Coordinating for Cohesion: The Contribution of Public Management to the Cohesiveness of Society

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Despite the growing threat posed to social cohesion by the economic crisis and fiscal austerity in many countries, scholars have so far paid comparatively little attention to theorising or empirically investigating the contribution that public management can actually make to the cohesiveness of society. In this paper, I draw upon Moore's (1995) distinction between managing inward and managing outward to offer an empirical test of two alternative paths to coordinating for social cohesion in the public sector. Does a focus on improving coordination of the internal activities of public organizations lead to better social outcomes? Or do externally-orientated activities have greater social impact? What is the optimum balance between an internal and an external focus? To provide an initial answer to these important theoretical questions, multivariate analysis of primary and secondary data on public management and social cohesion in English local governments is presented, and some theoretical and practical implications of the findings discussed.

KEY WORDS: social cohesion; managing inward; managing outward.

During the past thirty years or so, government has grown ever more accustomed to developing intiatives to enhance the performance of key institutions and organizations. At the same time as being subject to the introduction of wide-ranging management reforms, many of those institutions and organizations are now increasingly charged with responding effectively to complex and intractable social problems by networking more intensively with external stakeholders (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011). Amongst the so-called "wicked issues" public organizations are expected to address is the cohesiveness of the societies that they serve. In fact, governments across the world have implemented a swathe of initiatives designed to prompt public organizations to devote more energy to addressing the supposed centrifugal tendencies associated with globalisation and the breakdown of traditional social structures (Hambleton & Goss, 2007). This is especially so in the European Union (EU), where the pursuit of social cohesion is a key policy aim, both in terms of enhancing the equity with which public services are distributed and in terms of the harmoniousness of the relationships between different social groups. Yet, despite the growing emphasis on the need to build cohesive societies, and the threat posed to social cohesion by the economic crisis and fiscal austerity in many countries, comparatively little attention has been paid to theorising or empirically investigating the ways in which public management might influence the cohesiveness of society.

In this paper, I offer a preliminary evaluation of the relationship between public management and social cohesion by carrying out an empirical test of the effects of two alternative basic managerial orientations in English local governments: managing inwards and managing outwards. More specifically, I examine whether there is an optimum balance between managing inwards and managing outwards for the cohesiveness of the communities served by local governments. Prior public administration research focused on the interface between public managers and the communities that they serve has emphasised the design of

mechanisms for improving that interface (e.g. Nabatchi, 2012). In this study, I seek to provide a way of exploring the managerial orientations that may be more or less likely to generate public value, at least in the shape of social cohesion. The theoretical and practical implications of the results of my empirical tests are discussed, and a future research agenda sketched out.

What is Social Cohesion? And Why does it Matter?

Social cohesion is in many respects a kind of 'buzzword', which is used by policy-makers to depict an idealized togetherness within society that, in turn, justifies the mobilization of government resources for its sustenance (Bernard, 1999). Whether by drawing on images of a golden age in the past or constructing narratives of social progress, governments everywhere have drawn upon the rhetoric of cohesion as means to garner support for their social programs (Novy, Swiatek, & Moulaert, 2012). Inevitably, the term is bandied around with the greatest vigour and enthusiasm when perceived social problems, or threats, cause observers to question the kind of society in which their countrymen are living. Indeed, one might say that any kind of social crisis can be turned into a crisis of cohesion. Yet, despite its frequent politicization, the concept of social cohesion is actually one of considerable theoretical pedigree within social science and has long been deployed as a means for understanding the capacity of a community to reproduce itself in the long-run (e.g. Durkheim, 1984; Putnam, 2000). Even so, while the concept of cohesion does have a scientific aspect (some societies are simply more close-knit than others), it is also intrinsically normative in orientation: a cohesive society is the kind of society in which we all ought to live. Hence, sociologists often regard communities and societies as cohesive when aggregate level conditions 'are producing positive membership attitudes and behaviours' (Friedkin, 2004, p.410).

Given its somewhat idealized and stylized application within public policy debates, it is perhaps no surprise that there has been little progress on the development of a precise definition and conceptualization of social cohesion. Often academic debates have focused on issues of measurement and operationalization, and in so doing probe the value of alternative subjective indicators of positive social attitudes, such as interpersonal trust, all the way through to objective indicators, such as the crime rates within a given society. In this respect, social cohesion is often treated as a kind of latent construct that, in itself, cannot be directly observed, but rather is composed of myriad separate though likely inter-related aspects of social life, which can be investigated independently as well as in combination. In this study, I have opted to follow the approach that Stephen Knack (2002) recommends for analysis of the related concept of social capital, and evaluate the contribution that public management can make to separate elements of cohesion.

