WE-Making

How Arts & Culture Unite People to Work Toward Community Well-Being

Literature Review

Call it neighbor, friend, teacher, or just community,
Now, a needed part of our happy.
So, our life long collecting of others begins

—from the poem "WE-Making" by Carol Bebelle

Acknowledgments

Special thanks go to the following individuals and entities who supported this work.

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Preface

by the working group of funders of this project

This evidence-informed resource came about in far different circumstances from the ones in which we, as a nation, now find ourselves in the early months of 2021. At a time when "social cohesion" is challenged in new ways by "social distancing," and when "place-based" art has come to mean arts participation with neighbors whom we only see at a distance or virtually, one well might ask whether resources of this nature are hopelessly obsolete. Far from it. The COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent economic fall-out and the protests related to racially motivated violence and discrimination have brought into national focus the persistent long-term threats to health equity. These crises have laid bare the ill effects of social isolation, social scarring, and social divides. These tools—and the lessons learned in their development—remain broadly applicable to those seeking to advance social cohesion, health equity, and community well-being.

In 2017, a group of funders with a mutual interest in supporting place-based arts and cultural practices to advance health equity and the well-being of communities began to ask: What can today's evidence tell us about the complex relationships between the arts, place, and social cohesion? How might this knowledge help funders and practitioners—in the arts, community development, and public health— set clearer goals and expectations for activities occurring at this nexus? How might these participants communicate more effectively with each other and with key decision-makers in their sectors about the relevance and utility of place-based arts practices to social cohesion, especially as one conduit to greater equity in health and well-being?

As with any large group enterprise, the parameters of this project changed as the partners got more deeply invested in it, questioning and even challenging the terms of discourse from their own fields of practice. From the beginning, the funders targeted the outcome "social cohesion" for particular study because previous

research had tagged it as a critical dynamic in population health and in solutions for responding to health inequities. Notably, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation has identified this factor as part of its Culture of Health action framework (action area 1, "making health a shared value").

Similarly, in creative placemaking and the arts, the value of social cohesion has gained traction, though in practice and communications it often goes unexamined. The term, when mentioned at all, is largely indistinguishable from other perceived benefits of place-based arts participation, such as greater civic engagement, social capital, agency, and collective efficacy. The first order of business for a project of this scope was to define social cohesion, based on prior literature, and then to describe the state of evidence for a positive relationship between place-based arts practices and this outcome area.

The second of these tasks proved more difficult than expected. Although empirical evidence for the relationship is severely limited, the exercise showed how problematic it is to evaluate social cohesion as a general good without attending to structural inequalities or giving sufficient voice to the community members and artists affected by these inequalities. More qualitative research was needed, therefore, in the form of interviews, case studies, logic modeling, and—perhaps most catalytic— a two-day working group meeting in Lexington, Kentucky, with a range of artists, community organizers, researchers, and health practitioners to test the thinking.

The resulting tools include a conceptual framework document, a theory of change, and case study vignettes—all designed to help funders and practitioners in the arts, public health, and community development to articulate the shared benefits of their work. Throughout these materials, questions and issues of social justice and economic equity have come to the fore. As a recurring feature, the documents include guidance to amplify the voices of marginalized people in projects and policies seeking to leverage social cohesion through place-based arts practices. In addition to the tools represented by the components of this report, titled *WE-Making: How Arts & Culture Unite People to Work Toward Community Well-Being* and authored by the staff of Metris Arts Consulting, other documents resulting from this phase of the project were produced by PolicyLink and the Center for Arts in Medicine at the University of Florida. Our hope is that these resources can inform thinking and action to center community voices and to change community conditions—social, economic, and physical—so that all people can thrive.

This endeavor was supported and guided by a collaboration of funders whose portfolios and commitments cut across the arts and health sectors and who contributed substantially to its direction. The names and roles of all the project's contributors, advisors, and supporters are included in the Acknowledgments, and the funders would like to thank everyone for their insights and efforts in bringing together and presenting these valuable ideas, experiences, and lessons.

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Introduction

Through this literature review, we explore in greater detail the history and definitions of social cohesion, its relationships to other concepts that have deep ties to social cohesion, associated impacts, and measurement. We begin with a brief overview of which disciplines research social cohesion and offer evidence that supports our synthesized definition of social cohesion. Next, we move to a discussion of how researchers understand what generates social cohesion and the pathways from social cohesion to community well-being. Finally, we end with a summary of the literature that links arts and cultural strategies to social cohesion.

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Who researches social cohesion, and why?

Social cohesion in an academic context first emerged in the work of late 19th century French sociologist Émile Durkheim, who theorized that a group thinks, feels, and operates differently from how its individual members would if they were alone. In his research on suicide, he found societies with the most social cohesion exhibited the lowest rates of suicide, and vice versa; the rates of suicide in a society stayed constant across generations, in which the *individuals* at risk of committing suicide varied.[1]

In the Conceptual Framework and other documents produced for this project, we rely primarily on definitions and conceptualizations of social cohesion rooted in sociology. However, social cohesion—or similar terms—also emerge in social and community psychology, community organizing and development, public policy, urban studies and planning, African American/Black studies, folklore, community health, criminology, and community arts literatures. In the century and a half since Durkheim, these fields have considered social cohesion—or ideas that resonate with social cohesion—though none travel too far from sociology. Social psychologists, for example, focus on individual members' attitudes and behaviors over group aspects and effects,[2] versus the general focus in contemporary sociological study on group or system. We also note a difference in the way academics and policy-makers discuss social cohesion. Chan and separately Schiefer and Van der Noll write about the slipperiness of how policymakers often define social cohesion, mixing up the "causes or effects" of social cohesion,[3] and indicating that this slipperiness may be attributable to policymakers using the concept "to support a political agenda."[4]

For this framing document, we have considered the various scales at which researchers study social cohesion. Because we have been charged primarily to explore the relationship between place-based arts and cultural strategies and social cohesion, and because our interest lies in the relationship between social cohesion and community health and well-being, we focus in this document on social cohesion at smaller scales such as blocks, neighborhoods, and cities. Yet we acknowledge that another school of thought exists, primarily in Canadian and European sociology and post-colonial studies literature, which understands social cohesion as a national-scale phenomenon. Sociologist Peter Berger, for example, created much of the framework for recent research in this vein.[5] He, along with others who subscribe to this school of thought, explore social cohesion in relation to post-conflict societies, for instance post-apartheid South Africa. He theorizes social cohesion as an indicator of resolved societal conflict or a movement toward resolution.[6] These theorists, among them Chan, Schiefer and Van der Noll, Stanley, Bradshaw, and other sociologists and globally focused post-colonial researchers, mainly work in Europe and Canada. In contrast, American sociologists and social psychologists tend to study and understand the phenomenon at a community scale, usually block, neighborhood, or city.[7] Aligning with our purposes for this report, Stern and Seifert succinctly defend this smaller scale focus: "Only a focus on small geographies provides a full understanding of social well-being as experienced by urban residents."[8] In this study, they are referring to their focus on neighborhoods within New York City, but we feel that this lens matches the scale of place-based arts and cultural strategies within community development efforts in neighborhoods or small communities.

