

Neighborhood effects on integrative organizational practices in five global cities

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Abstract

Organizational practices, such as interacting with and advocating for constituents or engaging in event hosting and collaboration, are critical to integration—creating connections across lines of difference. However, these practices are unevenly distributed across neighborhoods and shaped by neighborhood characteristics. Connecting organizational and neighborhood-level data, this study explores how neighborhood affluence (income) and heterogeneity (migrant population share) affect the integrative practices among civil society organizations (CSOs). Using unique survey data from five global cities, we analyze the organizational practices of 863 CSOs in 536 neighborhoods. We find that social integration practices—connecting people to each other—are more prevalent in poorer neighborhoods. Conversely, systemic integration practices—connecting people and organizations to other organizations in the ecosystem—are more common in heterogeneous neighborhoods, especially when they are affluent. These findings shed light on the role of organizations in promoting social cohesion and economic development as well as disparities in integrative practices among neighborhoods.

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Main

Integration—creating connections across lines of difference—is a central issue in cities around an increasingly unequal world (1), but we know relatively little about how integration efforts differ based on where people live and what resources are available to them. Local organizations play a significant role in addressing integration at the level of cities and neighborhoods.

Organizational practices that contribute to integration are important in enhancing the success of a community, including trust, meaningful interactions, and cooperation among community members (2–4). But these practices are not equally prevalent throughout neighborhoods, potentially exacerbating existing disparities and giving rise to new ones (5, 6). Poorer, marginalized neighborhoods have fewer organizations that help facilitate collective efficacy—the “willingness and ability of neighborhood residents to pursue collective goals, such as public order or the control of crime” (2, 5). This uneven distribution compounds social problems, such as higher crime rates, a lack of social innovation, and lower social mobility (5, 7, 8). In short, disparities in the presence and practices of civil society organizations (CSOs) aggravate socio-economic disparities in cities and communities (9–11).

Prior research has noted that the density of organizations contributing to urban integration differs widely across regions and neighborhoods (12, 13). Large cities tend to have a more liberal profile, which fosters a richer organizational landscape (14–16). At the same time, social welfare organizations are more concentrated in poorer neighborhoods (13). Research on the role of organizations in urban settings has focused primarily on their presence, which can have significant implications for various outcomes, such as crime rates, the adoption of urban innovations, and economic resilience (6, 17, 18). Although different, competing mechanisms are at play in explaining this effect, the general idea is that organizations shape networks, norms, and

trust that facilitate cooperation within a community (2). The absence of CSOs undermines the social control of cities and communities (3, 19).

In this study, we move beyond documenting organizational presence and ask how the practices of organizations vary by neighborhood. The practices of organizations have largely eluded researchers, who tend to focus *either* on the neighborhood *or* the organizational level. We address this lacuna through a unique comparative study of CSOs, which have particular importance for integration (20). CSOs can strengthen communities in two ways: a) *social integration* by connecting people within communities, and b) mobilizing resources in pursuit of *systemic integration* by linking individuals and organizations to other organizations in a city's broader economic, political, legal, and philanthropic ecosystem (1, 21, 22). The two avenues reflect different approaches to addressing social problems and achieving collective goals (23). Social integration relies on creating social ties within the community to facilitate collective action and decision-making (24, 25), whereas systemic integration involves working with organizations that represent social systems such as education, business, and government (23–25). Investigating how organizations employ the two different ways of helping communities is crucial for understanding an important social mechanism that contributes to urban integration and, consequently, mitigates social inequality.

Extant research suggests that whether organizations pursue social or systemic integration (or a combination thereof) depends on organizational features such as the types of expertise they draw on (21, 22). Strong local connections and a deep understanding of the community make CSOs more effective at promoting collective action within the community; professional knowledge about how to access resources and cooperate with external stakeholders may equip CSOs to pursue systemic change and address broader social issues. However, we know less

about the association between organizations' integrative practices and contextual factors that have been shown to affect the presence of the organizations (1, 5, 29). Neighborhood features may not only affect persistent differences in the number and density of organizations but also influence what these organizations do—which goals, practices, and constituents they prioritize. How neighborhood affluence and demographics are associated with these organizations' integrative practices is an open question.

To address this, we investigate variation in how CSOs operate in differently situated neighborhoods. We draw on unique survey data of CSOs in five global cities: San Francisco, Seattle, Shenzhen, Sydney, and Vienna. These data stem from a standardized survey instrument coordinated and fielded by local teams in all five cities. We examined the associations between neighborhood features and organizations' integrative practices of 863 organizations located in 536 unique neighborhoods (30), focusing on two fundamental neighborhood features that are available and meaningful to characterize diverse contexts—neighborhood affluence and the share of migrant populations. Our analysis shows that integrative practices are associated with both neighborhood affluence and the varying levels of migrant presence within the neighborhoods in which the organizations are located. We gain insights into which specific practices vary most by neighborhood features that are standard measures in neighborhood effects research and meaningful in cities worldwide: neighborhood affluence and demographics.