A focus on specific attributes of a cohesive society has facilitated some broad agreement amongst many scholars and policy-makers about the kinds of positive social forces that contribute to cohesiveness. The urban geographers Ade Kearns and Ray Forrest (2000) usefully distinguish five key aspects of social cohesion in this regard: common values and civic culture; social order and social control; social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities; social networks and social capital; and place attachment and identity. For the purposes of this paper, I focus on the two aspects of social cohesion that have been most influential within debates about policy action on cohesion, particularly in Europe: social order (i.e. harmonious relations between different social groups); and social solidarity (i.e. generalized support for measures to promote social equity) (Council of Europe, 2007). These two aspects of social cohesion reflect the actual quality of social relations between people, and the shared norms and values that bind them together, both of which are key to group cohesiveness and its benefits for social living (Delhey, 2007). They are also notions with a

venerable history within the annals of social and political science. The idea that a cohesive society is premised on positive group relations is a key insight of social disorganization theory (Shaw & McKay, 1969), while the importance of equitable social outcomes underpins theories of distributive justice (Rawls, 1972) and democratic public administration (Fredrickson, 1990).

How Might Public Management

Make a Difference to Social Cohesion?

From a public management perspective, social order and social solidarity are high-level goals, or social outcomes, towards which multiple public agencies work either singly or in collaboration. In fact, one of the most striking features of the contemporary public administration landscape is the growing emphasis being laid upon outcomes-based management rather than a narrow focus on inputs and outputs, or indeed effectiveness, efficiency and results (Perrin, 2006; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011). This emphasis on social outcomes reflects the concern of policy-makers with the so-called "wicked issues" that confront today's governments, from family breakdown and long-term unemployment to violent extremism and global warming. Within this overarching policy discourse, social cohesion can be viewed as a meta-outcome that shapes and is shaped by multiple other social outcomes. In the EU, for example, debates about cohesion originally focused on how to address inequalities in access to public services following market liberalization (Héritier, 2001), and have now turned towards the tensions between the increasingly diverse social groups within Europe's cities (Council of Europe, 2007). All of which highlights that public organizations and public managers may have a large role to play in delivering improvements

in the cohesiveness of society – as urban planners and community development activists have long noted.

But in what ways might we expect public organizations and managers to actually make a contribution to the cohesiveness of society? Well, firstly, of course, public organizations often implement policies specifically designed to improve the relations between different social groups or to improve distributional equity. For example, within the UK, local governments have for some time supported community development activities both on their own initiative and at the behest of central government (Lowndes & Thorp, 2011). At the same time, public managers are responsible for the delivery of key services that often have important implications for social order and social solidarity. The effective provision of schooling, social services and policing by street-level organizations, in particular, can make an important contribution to improving social relations and the perceived equity with which key services are distributed (Kumlin & Rothstein, 2005). Thus, the selection of one or another managerial strategy, structure or process by any given organization is likely to have an important impact on the prospects of policy interventions and service provision contributing to social cohesion. Yet, although there is strong evidence that some managerial strategies are likely to work better than others for outputs and effectiveness (Andrews et al, 2012), comparatively little is known about what works for social cohesion, or about how one might conceptualise the contribution of managerial activities to cohesiveness.

One way in which it is possible to think about the types of managerial activity that are most likely to positively influence social cohesion is to draw upon Mark Moore's (1995) distinction between managing inward and outward. *Managing inward* is constituted by those activities that are intended to strengthen management's control over the internal functioning of organizations, such as centralization of decision-making, the introduction of alternative performance management and other information management systems, the amalgamation of

functions and departments or the creation of new hierarchical structures in order to improve organizational capacity. Such activities may result in better social outcomes because management becomes better able to control how effectively and efficiently an organization carries out its core tasks. *Managing outward* is activity that typically aims at improving an organization's engagement with key stakeholder groups. This might take the form of involving those stakeholders more intensively in key activities. For example, services could be made more customer-focused by offering citizens a greater role in their production. It might also entail bringing together the multiple stakeholder groups involved in the formulation and design of policy in pursuit of more joined-up strategic thinking, which, in theory, should generate closer coordination across a whole policy field, and thereby result in improved social outcomes.

