones. Important here is an effective informal proliferation of information regarding actor's reputation and credibility.

A central conclusion from Rothstein (2003, p. 170) is that institutions strongly affect the level of social trust in individuals and societies. Specifically, public administration and the output-side of politics seem to correlate with the level of social trust in a society. Some institutions can thus be categorized as effective if they contribute to the solution of social traps. That is, trustworthy, uncorrupt, honest and impartial government institutions exercising public power and implementing policies in a fair manner create social trust and social capital (Rothstein 2013, p. 1014).

2.3 Francis Fukuyama

Fukuyama (2000, p. 98) defines social capital as an instantiated set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permits them to cooperate with one another. If expectations that others will behave reliably and honestly

exist, then the members of a group will come to trust one another. Norms producing social capital include virtues such as truth telling, obligations and reciprocity. A common denominator is that the norms must lead to cooperation in groups.

To some degree all societies have a stock of social capital, but they differ concerning the radius of trust, i.e. some norms can be shared among limited groups but not with others in society at large (Fukuyama 2000). For example, in Latin America, families are strong and cohesive, but the level of trust in strangers and levels of honesty and cooperation in public life are much lower.

Fukuyama argues that social capital has benefits that extend beyond the economic sphere; it is a critical factor for the creation of a healthy civil society, which in turn is critical for the success of democracy (Fukuyama 2000, p. 99). Social capital also allows different groups within a society to come together and defend their own interests. That is, social capital reduces transaction costs and promotes an associational life that is necessary for the success of limited government (IMF Working Paper 2000).

Fukuyama (2000) in accordance with the other theorists mentioned in this thesis, emphasizes that it is difficult to measure social capital. He suggests that instead of measuring it as a positive value, it might be possible to measure the absence of social capital through traditional measures of social dysfunction, such as rates of crime, family breakdown, etc.

Partially differing from the others, Fukuyama (2000, p. 102-103) regards social capital to be created spontaneously all the time by people going about their daily lives, rather than being some sort of rare cultural treasure that is passed down from one generation to the next, which can never be regained if lost. Social capital and social order is here then seen as being generated through decentralized and spontaneous interactions between individuals. This through an iterated Prisoner's Dilemma game (IMF Working Paper 2000), where players learn to adapt a strategy with a cooperative outcome. But, at the same time, Fukuyama also mentions the importance of viewing the impact on social capital that religion, tradition, cultural norms and shared historical experience might have. This leads to the conclusion that, due to path dependence, suboptimal social norms can persist for a long time (IMF Working Paper, p. 14).

Regarding the construction of social capital, Fukuyama (IMF Working Paper 2000) argues that it cannot easily be created or shaped by public policy; there aren't that many obvious ways for states to create social capital. Rather he claims that states can produce negative externalities when trying to create social capital that can be detrimental to larger society. This is due to the fact that states cannot duplicate effects from external factors such as religion, culture and other sources of shared values.

Fukuyama (IMF Working Paper, p. 15) is of the opinion that governments have the greatest ability to generate social capital through education. This considering that educational institutions pass on social capital in the forms of social rules and norms.

States can also foster social capital through efficiently providing necessary public goods, such as property rights and public safety. Where states fail to provide these functions, other actors such as mafias, etc., might spring and claim to provide them. Further, people cannot easily interact with each other in an unsafe environment due to the fact that trust is much less likely to be generated under such conditions (IMF Working Paper 2000, p. 15).

States might perhaps have a serious negative impact on social capital if they start to undertake activities that are better left to the private sector or civil society. If states get into the business of organizing everything, Fukuyama (IMF Working Paper) fears that people will become dependent on the state and as a consequence lose their spontaneous ability to work with one another. He also argues that there might be a cultural motive in preserving a sphere strictly for individual action and initiative regarding building civic associations.

3 Analysis

In this chapter we will analyze the approaches and theories used by Mockus and compare them with the established literature presented in the previous chapter. Our analysis will be divided in categories that we have created based on different central approaches applied by Mockus.