4
Definitions of social cohesion

Noting the confusion and frustration around the variety of definitions of social cohesion is something of a rite of passage for theorists discussing the subject, Friedkin sums up a general frustration with the "proliferation of definitions of social cohesion that have proved difficult to combine or reconcile."[9]

Even a short selection of definitions invites confusion. Friedkin suggests that cohesive groups are self-maintaining with respect to the production of strong membership attractions and attachments, evidenced in positive membership attitudes and interpersonal interactions that maintain these group-level conditions.[10] Bollen and Hoyle state that social cohesion is made up of a state of sense of belonging and feelings of morale.[11] Lewicka and separately Schiefer and Van der Noll both highlight trust as an important dimension of social cohesion.[12] Chan provides a three-part definition of the aspects of social cohesion: 1) Ability to trust, help, or cooperate, 2) common identity or sense of belonging, and 3) that the feelings of aspects 1 and 2 are manifested in objective behavior.[13] Citing Jeannotte, Stanley summarizes that, "social cohesion is the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity … based on a sense of hope, trust, and reciprocity."[14] Prewitt and Mackie suggest that cohesive groups are "bound together by harmonious relations, work together, and feel obligated to act toward common purpose."[15]

Prewitt and Mackie lead us closer to identifying *why* so many definitional nuances and discrepancies exist. They suggest that social cohesion features "many and complex dimensions: a shared sense of morality, values, and common purpose; levels of social order; extent of social solidarity created by income and wealth equalities; social interaction within and across communities or families; and sense of belonging to place."[16] This idea, that social cohesion is not a discrete and distinct construct, but rather consists of the presence of multiple *dimensions*, seems to

originate from Jenson, who indicated five dimensions of social cohesion: belonging (versus isolation), inclusion (versus exclusion), participation (versus noninvolvement), recognition (versus rejection), and legitimacy (versus illegitimacy).[17]

Dimensions of social cohesion

Jenson's "dimensions" premise provides a useful framing mechanism, which we adapt here. We considered these definitions, as well as the ways other disciplines indicated above discuss social cohesion, and settled on the four following dimensions:

1. **Group relationships or connections**
2. **Sense of belonging to people and/or place**
3. **Orientation toward the common good**
4. **Willingness to participate or cooperate with each other**

Our dimensions closely mirror Schiefer and Van der Noll's, who articulated the dimensions of social cohesion as social relations, attachment/belonging, and orientation toward the common good.[18] We have shifted some of the terminology for these categories slightly to reflect the broader literature, and have added a fourth dimension, "willingness to participate," which we feel is reflected in other sources but not in Schiefer and Van der Noll's categories. In our understanding of social cohesion, we suggest that all four of these aspects must be present in order for a community to possess social cohesion. We first encountered the useful Venn diagram visualization strategy for expressing dimensions of social cohesion in Schiefer and Van der Noll's "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review."
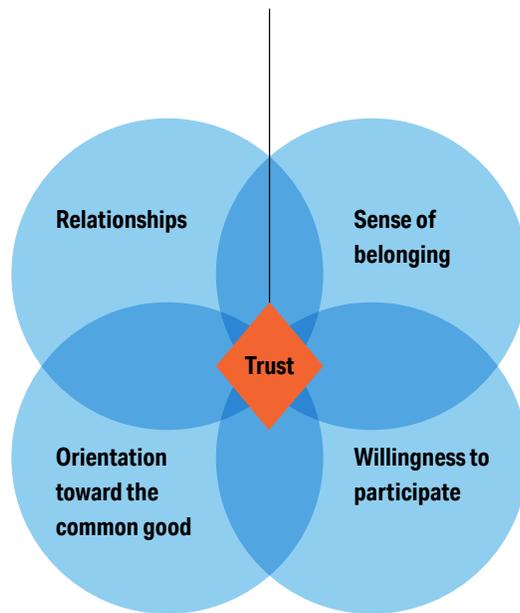
Social Cohesion

Relationships: Social cohesion includes group relationships or connections among individuals.[19] Kawachi and Berkman include "the presence of strong social bonds," or an "abundance of associations" as an aspect of social cohesion.[20] They point back to Durkheim, who suggests that social cohesion involves individuals in a group providing each other "mutual moral support."[21] Graham et al. cite Moody and White's argument that social cohesion is "the extent that the social relations of its members hold…together."[22] Prewitt and Mackie refer to "harmonious relations" as an aspect of social cohesion.[23] Schiefer and Van der Noll state that "a cohesive society is characterized by close social relations."[24] Rios et al. include "social relations" as one aspect that social cohesion encompasses.[25] This relationships dimension closely relates to and even overlaps with social capital, social ties, and networks, which we discuss below.

Sense of belonging: Because this report looks at the effect of place-based arts and cultural strategies on social cohesion, we include sense of belonging to both a group *and* place in our definition of this dimension. Bollen and Hoyle indicate that sense of belonging is central to their definition of social cohesion.[26] Figueroa et al. adopt this definition, as well.[27] Chan et al. refer to "a common identity or a sense of belonging," which suggests that sense of belonging might stand in for a common identity in diverse communities (and we suggest later in this Literature Review that sense of belonging can be fostered through building social capital and place attachment).[28] Rios et al. include "sense of belonging" as one aspect that social cohesion encompasses.[29] Schiefer and Van der Noll include in their definition what

they refer to variously as "connectedness," "attachment," or "belonging."[30] Prewitt and Mackie include "a sense of belonging to place" as a dimension.[31] Jenson includes "belonging versus isolation" as one of her dimensions.[32]

Orientation toward the common good. In their literature review on social cohesion, Schiefer and Van der Noll argue that socially cohesive groups exhibit "orientation toward the common good," or solidarity, citing a litany of other research.[33] Forrest and Kearns similarly suggest that social cohesion involves people "getting together to promote or defend some common local interest."[34] Prewitt and Mackie refer to "common purpose."[35] Figueroa et al. suggest that one way to measure social cohesion is "goal consensus," the "agreement on the importance of community issues and the objectives to be achieved by the group."[36] This dimension seems to conceptually overlap somewhat with social control insofar as the shared value and behavioral manifestations of this orientation are more tied to the latter concept. The distinction we suggest here, following Schiefer and Van der Noll, is between the orientation, which is a dimension of social cohesion, and the shared values and behavior, which come later. We discuss social control more in depth later in this Literature Review.

Willingness to participate. In a socially cohesive group, people exhibit a willingness to participate or cooperate with one another.[37] Prewitt and Mackie indicate that cohesive groups will "work together."[38] One of Jenson's five dimensions is "participation versus noninvolvement."[39] Chan et al. refer to "willingness to participate and help."[40] Stanley includes the "willingness of people in a society to cooperate with each other" and the "capacity to cooperate" as elements of social cohesion.

Concerning trust. Many studies, including but not limited to Chan, Lewicka, Schiefer and Van der Noll, and Sampson,[41] consider trust a key facet of social cohesion, and we agree. We suggest that all four dimensions contain an element of trust. Furthermore, researchers sometimes describe some of the related concepts discussed in these documents—social capital, civic engagement, and collective efficacy, for instance—in terms of trust. We acknowledge building trust as a key component of the process toward enhancing community well-being that this document seeks to describe. Trust both indicates, and is indicated by, the presence of social cohesion and related concepts. Trust is not exclusive to social cohesion in this process but is embedded throughout.

Concerning individual and group behavior. A measurement debate that we will discuss in more detail later considers whether social cohesion should be measured in feelings and attitudes only, or whether behavioral manifestations may also serve to measure social cohesion. Chan suggests that social cohesion is "a reflection of individuals' state of mind, which will be manifested in certain behaviors."[42] In this sense, we understand behavior as a reflection of, rather than a dimension of, social cohesion. And that behavioral manifestation in line with feelings and attitudes should be present when social cohesion is present.

In this overall context, we attempt our simplest, most distilled working definition of social cohesion for the purposes of these WE-Making documents, while recognizing the tensions and debate that are the hallmark of social cohesion research:

Social cohesion is what we call it when individuals feel and act as part of a group that is oriented toward working together.

5

Drivers of social cohesion

In this section we expand on the idea that phenomena, activities, and mindsets that relate to or affect change in the dimensions of social cohesion might be considered *drivers* of social cohesion.

We adopt the "drivers" concept from the Culture of Health body of research in the community health discipline. The way the Culture of Health framework uses the term "drivers" in relation to social cohesion requires a brief discussion. In "Building a National Culture of Health," Chandra et al. describe the Culture of Health action framework, breaking down the development of a Culture of Health into "action areas" and identifying "drivers" of each action area.[43] The first action area, "making health a shared value," includes the drivers civic engagement, sense of community, and mindset and expectation. In Chandra et al.'s conception here, and in "Drivers of Health as a Shared Value," the drivers are drivers of "making health a shared value." Yet this is complicated in "Building a National Culture of Health," where Chandra et al. seem to use social cohesion and "making health a shared value" interchangeably, indicating that the action area goal is "to increase a sense of social cohesion."[44]

This complication or conflation continues in the Graham et al. report "The Role of Social Cohesion in Making Health a Shared Value," where they discuss these drivers as "drivers of shared values and social cohesion."[45] We differentiate, as Graham et al. do elsewhere in the same report, between social cohesion and the development of shared values.