While both internally and externally focused activities may produce improvements in social outcomes, theoretically, it is likely that there is some kind of optimum balance to be achieved between the resources that are allocated to managing inward and managing outward. Thompson (1962), for instance, emphasises that public organizations may often have to mandate 'boundary-spanning' interactions with external stakeholders to ensure that they achieve important organizational goals – something that is increasingly the case for local government managers operating, as they do, in networked settings. Broussine's (2003) assessment of the UK experience of external networking suggests that effective local government managers make context-sensitive decisions about the effort that should be devoted to improving the internal structure and culture of the organization versus the external management of community governance. Theoretically, this implies that the point at which an optimum balance between an inward and an outward managerial focus is achieved may be contingent upon the organizational goal that is being pursued. So, for example, it is possible that the optimum point for managing outward may be higher for social order since

improvements on this aspect of social cohesion require considerable engagement with a wide range of external actors, while that for managing inward may be higher for social solidarity because a focus on delivering internal improvements to service production better facilitates perceived service equity.

Testing for the Effects of Public Management on Social Cohesion

I test the potential for public management to influence social cohesion by applying Moore's distinction between managing inward and outward to survey data drawn from a sample of English local governments. These organizations provide nearly all of the key public services upon which local residents rely (e.g. education, social care, housing, waste management, leisure, road maintenance), and the 'street-level bureaucrats' who deliver those services shape users' experience of what it means to be a citizen. Moreover, concerns about the cohesiveness of local communities are at the heart of social policy in the UK (Lowndes and Thorp, 2011).

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The measurement of social cohesion is as hotly debated as its conceptualisation (see Dickes & Valentova, 2012). For the test presented here, social cohesion is measured as an attitudinal phenomenon reflecting individuals' perceptions of the characteristics of their local community (see Moody & White, 2003). Quantitative data on English citizens' perceptions of social cohesion are drawn from the Place Survey conducted by local governments across England in 2008.[1] This survey asked a representative sample of residents a series of questions about the quality of life in their local area, including levels of social order and social solidarity within the locality. The questions within the Place Survey were all based on a 5-point response scale with the published figures showing those agreeing with the survey

statements as a percentage of those responding to the question (see Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG), 2009).

For Kearns and Forrest (2000), *social order* is a product of the harmony between the diverse social groups present within any given community. Harmonious co-existence is a key indicator of the capacity of a community to sustain itself and resolve minor disputes and complications between social groups through informal processes of civil behaviour and respect for difference (Calhoun, 2000). One of the items in the Place Survey asked respondents whether they believed that "people from diverse backgrounds got on well together in the area" (i.e. "social order") (*mean = 77.1%, s.d. = 6.2*). This measure captures the degree of harmony between the social classes and ethnic groups within a locality. As such, it draws together Cantle's (2005) distinction between economic and ethnic group relations under the rubric of a single measure of cohesiveness

The degree of *social solidarity* within a community reflects the extent to which social groups perceive there to be 'open access to services of general benefit and protection' – especially those provided by the state (Kearns & Forrest, 1999, p. 999). Where access to quality public services is embedded within the social structure of a given community, its members may be more inclined to support (and pay) for other public policies and institutions aimed at benefiting the community as a whole (Esping-Andersen, 1990). In this respect, solidarity represents the kind of commitment to fairness that underpins theories of distributive justice (Rawls, 1972). Another item in the Place Survey gauges the extent to which respondents' agreed that local public services "treat all types of people fairly" (i.e. "social solidarity") (*mean = 71.55, s.d = 4.2*). This measure therefore captures Frederickson's (1990) idea that equal treatment lies at the heart of social equity.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Data on managing inward and outward were drawn from an email survey of the population of senior and middle managers in English local governments administered by email in late 2007 (response rate of 16 per cent). To overcome possible biases associated with differing managerial roles at the senior and middle levels, and to capture organizational variations in managing inward and outward, only governments from which there were responses from both senior and middle managers are included in the analysis (N of organizations = 175). In the sample of 175 organizations, 760 managers responded to the survey, producing an average of 4.4 responding managers per organizations.

Managing inward/outward was gauged by asking survey respondents to indicate, in a typical week, how their time would be divided between "% managing the organization" (mean = 70.3%, s.d. 10.87) and "% interacting with people from outside the organization" (mean = 26.0%, s.d. 9.35). Since the responses to these two questions did not always sum to 100% and because those responses are aggregated to the organizational level, separate managing inward and managing outward variables are entered into the statistical model.