3.1 Civic Culture

Mockus (2002) strives to achieve co-existence, which he defines as tolerance for diversity and absence of violence, through breaching the gap between law, moral and cultural norms. Legal norms are the ones based on law and formal norms, determining what is allowed and what is not allowed in society. Moral norms, are informal norms that individuals have internalized as principles – commonly called conscience. Social norms represent the system of socially shared behavioral rules (Murraín 2017).

Mockus (2002) further writes that “co-existence means keeping common rules, having culturally rooted mechanisms of social self-regulation, respecting differences and complying with rules to process them; it is also learning to reach, comply with and amend agreements” (p. 21). A lack of consistency between the three will express itself as violence, delinquency, corruption, etc.

Legal Norms	Moral Norms	Social Norms
Admiration or respect of the law (Importance of compliance)	Conscious self-gratification (Peace with one’s conscience)	Social admiration and recognition (Trust-reputation)
Fear of legal sanction	Fear of guilt	Fear of shame or social rejection

Source: Murraín 2017, p. 296

Mockus (2002) identifies that more shared rules imply a greater common identity, which creates respect towards differences. In order for this tolerance to appear and thereby decrease levels of violence, some common rules are necessary; there need to be some shared cultural rules, explicitly adopted constitutional and legal framework and international conventions. Further, there needs to exist a willingness and acceptance to comply and agree with these common rules. Here Mockus stresses the importance of the need to not see differences as something dangerous, but rather as opportunities for getting to know each other and as broadening of horizons. Summarily, he means that skills in reaching agreements and complying with them are key factors to civic co-existence, which is intertwined with legal, moral and cultural norms. The reason for Mockus (ibid.) dividing respect for rules into three categories, is that legal penalties are not the same as feelings of guilt which in turn are not the same as social repudiation. Further, the motivation for respecting written law, can be differentiated from motivation that is based on gratifying one's conscience and motivation based on social recognition. The goal is then to overcome moral or cultural approval of unlawful actions and rather create moral and cultural approval of legal obligations; i.e., using government action and education to change people's conscience and custom so that it does not break the law. The desired consequence Mockus strives for is that individuals will choose legal behavior based on moral and cultural norms. Colombia is used as an example exhibiting a wide gap between the three norms. Mockus claims that the reason for violence outside the rules defining the State's monopoly of its legitimate use and the practice of corruption is that they are culturally accepted behaviors, which reveals a tolerance for illegal and morally reprehensible behavior.

The Civic Culture program from 1995-1997 designed by Mockus emphasized cultural regulation. Mockus (2002) means that cultural regulation and its consistency with moral and legal regulation is of great help in understanding the workings of what is healthy, non-violent and non-corrupt. This was done on a stranger to stranger basis in order to improve the way citizens interact with one another.

Factors behind the success of the Civic Culture program was the institutional and social appropriation of the idea of civic culture itself. Some at the time recent legal reforms facilitated an institutional appropriation of the concept and helped to

give it top priority within the government team and society (Mockus 2002, s. 24). Emphasis was given to cultural regulation of interactions between strangers, specifically in contexts such as public transport, public areas and public establishments. Cultural regulation was also highlighted in individual-government interactions, given that the public sphere depends on the quality of these interactions.

A crucial role was played by the combination of sensitive public opinion, radical frankness and an elementary methodology for regulating communication. Mockus (2002) claims that when communication intensifies sincerity is produced, which in turn produces a more effective form of communication that might lead to less conflict. This is because Mockus regards conflicts to be a result of lacking forms of effective communication, since conflicts and violence are forms of communication. So, when more effective forms of communication are presented, violence should be replaced by those. Mockus means that intensified communication and interaction might reduce the gap between the three norms. What became clear during the Civic Culture program was that face-to-face contact could dissuade violence; new ways of expressing lack of agreement, for example through symbolic aggression, proved useful.

Other success points of the program was that it managed to weaken cultural and moral legitimacy of unlawful actions. It also helped to communicate the rationale and advantages of legal regulation. Mockus (2002, p. 30) concludes with stating that co-existence requires agreements more than rules and cultural change more than change in moral criteria, but the difficulty lies in achieving cultural norms that are in alignment with people's conscience.