We adopt the term "driver" to explicitly refer to "drivers of social cohesion," as we feel that this most succinctly describes the way that these related concepts contribute to dimensions of social cohesion. As discussed in the Conceptual Framework document, researchers have explored the relationships between place-based arts and cultural strategies and these "drivers," so understanding their effect on or

relationship to social cohesion helps us understand the relationship between *place-based arts and cultural strategies* and social cohesion, where we find less research providing direct evidence.

We also acknowledge, however, that while the causal relationship between what we call "drivers" and social cohesion is clear in some cases (e.g., place attachment), in other cases the question of "which comes first" is less clear. This will be most pronounced in our discussion of civic engagement, where different researchers have different or unclear understandings of the causal relationship between civic engagement and social cohesion. In these cases, we suggest that when the driver in question is present in a community, then certain dimensions of social cohesion will also be present, and we do not attempt to resolve the causal relationship. For the purpose of this report, which is to understand the link between place-based arts and cultural strategies and social cohesion, we can then use the relationship between place-based arts and cultural strategies and these drivers—which are often better researched—and then link the drivers to dimensions of social cohesion to begin to understand the relationship between place-based arts and cultural strategies and social cohesion. We find "driver"—as in "driver of/toward social cohesion"—to be a useful and succinct term, especially in the way it allows us to link related constructs to *dimensions* of social cohesion.

We next explore the four drivers of social cohesion: place attachment, social capital, civic engagement, and mindset.

Place attachment

Place attachment is the emotional bond people develop with a geographic place.[46] For Droseltis and Vignoles, place attachment is "an extension of self …. tied to genealogy, narrative, continuity, and belongingness."[47] This means that place attachment can recall a personal or family history, evoke stories about the people and events that happened in a place and give it meaning, lend us a sense of connection to the past, and provide a sense where one feels like one belongs. Therefore, we posit that place attachment helps drive the "sense of belonging" dimension of social cohesion.

In addition, belonging to a geographic place and belonging to a social group in a geographic place are intertwined. Consider Lewicka's finding from a large survey that "place attached persons had higher bonding social capital and neighborhood ties compared to non-attached persons."[48] In another large survey, she found that place attachment motivates people to be civically engaged through the existence of social capital.[49] And in a very large random sample interview of residents of 26 communities around the United States, a Knight Foundation survey found among top drivers of place attachment are opportunities for socializing and a community's openness to people, rather than jobs, economy, and safety.[50] With this evidence, place attachment also mutually reinforces social capital; place attachment contributes to a sense of belonging to a geographic place *and* it contributes to developing relationships and sense of belonging to a community.

Driver

Social Cohesion

Place attachment is connected to a sense of belonging.
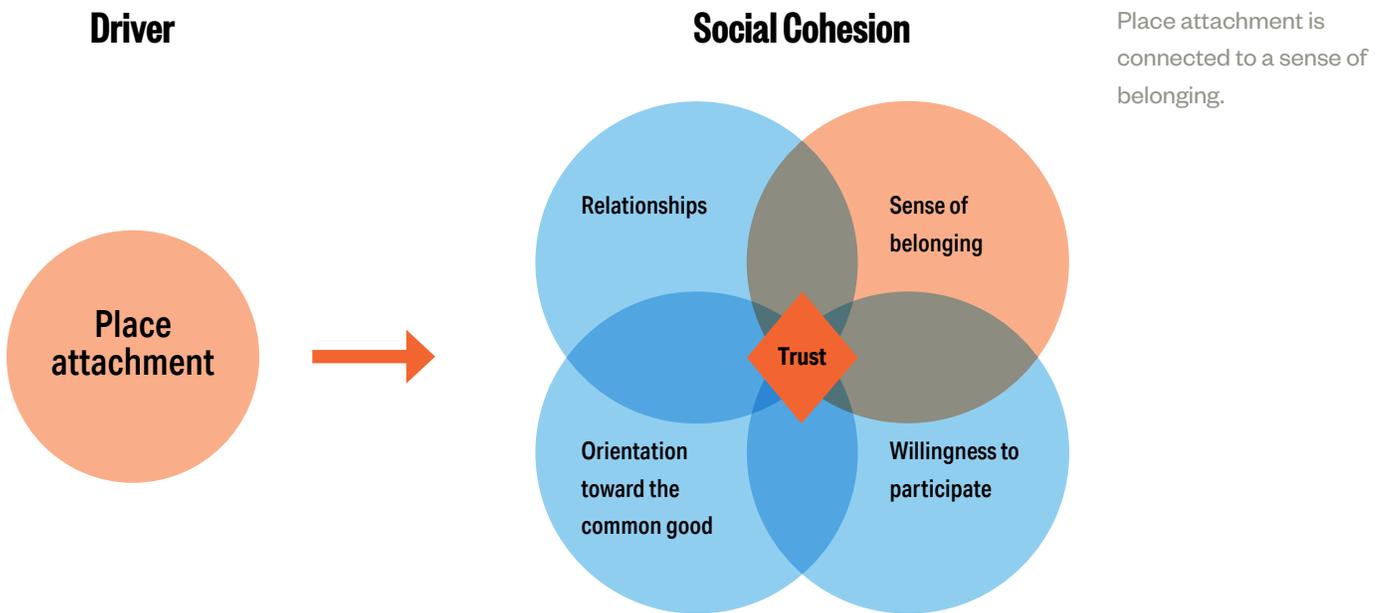
Social cohesion also requires that people are engaged in creating and maintaining valuable social ties.[51] We understand that the positive interpersonal interactions that give rise to social cohesion are likely to become reified as a positive attraction to the group.[52] That is, an individual transfers the source of their rewards from specific individuals to the group as a unit. Similarly, place attachment may play a role in fostering attachment to others within a geographic place: "Part of *social place bonding* involves attachment to the others with whom individuals interact in their place, and part of it involves attachment to the social group the place represents."[53] In other words, place attachment appears to help build social cohesion by fostering group attachment and a sense of belonging.

Social capital

Social capital refers to "connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them."[54] Putnam emphases the action component of social cohesion: social capital allows a society to act in coordination.[55] Researchers recognize two types of social capital: *bonding*, which refers to strong ties among a close knit network, and *bridging*, which refers to weaker ties among a more dispersed network.[56]

Driver　　　　　　　　　　　　**Social Cohesion**
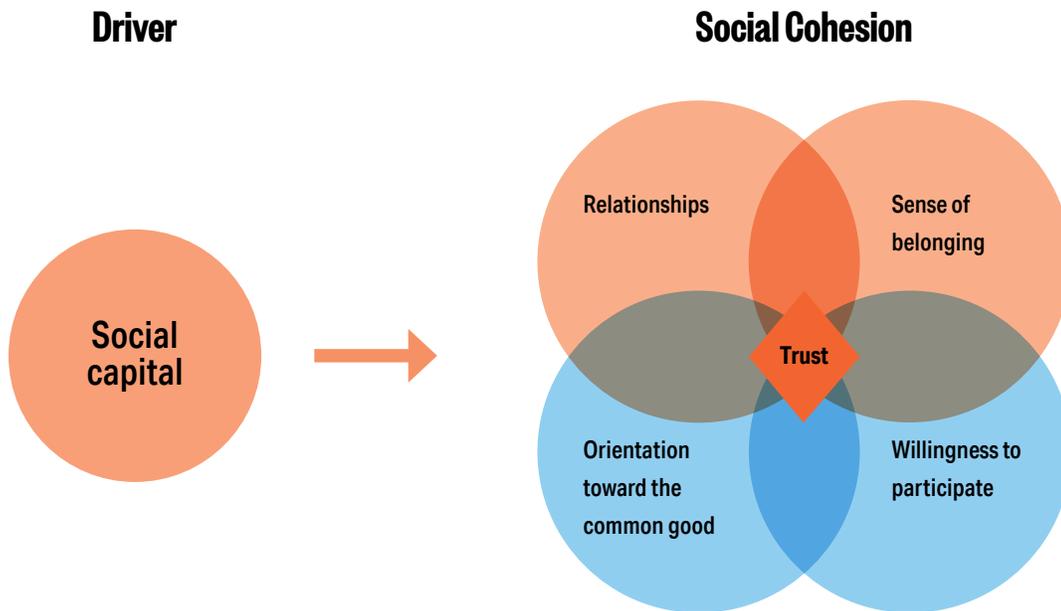
Social capital is connected to relationships and a sense of belonging.