Although the dependent and independent variables are reliant on single survey items, where such questions are directed towards narrowly specified constructs they often possess considerable face validity. This certainly applies to the questions asking how much time managers devote to internal and external activities.[2] In terms of the dependent variables, the items analysed were used during the study period by UK central government to evaluate the contribution of English local governments to social cohesion, and so can be regarded as the measures that mattered to the managers within those organizations.

Time-trend tests for nonrespondent bias were carried out to assess whether the comparatively modest response to the management survey might bias the findings. Independent sample t-tests for differences between the responses received from early (week

one) and late (final week) respondents to the questions on managing inward and outward were undertaken. This technique for assessing bias in response rates was developed by marketing specialists and assumes that late respondents have a similar attitude towards survey completion as nonrespondents (Armstrong & Overton, 1977). These tests revealed no statistically significant differences in the responses of early and late respondents.

To explore the likelihood that there is some kind of optimum balance between managing outward and managing inward for social cohesion, squared versions of these variables are included in the model. By including a quadratic term it is possible to calculate the point at which there is too much or too little time spent on managing inward or outward. Respondents typically spend more than twice their time managing inward than outward, indicating the relative importance, on average, of managerial attention to the internal functioning of the organization. I therefore anticipate that the relationship between managing inward and cohesion is likely to be u-shaped, while that for managing outward is likely to take on an inverted u-shape.

CONTROLS

To capture the impact of public management on social cohesion, it is important to control for the pre-existing levels of cohesiveness within a community. This is done by including identical measures of social cohesion garnered from the General User Survey carried out by English local governments in 2006 ("social order" *mean* = 78.9, *s.d.* = 6.9; "social solidarity" *mean* = 73.1, *s.d.* = 5.1) (DCLG, 2007). In addition, it is important to control for other potentially relevant local characteristics.

First, the average ward score on the indices of socio-economic deprivation in 2007 (*mean* = 18.7, *s.d.* = 8.9) is incorporated within the model. Prior research has indicated that deprivation is negatively related to social cohesion (Letki, 2008).[3] Second, measures of ethnic

and social diversity are included in the model. The proportions of the ethnic and social class sub-groups identified in the 2001 UK national census (such as Black African and Lower Managerial and Professional Occupations), for each local government were squared, summed and subtracted from 10,000, with a high score reflecting high diversity: an approach equivalent to that economists use to measure market fragmentation (Trawick & Howsen, 2006). Third, population size and density figures control for the possibility that residents of bigger, more densely populated areas experience higher levels of social alienation and disaffection (Oliver, 2000). Finally, the resources available to local governments to contribute towards the cohesiveness of the communities that they serve was controlled by including a measures of expenditure per capita in the model. Descriptive statistics and correlations for all the variables are shown in Table 1.

[Position of TABLE 1]

RESULTS

The two dependent variables are very highly correlated (see Table 1), which indicates that they may suffer from weak discriminant validity and be capturing a wider latent 'social cohesion' construct. Since the analysis presented in the paper is restricted to only these two measures of cohesion, I decided that a multivariate regression approach estimating two equations was more appropriate than Structural Equation Modelling based upon the kind of confirmatory factor analysis that utilises many variables to derive a latent factor. Seemingly Unrelated Regressions (SUR) of the linear and nonlinear relationship between managing inward and managing outward and the two measures of social cohesion are therefore presented in Table 2. This procedure was used because SUR can control for the relationships between multiple dependent variables. In this case, the error terms from separate Ordinary

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Least Squares (OLS) equations for perceived social order and solidarity are positively correlated. In such circumstances, OLS is inefficient as separate estimations are unable to utilise relevant information present in the cross-regression error correlations. SUR remedies this by determining the parameters for all relevant equations in a single iterative procedure (Martin & Smith, 2005), producing, in effect, a "pure" model of managing inward/outward and perceptions of social order and social solidarity. Within the SUR models, logged values of population, population density and ethnic diversity correct for positive skew, with squared values of social diversity correcting for negative skew.

[Position of TABLE 2]

The findings in Table 2 indicate that the statistical models explain a large proportion of the variation in social cohesion across English localities in 2008 (about 75% for social order, and about 64% for solidarity).[4] The results suggest that residents' perceptions of cohesiveness are fairly stable, with the mean level of cohesion in 2006 accounting for about 50% of the variation observed in 2008. At the same time, socio-economic deprivation has a sizeable statistically significant impact upon perceptions of cohesiveness even when controlling for the level of cohesion recorded in 2006. By and large, however, the other control variables make little contribution to the model's explanatory power, with the notable exception of social diversity, which is negatively related to social solidarity. Not only are the baseline cohesion and deprivation variables important determinants of cohesion, but so too are the measures of managing inward and outward.