3.1.1 Comparison

As shown in the second chapter of this thesis, Rothstein highlights the importance of other sanctions than legal ones to regulate behavior and thereby avoid social traps. However, he does not specify exactly what kind of sanctions that could be worth pursuing (other than improving the output side of institutions). Even though he mentions changing the premises for the output-side of public institutions, he does not mention concrete sanctions that could be put to use. Mockus provides a thorough example of other sanctions than legal ones, i.e. moral and social, that can

be used in the prospect of increasing social compliance and social capital by changing expectations. More explicitly Mockus refers to sanctions in the form of fear of guilt and fear of shame or social rejection. This can be regarded as an effective way of creating norms of generalized reciprocity, from which social trust and cooperation will be encouraged while incentives to defect will be reduced (see Putnam above). Reiterating these approaches in the civil sphere might be an effective way of reaching the desired positive equilibrium of the Prisoner's dilemma that both Rothstein, Fukuyama and Putnam desire. Emphasizing moral and social change through civic culture is a flagrant and hands on way of changing negative distrust to positive trust and solidarity (see Rothstein above), which diminishes the risk of social traps being established. As written above, cultural regulation should be prioritized above moral regulation. In accordance with Rothstein, Mockus also emphasizes the importance of generating cultural regulation within the institutions and their interactions with the public.

Perhaps, Mockus' intention to regulate the civil sphere through the creation of certain norms might according to Fukuyama have serious negative impact on social capital since citizens might become dependent on the state. However, since Mockus' aim is to endow the people with an ability to self-regulate in order to produce cooperative outcomes, rather than the state producing these regulations, it is not so likely that the people will become dependent on the state in this aspect. This is something that leads us to believe that Mockus' approach per se will not lead to negative impacts on social capital. However, after Mockus' time as mayor, the city of Bogotá has continued to implement projects inspired by Mockus and his Civic Culture. These have been less popular and viewed with some skepticism. In late May 2017, national headlines were made when one of the actors leading a project with the aim of increasing security in traffic started a fight with a motorcyclist, something that led to loud criticism towards the city administration (El Tiempo 2017). This incident shows the fragility of these actions and the negative externalities that might take place if due caution is not taken in regard to the context the project is placed within. This might be explained by Putnam in that policy designers need to be aware of existing stocks of social capital when implementing policy, seeking to do minimum damage to those. What can be noted in the above incident is that the implementing group were approaching the motorcyclist in a way that was too confronting in relation to the level of social

capital in Bogotá, something that led to a conflict. Summarily, negative externalities might be caused if projects are not designed in proportion to the existing levels of social capital.

3.2 Pedagogics, art and social change

Most of the state institutions in Bogotá and the projects implemented by Mockus incorporated a pedagogical component, where different aspects of urban life became pedagogized. This included individuals' moral intimacy, family life, workplaces, social organizations, state institutions, bars, places of entertainment, sporting events and public transportation. The content of the projects included the arts, culture, tourism, recreation, environment, taxation, commerce, and more. Some also focused on specific formative issues such as recycling, the use of free time, violence against children and women, literacy, and use of fireworks (Sáenz Obregón 2017). Central to these projects was the idea of dialogue with the community, where Mockus used theatrical acts as a means of facilitating social change. These theatrical acts were comprised of various public events and used to encourage a change both in the social as well as the private sphere. They were implemented in everything from small street performances to large public gatherings (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2006).

Mockus used theatrical acts as a communication tool that might facilitate the initiation of a dialogue on cultural change. The philosophy behind this kind of educational pedagogy is that one through personal experience based on action, dialogue, and community involvement, can instigate a new consciousness and therefore a cultural change. Highlighted here is a thought that the learning should be linked to everyday life, derived from the belief that we learn through doing things that matter to us. Even Mockus' first notorious act of pulling down his trousers in front of unruly students was explained by himself to be part of the pedagogical resources that can be utilized in order to convey messages and opinions (ibid., s. 459). This again brings to light how Mockus uses an unconventional form of pedagogy and art as a means to extend his message to larger crowds. This approach can be regarded to explain a big part of his success and reputation. When campaigning for presidential elections in 2006 he named his

political platform “For the Love of Art” (Sommer 2017, p. 250), a fact that further exhibits the centrality of this approach in his undertakings.