How does social capital help drive social cohesion? It helps nurture the social cohesion dimensions of relationships and sense of belonging. Do the kinds of social ties present in a group matter for social cohesion? While Boessen writes that the neighborhood and community psychology literature does not clearly say which relationships may be the most likely to build cohesion,[57] multiple researchers have found that bridging capital helps build social cohesion. In a speculative literature review, for example, Moody and White write that "a group is structurally cohesive to the extent that multiple independent relational paths among all pairs of members hold it together."[58] In empirical studies, a survey of residents in two cities in California, Boessen found *no evidence* that kin and social friendship ties impacted neighborhood or city cohesion.[59] And Granovetter uses a study of friendship circles of over 800 students in a Michigan middle school to argue that weak ties stretch further ("more people can be reached") and connect more dissimilar people.[60] In sum, as Putnam puts it, "bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD-40."[61]

Besides thinking about the types of social ties that help build social cohesion, should we also explore how the types of *people* in a group can help or hinder social cohesion? Sampson and Groves argue, theoretically, that "heterogeneity impedes communication and patterns of interaction."[62] On the empirical end, Lewicka mentions two studies that indicate a "negative relationship between neighborhood diversity and trust in neighbors:" Stolle, Soroka, and Johnston (2008) through a large survey of US and Canadian residents and Leigh (2006) through a survey of Australian residents.[63] It is important to note that diversity exists within homogenous groups and that homogenous or heterogenous/diverse could describe the same group along different intersections (e.g., racially similar but different religion or gender or economic status).

Civic engagement

Prewitt and Mackie, relying heavily on Ehrlich, define civic engagement as "the activities of individuals that are oriented toward making a difference in the civic life of... communities."[64] In this definition, civic engagement is an *individual-level* pursuit oriented toward *group-level* change. As there may not be consensus on the direction of that group-level change, Prewitt and Mackie warn that civic engagement, while often a positive, unifying force for communities, may sometimes lead to social tension or community fragmentation.[65] For Prewitt and Mackie, the primary distinction between civic engagement and social cohesion is that civic engagement occurs at the individual level but then aggregates to the group level, whereas "social cohesion is a group property to begin with."[66] Seifert and Stern, citing Michael Delli Carpini, suggest that civic engagement describes "individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern."[67] Whereas Prewitt and Mackie emphasize the individual aspect of civic engagement, Delli Carpini and Prewitt and Mackie offer that civic engagement could be individual or collective.

Driver

Civic engagement

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Social Cohesion

Relationships

Sense of belonging

Trust

Orientation toward the common good

Willingness to participate
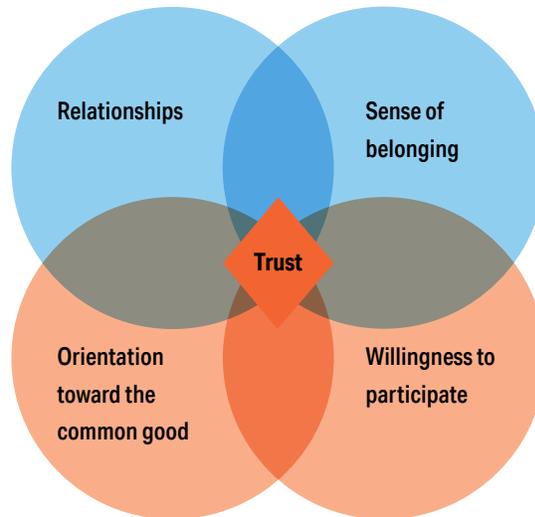
Civic engagement is connected to an orientation to the common good and a willingness to participate.

For Prewitt and Mackie, civic engagement refers to "activities," and for Delli Carpini, "actions." This presents a problem for our model, which places civic engagement as a driver of social cohesion if social cohesion manifests itself in behavior, but does not contain behavior as a dimension. This would suggest that civic engagement develops *after* social cohesion. In "The Role of Social Cohesion in Making Health a Shared Value," Graham et al. also use Delli Carpini's civic engagement definition ("individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern").[68] Yet, Graham et al. place civic engagement *prior* to social cohesion in a causal chain for place-based communities (communities defined by a shared geography).[69] Graham et al.'s placement combined with Prewitt and Mackie's individual-level definition of civic engagement would seem to suggest that social cohesion ensures that civic engagement functions on a collective level in pursuit of civic improvement. Yet the orientation-focus of social cohesion and the action-focus of these civic engagement definitions would suggest that civic engagement occurs later. We cannot resolve this tension here. We do, however, note that when civic engagement is present in a community that the "willingness to participate" and "orientation toward the common good" dimensions will also be present. For the purposes of our conceptual framework, we can rely on the effect of place-based arts and cultural activities on civic engagement as a proxy for the effect of place-based arts and cultural activities on the willingness to participate and orientation toward the common good.

Mindset

A person's mindset is made up of their thoughts, beliefs, and expectations.[70] This driver comes directly from the Culture of Health model. Graham et al. suggest that this driver involves development, transmission, perception, and acceptance, for instance from parent to child.[71]

Driver   **Social Cohesion**
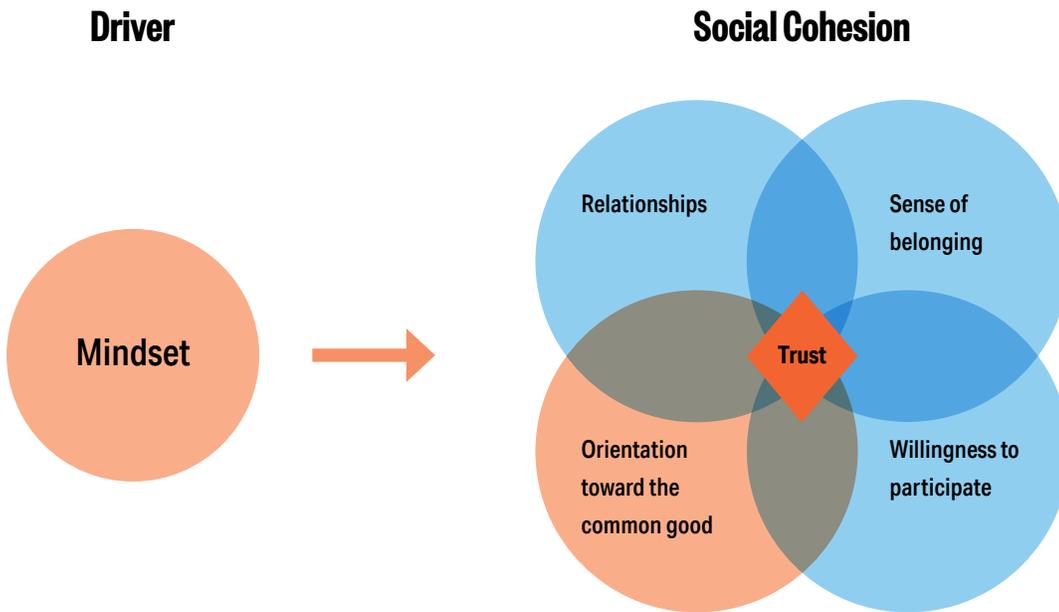
Mindset is connected to an orientation to the common good.

How does mindset drive social cohesion? It helps to solidify orientation toward a common good. In the Culture of Health model, a shift in the "collective mindset" will trigger a change in the expectations society has about health.[72] Whereas the literature we reviewed lacks robust discussion of how mindset can help build social cohesion, our interviewees discussed how mindset can help orient people in a group toward the common good. Interviewee Sonke describes how arts and cultural activities can break down the hierarchies in a hospital and remind people of the overarching purpose:

> [Hospital staff are] just struck by beauty and they're literally halted and suddenly standing side by side and have a moment of just *absolute humanity,* where here are we and here is beauty and here is music and we're all in this environment *for the same reason.* It sort of brings people back to reminding them of the *core values and essential reason for existing as an institution and as a part of an institution.* So, we find in healthcare that the arts are incredibly leveling and connecting in that way. [Italics added for emphasis.]