The results for the linear estimations suggest that there is a straightforward positive connection between managing outward and social cohesion, but that managing inward makes no difference to residents' perceptions of social order or social solidarity. However,

inspection of the models including the base and the squared managing inward/outward variables confirms the idea that there may an optimal balance between managing inward and outward advanced above. The coefficient for managing inward is negative and statistically significant in both nonlinear models, while the coefficient for the squared version of the managing inward variable is positive and statistically significant. At the same time, the coefficient for managing outward is positive and statistically significant, but turns negative for the squared version. Although substantively the coefficients are small by comparison with those for the cohesion baseline and deprivation, this is not necessarily unexpected. Adaptation within public sector organizations tends to occur within a highly constrained environment and management decisions and activities often affect outcomes only at the margins (O'Toole & Meier, 1999).

To explore at what point the benefits of managing inward (outward) turn negative (positive) the 'tipping points' for both variables were calculated. The results for both equations are fairly similar indicating again that the dependent variables may be capturing related elements of a wider latent social cohesion factor. The optimum balance between managing inward and outward for social order was 60/34, while that for social solidarity was 67/33. The optimal balance for both aspects of social cohesion is weighted more towards managing outward than the average observed for the local governments studied here (70/26 inward/outward), suggesting that those governments that are more outward-facing are better placed to achieve higher levels of social cohesion (see also the linear estimations in Table 2). Even so, the nonlinear estimations also indicate that a comparatively high level of internal managerial control is still needed for governments to contribute to the cohesiveness of society. This is especially the case for the measure capturing residents' perceptions of how fairly local services are delivered, which offers some confirmation of the speculative suggestion made earlier regarding the benefits of an inward focus for social solidarity versus

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social order. The curvilinear relationship between managing inward/outward and social cohesion is graphically illustrated in the three-dimensional scatterplots shown in figures 1 and 2.

[Position of figures 1 and 2]

Conclusions

In this paper, I developed some propositions about the contribution of public management to the cohesiveness of society, focusing on the relative balance between managing inward and outward as the source of better or worse outcomes. I also offered an empirical test of the propositions that are advanced in the paper. From a policy-maker's perspective, the findings highlight that public management can make a contribution to the cohesiveness of society, but that managerial strategy matters. Although the analysis that has been presented has limitations, it does illustrate that local governments with the right balance between an inward and outward focus seem to be doing better in terms of residents' perceptions of social order and social solidarity. These findings have important implications.

While the study offers succour to those who have called for public organizations and managers to reach out and develop better connections with other social actors and institutions, they also contain a cautionary note. For the English local governments studied here, more attention to external managerial activity does seem to pay dividends for the cohesiveness of society, but works best in organizations in which managers continue to devote around 60 per cent of their time and effort to improving internal organizational functioning. In fact, it is quite possible that there are many circumstances in which harmonious social relations and more fair outcomes are likely to be achieved by ensuring that

more vocal or better resourced stakeholders are not involved in the decision-making process (e.g. the location of waste disposal sites or other environmentally hazardous facilities, Mohai & Bryant, 1992). Thus, it is important that managerial networking with external actors does not come at the expense of a well-managed organizational base from which to operate or the implementation of policies and practices that can deliver fair and equitable results in the face of opposition from powerful stakeholder groups.

Despite the clarity of the take-home message from the analysis presented here, the study has some important limitations. First, although the measures that are used to capture social cohesion may be those that were regarded as important by central and local government, they may not accurately capture citizens' actual experience of social order and solidarity. Future research could examine whether similar results are observed when alternative indicators are utilised. This might take the form of a battery of survey questions such as those used in the Eurobarometer asking the people served by public organizations about tensions between different social groups (e.g. old versus young, poor versus rich, native versus immigrants) and the accessibility of different public services (e.g. schools, hospitals, public transportation). It could also draw upon 'objective' indicators of cohesion, such as crime rates, industrial disputes and measures of participation in community organizations.

Second, it must be remembered that the study is based on a single snapshot in time of a particular set of organizations. More research is needed in other settings and countries to learn more about the appropriate balance between managing inward and outward. It would be especially important to move beyond the cross-sectional study presented here to develop a longitudinal data set capable of teasing out the causal direction of the managing inward/outward relationship.