Mockus’ theatrical acts were designed to bring out into the open a practical and active analysis of the problems connected to cultural behavioral attitudes. The acts were site specific, simultaneously real and artificial; combining everyday life events with situations instigated by actors in a public space. Citizens were simultaneously spectators and actors, a significant factor in understanding how Mockus was able to animate the city towards implementing policies with a far reaching social agenda (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2006).

So, in order to unite and integrate different social groups in an urban megalopolis, Mockus used a range of varied theatrical political actions. Pedagogy and art was designed to reeducate and encourage individuals to see things in a different way (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2006). Not only things, but also to see themselves and the community in a different way, to prompt a new interaction between citizens. This is – as mentioned before – an unconventional way to change expectations, and Mockus further claims that art can enable politics by interrupting deadlocks and get past an impasse of breakdown as well as facilitate a return to procedure (Cala Buendía 2010).

The approaches in the theatrical acts used by Mockus are similar to those theorized and practiced by Augusto Boal and his Theatre of the Oppressed. This is a company specializing in applied drama and theatre for social change. Both Boal and Mockus have in common Paulo Freire’s educational philosophy defined in the Pedagogy of the Oppressed, where cultural change is thought to be done through personal experiences based on action, dialogue and community involvement (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2006). Boal suggests that politically effective theatre should break the distinction between spectators and actors; creating spectators that move the theatrical act from performance to some sort of interactive political or educational act. However, since the context within which the acts take place might be very different, it is necessary to create appropriate theatrical forms based on the specific context. If executed correctly, communal obstacles can be overcome, and social change can be achieved. This is not a difficult task since it needs to be devised from within the community in order to have its support (ibid., p. 461).

3.2.1 Comparison

Regarding the necessity of creating shared visions of collective action as well as linking immediate issues to broader projects (see Putnam above), Mockus effectively instigated collective action to bond social difference and create cohesion through his theatrical acts. Even though specific projects might be tied to specific places, such as a crosswalk, for example, the projects still carry with them a higher purpose of changing social norms in the whole society, rather than just changing how people act while crossing the street.

Fukuyama mentions that social capital most effectively is generated through education, meaning traditional institutionalized forms of education, such as schools, et cetera. However, Mockus hints that education can take place within almost any context and further be done via unconventional and non-institutionalized forms. Therefore, it might be relevant to adopt a more progressive view on what education really means and under what forms it can be carried out when trying to generate social capital.

Mockus concretely answers Rothstein's claim that, for an augmentation of social capital to occur, a change of perception and expectation towards the other needs to take place. The two converge in this insight, but Mockus goes further and provides us with a relatively concrete approach to do this; maybe a change of expectations can be generated through theatrical acts and creative pedagogy in the public sphere, and further it might even be necessary to push the boundaries in order for citizens to change their long-carried expectations of how other people behave. Based on this it might be argued that projects that carry artistic characteristics and methods can be a well-suited format to generate a change in expectations. Further, pedagogy inspired by art is an answer to Putnam's call for innovative ways to make civic institutions and practices more effective. This is partly answered by Putnam himself when claiming that aesthetic objectives and art are important in transcending conventional social barriers. Our findings based on Mockus' approach are in full agreement with this claim. This might be because the need for storytelling is recognized when using pedagogy inspired by theatrical acts and art, since it might bridge social divisions and construct collective goals and narratives by communicating effective and impactful stories about society at large to citizens as they go about in their daily lives. What Mockus further shows

us, not elaborated on in the literature, is that pedagogy inspired by art and theatrical acts in itself does not achieve social change. Rather, making citizens and others exposed to the initiatives and included as active participants is of crucial value for the prospect of changing expectations. This due to the fact that social change needs action, dialogue and involvement – mere spectators are not sufficient.

3.3 Interplay between state and civil society

Mockus derives a lot of inspiration from Douglas North and his belief that attempting to change formal structure, such as rules, laws and constitutions, without modifying informal structures – norms of behavior, social conventions and culture – will most likely not yield expected results. Rather, a whole informal structure, namely, a national cultural context needs to be modified before individuals are subjected to a change of behavior and beliefs. Even if formal institutions and their formal structures change, they will eventually end up degenerating back to the old culture due to constant exposure to the undesirable, but still dominant shared values of a given society. Therefore, it is said that, real lasting institutional change needs to be done through a modification of the collective culture (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2016). This might explain why Mockus principally targets the citizenry when trying to generate a more functioning society, and not turning solely to state institutions.