6

Drivers enable coordinated organization and activity

Social cohesion helps communities reach a variety of interrelated positive outcomes, including improved mental and physical health, the celebration and preservation of culture, creative responses to trauma and racism, and civic capacity for structural and policy change; we argue that these all fall under the umbrella of community well-being. The Culture of Health model defines individual and community well-being as "physical, social, spiritual, and mental health."[73]

However, social cohesion *alone* does not lead a community all the way to community well-being. Social cohesion enables coordinated organization and activity. The development of shared values, collective efficacy, and collective action are the next "steps" of the process toward achieving equitable community well-being. Below we dive more deeply into these next "steps," specifically drawing on two models: The Culture of Health action framework and the concept of collective efficacy.

The Culture of Health model: Developing shared values

The Culture of Health action framework has gained momentum since it was launched in 2014, driven by research initiated and supported by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. This model pursues improved population health, well-being, and equity in an "action framework" for communities.
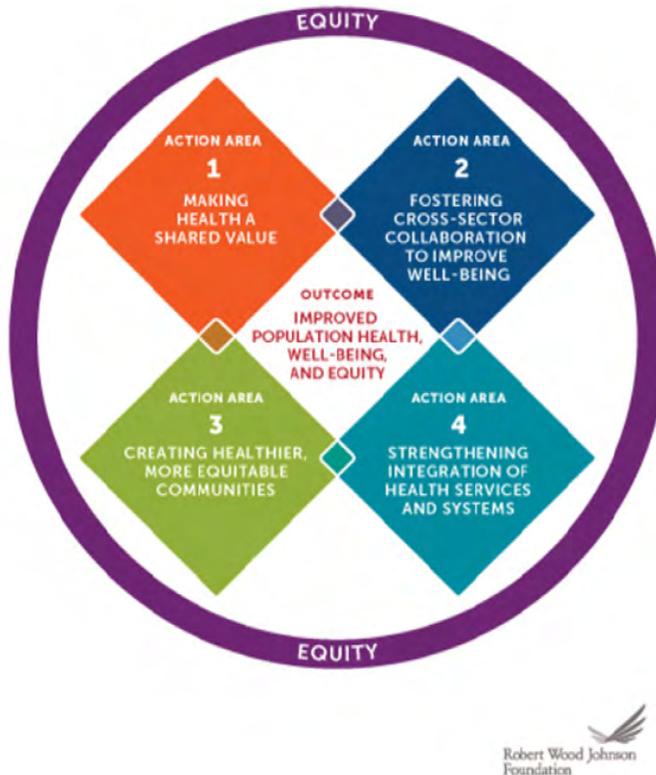
EQUITY

ACTION AREA 1
MAKING HEALTH A SHARED VALUE

ACTION AREA 2
FOSTERING CROSS-SECTOR COLLABORATION TO IMPROVE WELL-BEING

OUTCOME
IMPROVED POPULATION HEALTH, WELL-BEING, AND EQUITY

ACTION AREA 3
CREATING HEALTHIER, MORE EQUITABLE COMMUNITIES

ACTION AREA 4
STRENGTHENING INTEGRATION OF HEALTH SERVICES AND SYSTEMS

EQUITY

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation

Graham, Phillip W., Stephanie Hawkins, Brian G. Southwell, Monique Clinton-Sherrod, Leena El-Sadek, Shilpi Misra, and Sarah Langer Hall. "The Role of Social Cohesion in Making Health a Shared Value." RTI International, December 2016.

How does social cohesion fit into the Culture of Health action framework? As we mention above, Graham et al. argue that groups can leverage social cohesion to develop health as a shared value, one of the four action areas in the model. As the model articulates, interventions that affect certain drivers of attitude and behavior (civic engagement, sense of community, mindset, and expectations) can lead to increased social cohesion, and all collectively together lead to developing health as a shared value for the entire community. This is the first step toward achieving the desired outcome of equitable community health and well-being.
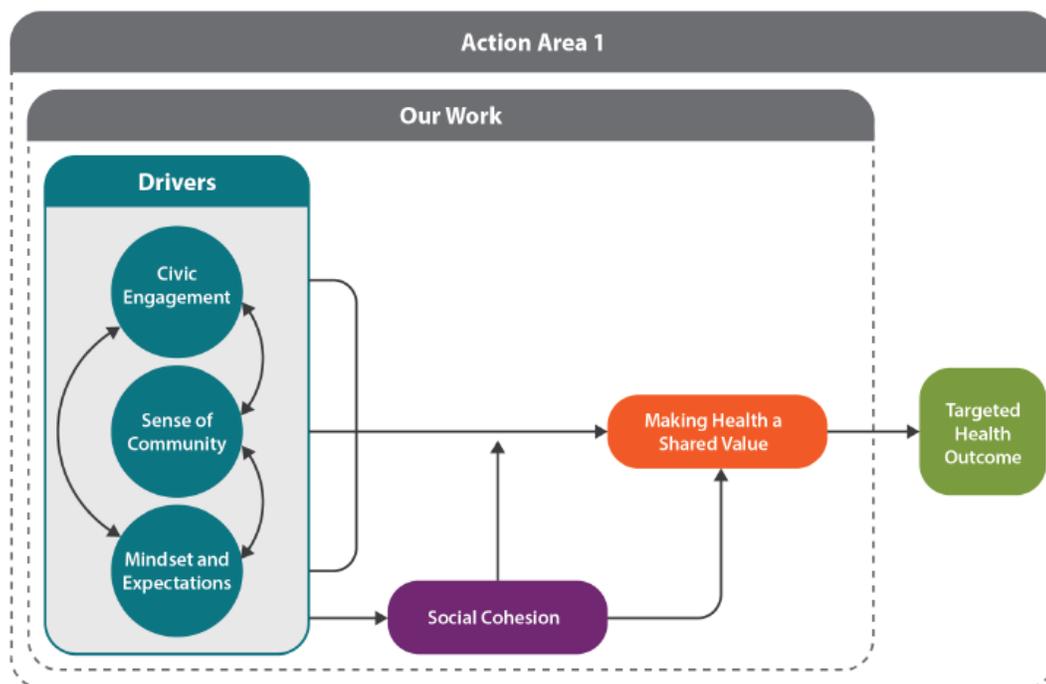
Action Area 1

Our Work

Drivers

Civic Engagement

Sense of Community

Mindset and Expectations

Social Cohesion

Making Health a Shared Value

Targeted Health Outcome

Graham, Phillip W., Stephanie Hawkins, Brian G. Southwell, Monique Clinton-Sherrod, Leena El-Sadek, Shilpi Misra, and Sarah Langer Hall. "The Role of Social Cohesion in Making Health a Shared Value." RTI International, December 2016.

How can we conceptualize "shared values?" Drawing on a literature review and interviews with 17 subject matter experts, Graham et al. link individuals' mindsets to shared values at a collective level.[74] They cite Grusec & Goodnow's two-step process of achieving shared values: people 1) perceive a value exists and 2) accept it as their own.[75] Chandra et al. write that "shared values mean that individuals and whole communities prioritize health and that health informs and drives local decision making; that communities have high expectations for their environment, health system, and supporting services; and that people understand that their health influences and affects others, and vice versa."[76]

We take this definition and zoom out from health specifically and argue that shared values *in general* can lead us from social cohesion to community well-being outcomes.

On a final note, the Culture of Health literature pursues equitable outcomes and flags that a feeling of empowerment is part of the mindset and expectations necessary to develop a culture of health.[77] But, the literature does not center a community's self-determination as key to the process of developing shared values and a culture of health itself. Because communities know best what they need for well-being and because a lack of power is one of the central barriers to equitable health and community well-being, it is important to be mindful of who is setting the agenda. If the process of developing shared values is still predominantly driven by large institutions that have traditionally held decision-making power, it suggests that the

shared values a community pursues might be dictated not by the community itself. Instead, the values may be dictated by outside agents, such as national community health organizations, whether their ultimate goal is equitable or not. This is not intrinsically "bad," *per se*, but it does not follow the spirit of community-led, equitable *process*. Ultimately, a lasting equitable culture of health will need to be rooted in community self-determination.

Collective efficacy and social control

Sampson developed another clear path through social cohesion toward positive community impacts; he posits that social cohesion is one of two fundamental mechanisms that produce collective efficacy in a group.[78] Collective efficacy is the capacity and capability of a group to achieve collective action. Sampson defines collective efficacy as social cohesion *and expectation of social control* (a community's ability to regulate its members according to shared values, principles, or norms for the general well-being of the community).[79]

Social cohesion **+** Shared expectations for social control **=** Collective efficacy

Social cohesion is an intrinsic part of collective efficacy.