Finally, the findings do not really tell one which specific activities are most likely to contribute to social cohesion. Prior research has suggested there are several ways local

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governments can reach out into the community to improve social cohesion, ranging from efforts to educate citizens (Andrews, Cowell, & Downe, 2011) to carrying out extensive community development work of one kind or another (Lowndes & Thorp, 2011). In fact, within the survey reported here, managing outward is positively correlated with items gauging a commitment to public participation activities in local governments; managing inward, by contrast, is negatively correlated with these activities.[5]All of which suggests that public managers' efforts to develop closer connections with the citizenry and the community-based organizations in which they participate might contribute to positive changes in the cohesiveness of society.

Since the adoption of an appropriate balance between an inward and outward-looking managerial orientation by public organizations is not something that policy-makers can take for granted, it may be necessary to elicit behaviour change in one way or another. Initiatives that can encourage organizations to become more externally focused, in particular, could have an important role to play in delivering improvements in social cohesion. To date, little systematic research has been carried out to assess what works in terms of building the commitment of public organizations to coordinating for cohesion. What little research there is though, suggests that it is possible to change the behaviour of public organizations. For example, in the UK, the introduction of targets for improving levels of social cohesion prompted local public service providers to work more intensively with each other (Andrews, Downe, & Guarneros-Meza, 2013). Future research that sought to disentangle the relative merits of alternative approaches to strengthening the connections between public organizations and the communities that they serve would therefore contribute greatly to our understanding of this key issue in contemporary public administration.

Notes

1. Place Survey data were independently verified by the Audit Commission, a central regulatory agency. Each local government was required to achieve a sample size of 1,100 based on a confidence interval of +/-3% at the 95% confidence level.

2. Methodological studies point to the reliability of single item measures (e.g. Bergkvist and Rossiter, 2007). To test the validity of the measures of managing inwards and outward I checked the correlation between them and an index of managerial networking intensity based upon several survey items gauging the frequency with which managers interact with a range of key stakeholders. This analysis revealed that managing inward was negatively correlated with managerial networking, while managing outward was positively correlated with networking.

3. Independent t-tests revealed that the levels of social cohesion and deprivation in the sample used for the analysis do not differ from the population of English local governments. Bootstrapping of the regression estimates improved the accuracy of the standard errors (full results available on request).

4. The "Pseudo R squared" values produced by STATA for the SUR estimates are adjusted for the correlation between the separate models included within the equation.

5. Managing outward is also positively correlated with the presence of an entrepreneurial 'prospecting' strategy and decentralized decision-making, but negatively correlated with a core business focused 'defending' strategy. Managing inward is positively correlated with a defending strategy and centralized decision-making. For reasons of space, it is not possible to explore in full the nature of managing inward and outward on this occasion, though these correlations indicate that further research exploring this issue would be valuable.

Acknowledgement

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Table 1   **Descriptive statistics and correlations**

	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Social order (2008)	87.3	6.2											
2. Social solidarity (2008)	79.9	4.2	.75**										
3. Managing inward	70.3	10.9	-.12	-.07									
4. Managing outward	26.0	9.4	.10	.07	-.58**								
5. Social order (2006)	78.9	6.9	.81**	.76**	-.05	-.01							
6. Social solidarity (2006)	73.1	5.1	.63**	.75**	-.06	-.02	.67**						
7. Deprivation	18.73	8.9	-.68**	-.59**	.14+	-.03	-.53**	-.54**					
8. Ethnic diversity	1776.0	1706.0	-.12	-.20**	.11	-.10	-.05	-.29**	.40**				
9. Social diversity	8758.6	83.4	-.17*	-.28**	.07	-.05	-.14+	-.24**	.18*	.39**			
10. Population	227885	235939	-.02	-.04	.00	.11	.02	-.17*	.04	.05	.16*		
11. Population density	1527.2	2082.5	-.16*	-.19*	.13+	-.11	-.09	-.22**	.53**	.81**	.26**	-.05	
12. Government expenditure	832.22	697.6	-.37**	-.41**	.14+	-.10	-.27**	-.43**	.62**	.52**	.34**	.41**	.52**

$N = 175$. $+ p \leq 0.10$; $* p \leq 0.05$; $** p \leq 0.01$. .