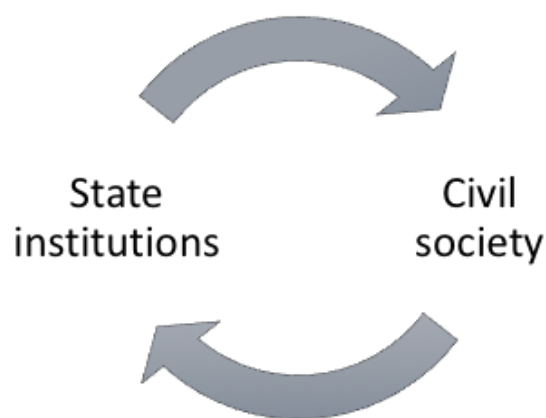


Illustration of mutual impact and interaction

Civic Culture was predominantly carried out in non-institutional settings through face-to-face interactions with practices of cultural regulation between random citizens. The state was here mainly used as an instrument in educating the citizenry on how to use their city well and act correctly within it (Sáenz Obregón 2017, p. 428). Mockus shows that infrastructural interventions can be done through intervening in the city at the behavioral level (Forman 2017, s. 344). Central here was the thought that cultural change had to happen at the grass root level, in people's minds, their homes, streets and schools (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2006, p. 459). Urban contexts were here adapted and transformed to enable a greater part of the population to take ownership of the city, as well as intensifying interactions between different groups otherwise segregated due to socioeconomic and cultural reasons.

3.3.1 Comparison

The projects implemented by Mockus mainly focus on change at the grass roots level. This is in line with what Putnam ascribes to be the solution for problems related to a lack of social capital. That is to say, the civil sphere is seen as a vital factor in generating the desired level of social capital. Mockus uses the state to generate this change. Putnam believes this to be a self-reinforcing process, which will in turn change the institutions, due to a mutual impact (see illustration above). He also stresses that local transformation of local structures is the best way to go. Thus, Mockus' attempt is in many ways in alignment with Putnam's urgings. Smaller interventions are seen as better when it comes to forging and sustaining connections, while bigger interventions are better for critical mass, power and diversity (see the part on Putnam above). Once again, Mockus' projects are of both kinds and can therefore be said to effectively provide for two dimensions needed to generate social capital.

Mockus does not focus much on Rothstein's central claim that institutions are crucial to generate social capital. Rather, the attention span is on the citizenry and other factors outside of the state body. Mockus, through his practice, seems to follow North's contention that institutional change will not be long lasting if a cultural change does not take place simultaneously. This acknowledges that

Rothstein's urge for institutional change might not be completely corresponding to the needs if external cultural change is non-existing.

3.4 Mockus – the professor and the politician

Important to keep in mind in this scenario of pedagogization, is that Mockus himself was a central character both through the direct dialogue he established with the population and the intensive media attention. He had a central role of communicating with the citizenry and he was heavily recognized for his eccentric, courageous, and playful performances which were central in the carry out of his Civic Culture (Sáenz Obregón 2017, p. 430). One could say that Mockus personified the Civic Culture he advocated, which mainly could be noted through him applying the pedagogy discussed above in his own actions. For example, once he was invited to meet the at the time warmongering president and he arrived to the presidential palace with a plastic sword hanging from his belt. Another time he used a lycra costume that he claimed transformed him into 'Super Civic Man'. A third example is when he wore a bulletproof vest with a heart-shaped hole where an assassin's bullet could pierce. These are some examples of Mockus' theory applied to practice, which might seem to be cliché, but in the scene of political representation these symbols became pure and honest reflections of the theories – with a capacity to draw attention to Civic Culture. (Ospina 2017, p. 452). This might be explained by Mockus' background in art and philosophy.