How does collective efficacy link to community impacts? Collective efficacy is created and sustained by social ties among people who are potential participants in community change efforts. Here trust and the dimensions of social cohesion surface again: Sampson et al. argue that mutual trust among neighbors influences people's willingness to step in for the common good.[80] And Rios et al. note that in a neighborhood context of "trust and shared values, neighborhood residents increase their expectations that together they can achieve common goals."[81]

Social cohesion **+** Shared expectations for social control **=** Collective efficacy **→** Safety
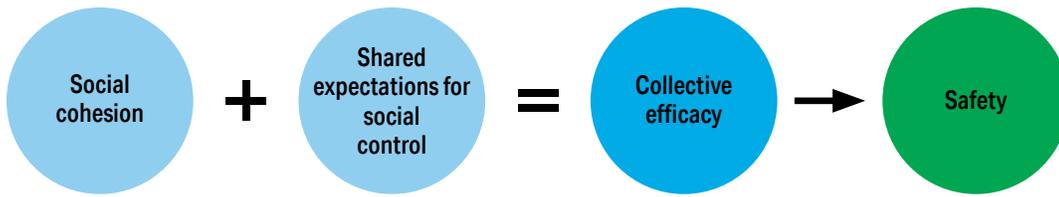
Sampson specifically links common good with safety. Through a survey of over 8,000 residents across Chicago, Sampson measured the relationship between collective efficacy and violence and found that collective efficacy is a mediating factor between concentrated disadvantage and instability and various forms of violence.[82] Rios et al. also connect collective efficacy to safety through collective efficacy: "healthy lifestyle behaviors are promoted through collective efforts to protect safe public spaces for activity, clean and safe housing, and availability of nutritional foods."[83] This research on collective efficacy lays the foundation for community change efforts that create alternatives to over-policing and mass incarceration in Black and brown communities. Along with self-determination of shared values, collective efficacy is a key tool for promoting coordinated organization and activity for equitable community well-being outcomes.

7

Impact continues to feed social cohesion model

Increased social cohesion and its family of related concepts that nurture collective action can contribute to community well-being. Community well-being itself can feed back into, amplify, and grow social cohesion and its drivers. Social cohesion is a "gradual phenomenon,"[84] a "state" that occurs "over a period of time"[85] that "must be continually produced"[86] and "requires "ongoing participation."[87]

But how does this "circular, self-sustaining system" function?[88] Through "equitable distribution of the fruits of cooperation," Stanley argues.[89] Schiefer and Van der Noll sum up this feedback loop comprehensively and succinctly: "When individuals and groups have equal access to resources, this will strengthen their trust in others and in institutions, enable them to participate and network, and facilitate a positive sense of belonging. This, in turn, contributes to their well-being and health, which in turn increases their general quality of life."[90]

8

Social cohesion and arts and cultural activities

Few researchers have directly explored the relationship between place-based arts and cultural strategies and social cohesion with conceptual and empirical rigor. Enormous opportunity exists to expand this area of research. A greater number of researchers have explored the relationship between concepts *related* to social cohesion—for instance, civic engagement—and arts and culture, and this work will likely prove useful for framing and strategizing place-based arts and cultural strategies and social cohesion research to come. Below we summarize the literature we reviewed that links these strategies to social cohesion. Since social cohesion is closely linked to community well-being, we note research that indicates promising avenues for connecting the dots between place-based arts and cultural strategies, social cohesion, and community well-being with further research.

Matarasso's *Use or Ornament?* is a foundational work at the intersection of art and culture and social cohesion. Matarasso's research from this 1997 book synthesizes extensive data collection from eight primary case studies and 60 total cases looking at community arts projects around England. Data collection includes questionnaires, project site visits, participant interviews, and focus groups.[91] He targets his work at policymakers in the arts and social services fields. Matarasso examines the social impact of participation in the arts, and although the general takeaways are broader than just social cohesion, his assessment relating arts activity to the formation of social cohesion in communities represents a formative contribution to the intersection of these two research areas. Matarasso argues that participatory arts projects "bring people together and provide neutral spaces in which friendships can develop. They encourage partnership and co-operation."[92] He links arts participation to promoting intercultural understanding, intergenerational contact, alleviating social isolation, reduction of anxiety about young people among older people, decline in fear of crime, and promotion of safety.[93] Matarasso arrives at these outcomes through surveys, interviews, and observations with community

members and project participants. Participants also reported the lasting effect of being able to cooperate and "get along with a wider group of people."[94] Ninety-one percent of project participants reported having made new friends through the process, and 54 percent reported having learned about other people's cultures.[95]

In terms of health and well-being outcomes, 52 percent of participants also reported feeling better or healthier, and 73 percent reported feeling happier since their involvement in community arts projects.[96] Matarasso does not specifically tie these reported health outcomes to the social cohesion outcomes. We see exploring the correlation within place-based arts and cultural strategies between these positive social cohesion and health outcomes as an opportunity for future research. Furthermore, we must keep in mind that Matarasso's research, one of the few studies to observe the arts and social cohesion relationship directly, only captures data on participants self-reported *feelings* about their participation, not their behaviors.

Stuber links arts and cultural activities to positive health and well-being outcomes, increased social connectedness and cohesion, and strengthened place attachment in the literature review "The Impact of Art on Social Connectedness, Health, Economic Activity, and Attachment to Place" for Springboard for the Arts. Stuber takes his definition of social cohesion from Sampson and highlights the dimensions of "sense of belonging and connectedness" and "collective capacity [and willingness] to work together towards common goals."[97] He identifies the presence of trust and the feeling that people in a community will "help each other" as measurable dimensions of social cohesion.[98] Presumably, this indicates that social cohesion measurements would occur through collecting self-reported feelings and impressions from participants and community members, similar to Matarasso (Stuber uses Matarasso as a primary source). Stuber identifies a trend that links art and culture to positive impacts on health and well-being through social cohesion by fostering collaboration and cooperation, which generates social connectedness and community cohesion; this, then, is linked to positive health outcomes.[99] Stuber acknowledges the difficulty in quantifying the impact of art and culture on social cohesion and related outcomes, and the complex interplay between individual and collective characteristics, experience, and behavior.[100] He suggests that "qualitative or mixed method approaches may be the most appropriate to help organizations start to understand the impact of their work in the context of the community."[101] Stuber also points out that beyond articulating a more thorough methodology for researching the relationship between arts and cultural activities and social cohesion and connection, "researchers have not analyzed how different modes or dosages of art" impact these outcomes.[102]

Wali et al.'s "Informal Arts: Finding Cohesion, Capacity, and Other Cultural Benefits in Unexpected Places" is a promising, suggestive probe of the positive impacts and scope of informal arts activities and participation in Chicago neighborhoods. In this study, a team of ethnographers from the Chicago Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College conducted field research on the impacts of informal arts in the Chicago area and observed that informal arts participation and activity "occupy a significant place in the social infrastructure of communities, helping to build both individual and group solidarity."[103] Wali et al. primarily rely on ethnographic research for this empirical study, with supportive surveys, focus groups, and interviews on participant feelings and understanding.[104] The research team concluded that "informal arts activities help people to bridge social boundaries of age, gender, race/ethnicity, and occupational status," and that these activities "induce trust and solidarity among participants, and promote greater understanding and respect for diversity."[105] They go on to suggest that informal arts and cultural participation helps to "build individual and community assets...[such as] greater tolerance of difference, trust and consensus building, collaborative work habits, use of innovation and creativity to solve problems, the capacity to imagine change, and the willingness to work for it."[106] Although Wali et al.'s report does not clearly define social cohesion, these effects describe many of the dimensions and desired outcomes of social cohesion—especially social cohesion that bridges dissimilar groups—that we have identified in our literature review. Though Wali et al.'s theoretical underpinnings are more intuitive than specific, the report's observed outcomes are promising.