Table 2   **Managing Inward, Managing Outward and Social Cohesion in English Local Governments (2008)**

	Social order				Social solidarity			
	β	s.e.	β	s.e.	β	s.e.	B	s.e.
Managing inward	.020	.027	-.478+	.269	.023	.022	-.541*	.219
Managing inward^2			.004+	.002			.004*	.002
Managing outward	.081**	.032	.409**	.154	.046+	.026	.335**	.125
Managing outward^2			-.006*	.003			-.005*	.002
Cohesion (2006)	.512**	.040	.510**	.040	.500**	.046	.486**	.046
Deprivation	-.294**	.042	-.301**	.042	-.129**	.034	-.141**	.034
Ethnic diversity (log)	.585	.422	.608	.416	.527	.344	.532	.337
Social diversity^2	-2.40E-07	1.84E-07	-2.62e-07	1.82E-07	-4.32-07**	1.49e-07	-4.52E-07**	1.47E-07
Population (log)	-.557	.436	-.559	.431	.596+	.356	.600+	.349
Population density (log)	-.046	.264	-.052	.262	.136	.216	.155	.213
Government expenditure	.001	.001	.001	.001	-.001	.001	-.001	.001
Constant	59.303**	14.948	73.054**	16.520	56.201**	12.668	72.873**	14.021
Chi^2 statistic	511.59**		532.53**		310. 37**		331.85**	
R^2	.75		.76		.64		.66	