These influences might have been the main reason behind his entrance into politics, acknowledging that he was influenced by a poll of voters reporting that they would vote for him if he stood as a candidate shortly after he resigned as principal after pulling down his pants in front of the rebellious students (Vignolo 2017, p. 461). This is something that further underlines how important Mockus' use of symbols and way of expressing himself has been for his political career. Mockus was elected mayor of Bogotá in 1994 after a very unconventional political campaign; he had no alliance or connection with either of the traditional parties, no ties with any clientelist network or economic interest group, practically no budget, without any large promises more than raising taxes (ibid., 461).

Mockus has always labelled himself as an anti-politician, and by the people he has, since the start, been regarded as an eccentric artist, whose strange foreign name reflected distance from traditional political rules. Rather, he was to a large extent regarded to be an almost prophetlike professor, descending from his ivory tower to teach the masses (Vignolo 2017, p. 486). This perception can be noted in the sentence “Mi Profesor, Mi Presidente” - in English My Professor, My President – that was often chanted during Mockus’ presidential campaign (Tognato 2017, s. 32), something that reveals the primary importance of Mockus in the eyes of the people, namely, as an educator. This role seemingly suited him well and was taken advantage of in a multitude of ways to educate the citizens for the common good; for example, while promoting a campaign aiming to reduce water consumption, Mockus appeared naked whilst taking a shower in a televised advertisement, turning off the water tap whilst he soaped; exposing his naked body and, once again, in an unconventional way communicating a message through an eccentric format (Dundjerovic – Navarro Bateman 2006, p. 461-462).

3.4.1 Comparison

Putnam mentions that one requirement for creating social capital is the existence of true believers in positions of power and committed individuals working with grassroot participation. This might be one of the most important things to highlight when reflecting on the success of Cultura Ciudadana; what would it have looked like without Mockus? Could another mayor generate the same results? Perhaps it would have been hard for just about any mayor to meet with the president walking around with a plastic sword in his belt. Why could Mockus do it and derive legitimacy? Needless to say, these questions are purely hypothetical and quite hard to answer; However, they are relevant since they hint that Mockus seemingly has been successful in conveying a vision to society as well as communicating a strong message in his leadership. In other words, the special aura surrounding Mockus might have given him the legitimacy to carry out these eccentric acts and convey the message of change that he strived for. With this said, the case of Mockus seems to converge with Putnam’s supposition of the role of adequate leaders in creating social capital.

However, this is a topic that is relatively unexplored in the established literature, neither Rothstein nor Fukuyama mention anything regarding the role of leaders in creating social capital. This leads us to believe that it might be relevant to conduct further research on the role of leadership in the creation of social capital.

4 Results from analysis

Our findings show that the established literature does mention and elaborate on some of the approaches utilized by Mockus, but also that many aspects are not or only very briefly mentioned. All our findings from the comparison will be presented in a table in chapter 4.1.

We have found that Mockus' approach specifies which kinds of interventions and types of sanctions except legal ones that can be used by states and governments in the prospect of generating social capital. Social and moral norms seem to be effective instruments that can be used as sanctions that can trigger social change. In the established literature there is an awareness of the importance of changing the social life and implementing sanctions other than legal ones, but it has not been further specified. Mockus shows us a possible way of using fear of guilt and fear of shame or social rejection as social regulators; changing these seems to change the way people interact and think of each other. However, both Mockus and the literature is in agreement regarding the importance of changing the expectations citizens have of each other in order to generate social change. Mockus partly diverges from some of the literature in the belief that institutional changes will not last if a simultaneous social change does not take place.

Aesthetic means as well as art are known to be effective in blurring conventional social barriers. Mockus shows us that theatrical acts converting citizens from spectators to participants through interventions focusing on everyday life is a possible approach. It seems possible to change the expectations and perceptions citizens have of each other when using a strong emphasis on education and pedagogy combined with theatrical acts. What further is central in Mockus' approach is using state institutions and state capacity to educate the citizenry at a behavioral level.

Seemingly prioritized by Mockus, is implementing projects at the grass roots level. This is also something brought up in the established literature; in order to avoid causing harm to existing stocks of social capital, site specific interventions based on the local context are preferred.