Lee's "How the Arts Generate Social Capital to Foster Intergroup Social Cohesion" is a case study synthesizing largely qualitative empirical research on participants in the Guernica Peace Mural Project in Columbus, Ohio, where American graduate students and Somali immigrant and refugee children collaborated for a week on "the creation of a mural about peace and journeys."[107] We found this work, which emerges from arts policy and management studies, ultimately unsatisfying in its understanding of social cohesion and positive related outcomes. Lee observes how, "on the final day of celebration [of the completion of the mural], I witnessed through visual and discursive markers how the two groups had integrated into one community"[108] through exposure, understanding, relationships, and solidified connections.[109] Lee notes that in a follow up survey with the participating graduate students a year later, 50 percent of the students had "engaged with the Somali community" after completion of the mural project. The sense of community Lee imbues on the participants immediately following the completion of the mural project does not suggest long-term integration and cohesion nor even a sturdy network of bridging social capital. This discrepancy in the relationship between

observed outcomes and the mainstream conversation around the definition of social cohesion illuminates the importance of definitional clarity when measuring social cohesion empirically.

On the other hand, the temporary cohesion that Lee identifies between the American graduate students and Somali immigrant children resonates with observations made by interviewee Hwang, who suggested that "temporary cohesion" fostered by arts and cultural participation is an important and critical step toward developing more permanent community cohesion among groups that are not "organically cohesive." She warned, "I think we need to be realistic. We're not going to be all of a sudden be like, 'Well, they're my brother and I will do anything for them.' That takes a generation to achieve." She described these early steps, however, as meaningful and important. She suggested that building cohesion where it does not already exist may take a generation, but that fostering opportunities for temporary collaboration and building up networks, shared values, and goals slowly is a valid pursuit, and one that place-based arts and cultural strategies seem particularly well suited to fostering. This idea of "temporary cohesion" that leads to longer term gains does not emerge from the literature. We see exploring the longitudinal, compounding activities required to build sustainable or meaningful social cohesion, and the effect that place-based arts and cultural strategies have on this process, as an opportunity for further research.

Social policy and community arts researchers Seifert and Stern do not address social cohesion centrally or directly; however, their work provides multiple valuable framing mechanisms and measurement standards for exploring the relationship between art and culture and social cohesion. In "Civic Engagement and the Arts: Issues of Conceptualization and Measurement," they identify three "theories of action," or ways that arts can influence civic engagement outcomes: art as facilitation (discursive), art as instruction (didactic), and positive outcomes and "spillover" effects (ecological).[110] Although Seifert and Stern discuss these theories of action in the context of their impact on civic engagement specifically, we see no reason why they cannot also serve as a general set of categories for understanding the potential impacts of arts and cultural strategies. These theories of action helpfully articulate and differentiate the way that these strategies produce positive outcomes. These activities might foster alignment with top-down principles (didactic, art as instruction), or facilitate community-driven dialogue (discursive, art as facilitation). They might produce positive community outcomes directly (discursive and didactic), or indirectly (ecological, or through "spillover").

"Civic Engagement and the Arts" highlights key challenges for measuring the relationships between civic engagement and the arts, and many of these challenges are also relevant to measuring the relationship between social cohesion and the arts. They include:

- Unit of analysis, or "what or whom to study."[111] This question particularly resonates with questions about how to capture useful information about social cohesion, where questions abound about scale, the definition of a group, whether to study individual or group effects, and whether to study feelings or behavior.

- Retrospective data, or the problem of participants and subjects "overreporting" positive outcomes.[112] Stern and Seifert note that "cultural participation and civic engagement [and we might add social cohesion] are viewed as desirable activities," and thus prone to overreporting in surveys, interviews, and other collection methods that involve self-reported feelings and perceptions.[113]

- Selection bias, or participants in these activities will "self-select" into participation, which may present problems when attempting to extrapolate findings for a broader community population.[114] This concern resonates with empirical research on social cohesion, as community or group members who participate in arts and cultural interventions may not be representative of the overall population and may not be able to offer an accurate representation of the effect of such activities on the overall population.

- Obtrusiveness, or the idea that "evaluation tools annoy participants."[115] More than annoyance, Stern and Seifert lightly suggest that in communities with more tension, evaluation obtrusiveness may even negatively impact results.[116]

- Causal inference, or the need for longitudinal and hierarchical studies, in order to move from modest outcomes (like those seen in Lee's mural study) to larger, more meaningful impacts.[117] This certainly holds true for place-based arts and cultural strategies and social cohesion. We could not find any example of a longitudinal study looking at these relationships and impacts.

- Comparison and control groups, or the difficulty of comparing communities with arts and cultural activity to those that do not when so many other variables exist. This makes extrapolating whether the arts do a better or notably different job than other sorts of interventions difficult.[118]

In "The Social Wellbeing of New York City's Neighborhoods: The Contribution of Culture and the Arts," Stern and Seifert measure the relationship between the presence of cultural resources (represented and weighted as a "Cultural Asset Index") and other dimensions of community well-being in New York City neighborhoods, controlling for factors such as class and race. Other research in their Social Impact of the Arts Project (SIAP) produces similar studies for other cities. They argue that the presence of cultural resources serves as a dimension of well-being—specifically a dimension of social connection—and also suggest that cultural resources might be positively correlated to other dimensions of well-being.[119] The report purposefully focuses on the neighborhood scale and pulls statistical data from a wide variety of resources to assess both the presence of cultural assets and measurements of community well-being.[120] Although Seifert and Stern's measurements in these studies do not reference social cohesion directly, they represent the state of the art when it comes to measuring the relationship between the presence of cultural assets, resources, and activities and community well-being dimensions. We understand their work as a potential starting line for developing measurement strategies and dimensions for the relationship between place-based arts and cultural strategies, social cohesion, and equitable community well-being. However, Seifert and Stern do not address the challenge of how to measure social cohesion or its dimensions in this work.

They discover that when controlling for race, ethnicity, and economic well-being, the presence of cultural resources had a strong impact on the health index for lower income block groups but was not statistically significant in the top 60 percent.[121] In other words, the presence of cultural assets has a stronger positive relationship with the community well-being dimension of health for lower income communities than for wealthier communities, where the additional community resource might not add as much value in areas with high economic capital already present. They find that for low-income block groups, the presence of cultural resources was associated with a 3-5 percent decline in population reporting that they suffer from diabetes, hypertension, or obesity; a 25 percent decline for teen pregnancies; a 14 percent decline in child abuse investigations; and an 18 percent decline in felony crime rate.[122] However, Seifert and Stern warn not to treat cultural activity and resources as a magic pill that can cure social ills in low-income neighborhoods: "Expanding culture but leaving barriers of social class and race in place will not bring about a miraculous transformation of society."[123] To reiterate, this research does not measure social cohesion directly. Yet, in the way that it links place-based arts and cultural activity quantitatively to positive health and well-being outcomes for low-income communities, it suggests a starting point for adapting quantitative strategies to measure the relationship between art, place, and social cohesion.

Shapeshifters: Black Girls and the Choreography of Citizenship by Cox is the result of her eight-year ethnographic research in one shelter for women in Detroit. Although Cox does not make the direct connection between arts and cultural activities and social cohesion, we found her work helpful in both better understanding ethnography as a tool to measure dimensions of social cohesion and related concepts and as work that explores dimensions of social cohesion in a specific community (young Black women experiencing homelessness). She describes how women who live in the shelter "choreograph" their existence in the world. "Choreography, in its most radical sense, can disrupt and discredit normative reading practices that assess young Black women's bodies as undesirable, dangerous, captive, or out of place."[124] "Choreography suggests," she continues, "that there is a map of movement or plan for how the body interacts with its environment, but it also suggests that by the body's placement in a space, the nature of that space changes."[125]

In her research, Cox follows several women involved in Move Experiment, a program planned and facilitated by young Black women who live in the shelter. The program involved a variety of creative activities (writing, dance, and meditation) to address interpersonal tensions among people who lived and worked in the shelter. She finds that Move Experiment allowed participants an opportunity for self-expression, addressing social issues in an accessible way, and building solidarity. A couple Move Experiment peer educators then felt empowered to create another program, BlackLight. "The creative work that emerged from both the Move Experiment and BlackLight," Cox writes, "began with each young woman seeing herself (through multiple lenses), defining (and redefining) herself, and making the conscious effort to commit to the praxis of loving herself."[126] In this research, Cox primarily focuses on individual empowerment and the development of this particular group and less on community-level change.