$N = 175. + p \leq 0.10; * p \leq 0.05; ** p \leq 0.01.$
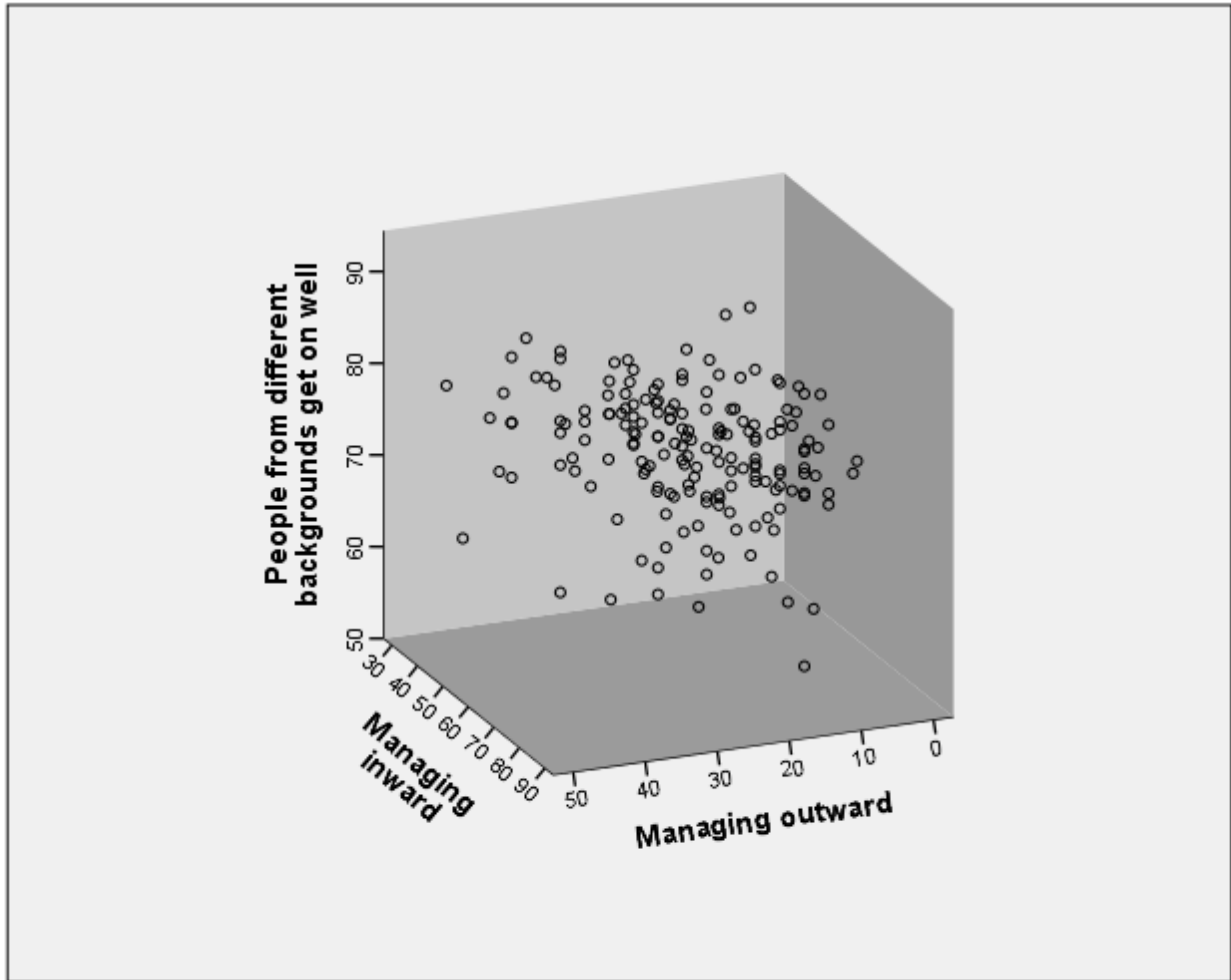
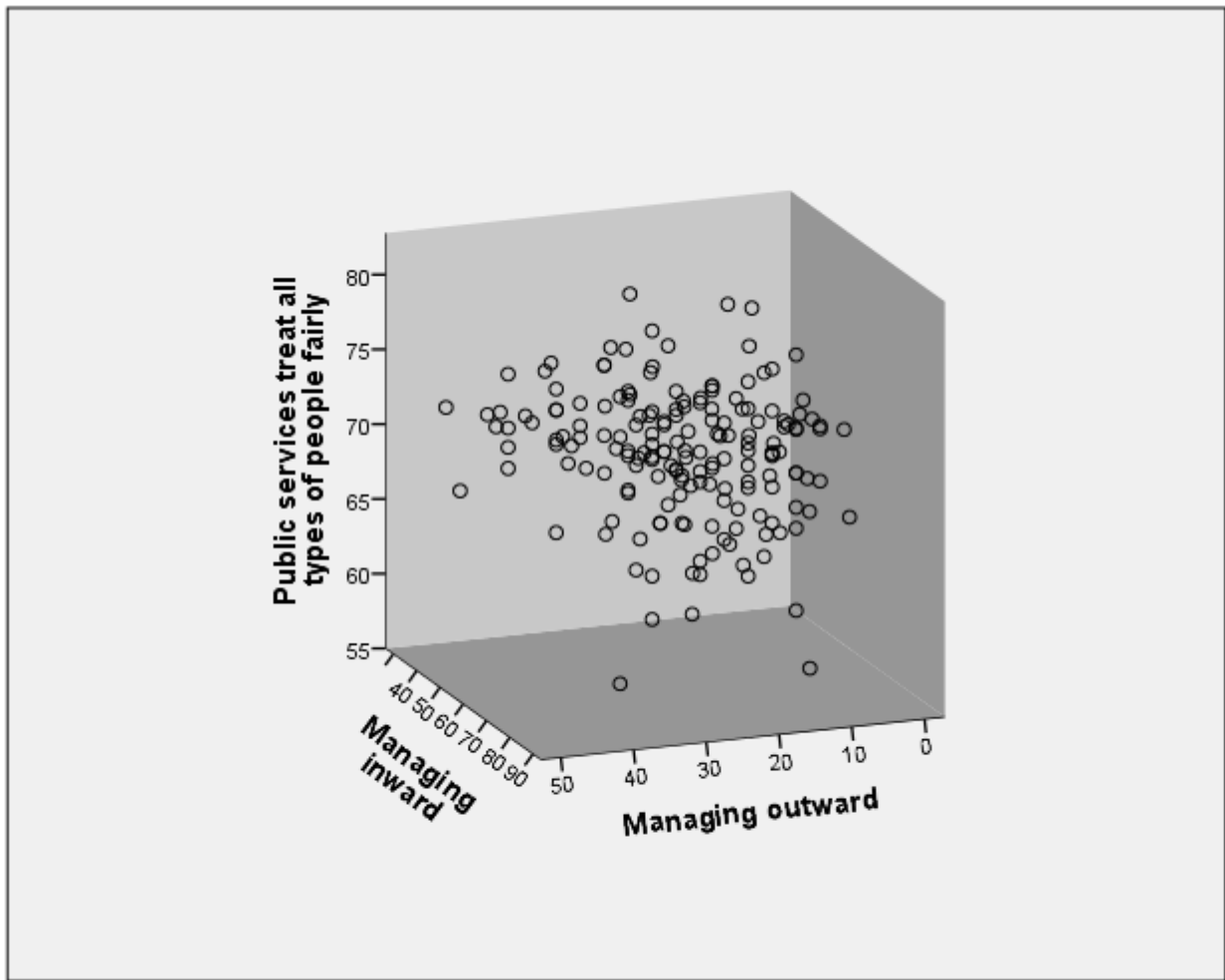**Figure 1**   **Managing inward, managing outward and social order**

Figure 2   **Managing inward, managing outward and social solidarity**