In accordance with the established literature, Mockus connected everyday events and seemingly trivial symbolic acts with a higher purpose – a higher dream or story of what society can be like. What seems to have had a large impact on the relative success of Mockus’ projects, has been Mockus himself; in other words, being a leader with a prophet like status is something that yields a certain type of attention from the citizenry. The uniqueness of Mockus and the status he had, seems to make possible the innovative and symbolic approach that Civic Culture was based on. In the established literature, there is an understanding of the need for committed leaders with power, but Mockus’ innovative style of leadership tells us that further research might be useful to fully understand the role of leaders in this kind of process.

4.1 Table with results

A categorization has been made based on the nature of the different aspects; some more practical and others more theoretical. The aspects do contain both theoretical as well as practical elements but are categorized based on the level of abstraction. We have tried to place the different aspects that relate to each other on the same row. For example, in accordance with the established literature it is mentioned that other sanctions than legal ones are required, but Mockus goes even further and specifies which these sanctions might be; these two aspects relate to each other and are therefore placed on the same row. However, there are differences regarding how strongly they relate to each other.

Table 1. Results from analysis

	IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ESTABLISHED LITERATURE	NOT MENTIONED IN THE ESTABLISHED LITERATURE
<i>Practical</i>	It’s necessary to create shared visions of collective actions and linking immediate issues to broader projects.	Attention is on the citizenry and factors outside the state, rather than on the institutions
	Local transformations of local structures might be the most effective method.	Use site specific interventions, combining everyday life events with situations instigated by actors in public space

	Design interventions in proportion to existing levels of social capital.	Bring out into the open a practice and active analysis of problems connected to cultural behavioral attitudes.
	Committed leaders with strong beliefs need to work with grassroots participation.	Appropriate the different theatrical forms to the specific context.
	Precautions need to be taken due to the fact that interventions regulating levels of social capital are fragile.	Make the citizenry participants in the interventions, and not just spectators
	Aesthetic objectives and art are important in transcending conventional social barriers	Theatrical acts and pedagogy can be used as a tool to reeducate, change expectations and perceptions of others as well as modify social norms
<i>Theoretical</i>	A cultural regulation should be generated within the institutions and their interactions with the public.	Institutional change can only be maintained if a cultural change simultaneously does takes place
	A change of expectations and perceptions of others needs to take place.	Change expectations through a learning by doing-approach
	An emphasis of the importance of paving the way for generalized reciprocity to encourage social trust.	Interventions that leads to an ability for the citizenry to self-regulate might remove eventual negative externalities.
	Innovative methods are needed to make civic institutions and practices more effective.	Cultural regulation should be prioritized above moral regulation.
	Negative distrust needs to be changed to positive trust and solidarity, i.e. social traps need to be avoided.	Personal experiences, dialogue and community involvement are key things in regulating social and moral norms.
	Other sanctions than legal ones are necessary	Moral and social sanctions can be used to achieve social change. More specifically fear of guilt and fear of shame or social rejection are sanctions related to social and moral norms.
	Education is necessary to change social norms	Education can take place outside traditional institutions and still generate social capital.

5 Conclusion

In studying both the established literature and Mockus' approach it has become clear to us that some new aspects regarding how social capital can be generated are to be found in Mockus' approach; aspects have also been found that complement the existing thoughts and traditions regarding how to view and what to expect of the creation of social capital. Our conclusions regarding what Mockus' approach can contribute to the established literature is here presented.

When trying to create social capital, it is of importance to change the expectations and perceptions that citizens have of each other. This can be done by site specific, local and everyday theatrical acts with a pedagogical as well as educational focus, where citizens act as participants. Further, it is important to connect these local interventions to a broader common goal and purpose in society at large.

When trying to generate social capital, it can be beneficial to modify current social and moral norms in order to achieve the desired social change and avoid social traps. To do this, one can use sanctions that provoke reactions such as shame and guilt. This can be an alternative approach for states striving to change the social dynamic in other ways than solely imposing legal sanctions.

This thesis shows that leadership might be an important factor in generating social capital. However, there is a lack of research relating to this topic, especially when it comes to different styles of leadership and how they can be used to convey compelling visions of social change.

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