We are aware of other research that links place-based arts and cultural strategies to well-being outcomes but does not draw this line *through* social cohesion. Metris' "Adding It Up" report finds that arts activities increased community residents' self-reported sense of safety.[127] Rose et al. review research and practice linking place-based arts and cultural strategies to areas of equitable community development, such as housing, health, food, and education.[128] Smith et al. cite research analyzing Canada's 2010 General Social Survey showing strong connections between a range of cultural activities and eight health and well-being indicators, "such as health, mental health, volunteering, feeling stressed, and overall satisfaction with life."[129] In a literature review, Stuber cites research that links cultural activities to positive physical and mental health impacts, even after controlling for income and education.[130]

This set of research tends to measure and identify connections between place-based arts and cultural strategies and well-being without shedding much light on *how* they are connected. One answer to this question might come from Rios et al.—although they do not research place-based arts and cultural strategies specifically, they find that social cohesion helps foster a "neighborhood context of mutual trust and shared values, [increasing residents' expectations] that together they can achieve their goals."[131] More direct research on this process of enhancing community cohesion, efficacy, and action—rather than ecological or "spillover" effects—appears to be one important avenue to understand how arts and cultural activities can contribute to equitable community well-being. In general, our literature review surfaced a need to better "connect the dots." Great potential exists for investigating the mechanisms and processes by which place-based arts and cultural strategies impact social cohesion for equitable community well-being.

9
Conclusion

We began this inquiry by looking for research that explores the relationship that arts and culture has with social cohesion. We found little research that explores this relationship directly and widened our scope to include what we have called the drivers of social cohesion. Still, we did not deeply explore the larger bodies of research that observe the relationships between place-based arts and cultural strategies and drivers or even the individual dimensions of social cohesion. Likewise, there are other bodies of research still to be to explored detailing the connections between arts and culture and coordinated organization and activity in communities, as well as between arts and culture and community well-being as a whole. In our Conceptual Framework, we draw on some of the research that explores the relationship between the drivers of social cohesion and place-based arts and cultural strategies to build our Theory of Change. To the research we have added the insights that practitioners shared with us in interviews and during the project's convening to further theorize and frame how place-based arts and cultural strategies can help build and grow social cohesion, and ultimately community well-being for all.

10
Notes

1   Ichiro Kawachi and Lisa Berkman, "Social Cohesion, Social Capital, and Health," in *Social Epidemiology* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 174–90.

2   Noah E. Friedkin, "Social Cohesion," *Annual Review of Sociology*, no. 30 (2004): 411.

3   Joseph Chan, Ho-Pong To, and Elaine Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research," *Social Indicators Research* 75 (2006): 279, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-005-2118-1.

4   David Schiefer and Jolanda Van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review," *Social Indicators Research* 132, no. 2 (April 2016): 583.

5   Gavin Bradshaw, "Social Cohesion in a Post-Conflict Context: Case Study of South Africa 12 Years On," *International Social Science Journal* 59, no. 192 (June 2008): 183–95, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2451.2009.00691.x.

6   Ibid.

7   Although we do not focus on national-scale cohesion in this report, we still consider these researchers when observing other definitional aspects of social cohesion.

8   Mark J. Stern and Susan C. Seifert, "The Social Wellbeing of New York City's Neighborhoods: The Contribution of Culture and the Arts," *Culture and Social Wellbeing in New York City* 2014–16, no. 1 (2017): i, http://repository.upenn.edu/siap_culture_nyc/1.

9   Friedkin, "Social Cohesion," 409.

10 Ibid., 10.

11 Kenneth A. Bollen and Rick H. Hoyle, "Perceived Cohesion: A Conceptual and Empirical Examination," *Social Forces* 69, no. 2 (1990): 479–504, https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/69.2.479.

12 Chan, To, and Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research"; Schiefer and Van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review."

13 Chan, To, and Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research."

14 Dick Stanley, "What Do We Know about Social Cohesion: The Research Perspective of the Federal Government's Social Cohesion Research Network," *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Special Issue on Social Cohesion in Canada, 28, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 5–17. Stanley adds the idea that social cohesion incorporates diversity and liberal social values such as equality and tolerance (10), but we do not see this idea reflected elsewhere in the literature. Mainstream understanding of social cohesion suggests that both diverse and homogeneous communities may be cohesive.

15 Kenneth Prewitt and Christopher D. Mackie, *Civic Engagement and Social Cohesion: Measuring Dimensions of Social Capital to Inform Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2014), https://www.nap.edu/login.php?record_id=18831.

16 Ibid.

17 Jane Jenson, "Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research," CPRN Study No. F-03 (Montreal, Canada: Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc., 1998), http:// www.cccg.umontreal.ca/pdf/CPRN/CPRN_F03.pdf.

18 Schiefer and Van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review," 593.

19 Phillip W. Graham et al., "The Role of Social Cohesion in Making Health a Shared Value" (RTI International, December 2016); Schiefer and Van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review"; Rebecca Rios, Leona S. Alken, and Alex J. Zautra, "Neighborhood Contexts and the Mediating Role of Neighborhood Social Cohesion on Health and Psychological Distress Among Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Residents," *Annals of Behavioral Medicine* 43, no. 1 (2012): 50–61; Stanley, "What Do We Know about Social Cohesion: The Research Perspective of the Federal Government's Social Cohesion Research Network"; Chan, To, and Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research."

20 Kawachi and Berkman, "Social Cohesion, Social Capital, and Health," 175.

21 Durkheim, quoted in Ibid.

22 James Moody and Douglas R. White, "Structural Cohesion and Embeddedness: A Hierarchical Concept of Social Groups," *American Sociological Review* 68, no. 1 (2003): 103–28, quoted in Graham et al., "The Role of Social Cohesion in Making Health a Shared Value," section 3, page 3.

23 Prewitt and Mackie, *Civic Engagement and Social Cohesion: Measuring Dimensions of Social Capital to Inform Policy*, 23.

24 Schiefer and Van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review," 592.

25 Rios, Alken, and Zautra, "Neighborhood Contexts and the Mediating Role of Neighborhood Social Cohesion on Health and Psychological Distress Among Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Residents," 51.

26 Bollen and Hoyle, "Perceived Cohesion: A Conceptual and Empirical Examination," 483.

27 Maria Elena Figueroa, Manju Rani, and Gary Lewis, *Communication for Social Change: An Integrated Model for Measuring the Process and Its Outcomes*, Communication for Social Change Working Paper Series 1 (Rockefeller Foundation and Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs, 2002).

28 Chan, To, and Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research," 289.

29 Rios, Alken, and Zautra, "Neighborhood Contexts and the Mediating Role of Neighborhood Social Cohesion on Health and Psychological Distress Among Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Residents," 51.

30 Schiefer and Van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review," 592–93.

31 Prewitt and Mackie, *Civic Engagement and Social Cohesion: Measuring Dimensions of Social Capital to Inform Policy*, 23.

32 Jenson, "Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research," quoted in Prewitt and Mackie, *Civic Engagement and Social Cohesion: Measuring Dimensions of Social Capital to Inform Policy*, 38.

33 Schiefer and Van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review," 589.

34 Ray Forrest and Ade Kearns, "Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood," *Urban Studies* 38, no. 12 (November 2001): 2134, https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980120087081.

35 Prewitt and Mackie, *Civic Engagement and Social Cohesion: Measuring Dimensions of Social Capital to Inform Policy*, 23.

36 Figueroa, Rani, and Lewis, *Communication for Social Change: An Integrated Model for Measuring the Process and Its Outcomes*, 34.

37 Chan, To, and Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research"; Stanley, "What Do We Know about Social Cohesion: The Research Perspective of the Federal Government's Social Cohesion Research Network."

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39 Jenson, "Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research," quoted in Prewitt and Mackie, *Civic Engagement and Social Cohesion: Measuring Dimensions of Social Capital to Inform Policy*, 38.

40 Chan, To, and Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research," 290.

41 Chan, To, and Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research"; Maria Lewicka, "Place Attachment: How Far Have We Come in the Last 40 Years?," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 31, no. 3 (2011): 207–30, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.10.001; Schiefer and Van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review"; Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls, "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy," *Science* 277, no. 5328 (August 15, 1997): 918–24.

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54 Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 19.

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59 Boessen et al., "Networks, Space, and Residents' Perception of Cohesion."

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63 Lewicka, "Place Attachment: How Far Have We Come in the Last 40 Years?," 210.

64 Prewitt and Mackie, *Civic Engagement and Social Cohesion: Measuring Dimensions of Social Capital to Inform Policy*, 23.

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