We find that, first, CSOs in *lower-income neighborhoods* tend to allocate their resources to social integration practices, facilitating personal interactions and community building. These organizations mobilize economic resources for marginalized people at the grassroots level (31, 32). Organizations in poorer neighborhoods, where institutional trust is often low, may also invest in interpersonal trust-building activities, essential for economic prosperity and social

stability (33). Increased demand for social integration in these areas reflects the greater need for social support amid economic challenges (34). Second, CSOs in neighborhoods with a *greater share of migrants* tend to employ practices for systemic integration. Organizations serving populations with a higher migrant share support the integration processes and collective actions of these individuals through their collaborations with other organizations such as government agencies, social welfare programs, educational institutions, and businesses.

CSOs focusing on systemic integration can be crucial in addressing poverty-related challenges in poorer neighborhoods, whereas social integration practices can help connect migrants to their neighbors in diverse neighborhoods. However, a higher proportion of migrants does not significantly impact social integration practices, just as neighborhood income alone does not significantly impact systemic integration practices. This absence of effects suggests that CSOs may not address the broader needs of these neighborhoods to the same degree, such as building communal bonds within heterogeneous communities and connections to organizational resources for poorer individuals that enable them to advocate for themselves. Our analysis underscores disparities in the accessibility of “civic opportunities” and social capital for economically and socially marginalized individuals (20).

Overall, our study expands our understanding of how neighborhood traits affect CSOs’ practices, which in turn shape communities’ capacity and propensity to advocate on their behalf. By incorporating data from five global cities, we propose relationships that may be applicable in a variety of urban contexts. Our study contributes to a growing body of research on the

mechanisms by which organizations play a role in their communities through their integrative practices, informing interventions to promote integration in urban settings.

Results

Our analysis followed a four-step process to investigate the connections between neighborhood characteristics and the adoption of integrative practices by CSOs. First, we validated social and systemic integrative practices as our dependent variable through an analysis of the practices at the intersection of all 845 CSOs and their urban context. Second, we examined the link between these types of integrative practices and features of the 581 neighborhoods in which these organizations are located. This stepwise approach enables us to understand how neighborhood features might shape the presence and variety of integrative practices among organizations. Third, we incorporated organizational control variables to examine factors that may explain differences in organizational practices. Finally, we also examined whether certain neighborhood conditions enable CSOs to simultaneously pursue social and systemic integration. Tab. A2 shows descriptive statistics for all variables used in the regressions, and Tab. A3 displays descriptive statistics related to integrative practices. Tab. A4 and Tab. A5 outline the outcome of our regression models on organizations' socially and systemically integrative practices.

Integrative practices

We confirmed the existence of two distinct types of integrative practices theorized in earlier research on cities—social and systemic integration—using exploratory factor analysis. Applying an exploratory factor analysis of organizational data from all five cities (following an earlier study (21)), we identified two factors with an Eigenvalue of 3.8 and 2.5, respectively,

representing the integrative practices of CSOs. The third and fourth factor also have an Eigenvalue above 1, which is often used as a cut-off for relevant factors. These factors are, however, responsible for less than 10% of the variance in the data, compared to 21% and 14% of the two primary factors used in our analysis. If included, the third factor indicates advocacy organizations and the fourth factor indicates organizations with an explicit goal to generate social capital; these emphases are conceptually subordinate to the concepts used in our two-factor model.

As illustrated in Fig. A1, both types of integrative practices of organizations are observed in all five cities – leaving the question of what determines an organization’s position on two dimensions open. The “social” factor indicates that an organization has intricate knowledge of its constituents, organizes recreational events, and pursues social interactions and trust-building as goals. The “systemic” factor represents that an organization collaborates with other nonprofits, foundations, government agencies, and firms, seeks to engage its members in institutional politics, engages in advocacy with local and non-local governments, puts on formal events such as talks and conferences, and involves staff and beneficiaries in formal decision-making.

Notably, not all factors are clearly associated with a particular type of integration. For instance, beneficiary involvement in decision-making processes is associated with both social and systemic integrative practices. Such involvement is usually seen as a feature of democratic, community-building organizations but may also reflect an organization’s capacity to conduct beneficiary surveys or solicit participation, a trait commonly found in organizations tackling social issues through inter-organizational collaborations and political advocacy (35). That different practices may load onto both factors is an important feature of the analysis, although our results also hold when excluding these ambivalent indicators. The two factors are orthogonal

by design, enabling us to evaluate their independent associations with neighborhood features to understand how organizations' integrative practices differ by neighborhood features.

Neighborhood characteristics and integrative practices

We investigated the relationships between the selected neighborhood attributes and the types of integrative practices adopted by CSOs. Fig. 1 illustrates the predicted level of socially and systemically integrative practices by neighborhood characteristics, respectively, based on the regression coefficients outlined in Tab. A4. Socially integrative practices are significantly linked to lower income ($\beta = -.082$, $p = .019$). This result is robust to including additional organizational features. Furthermore, systemically integrative practices are significantly associated with a higher rate of migrant populations at the average level of neighborhood income ($\beta = .066$, $p = .013$). This positive relationship is most prominent in more affluent neighborhoods, suggesting that neighborhoods with a greater share of migrant populations tend to have higher rates of systemically integrative CSOs, particularly as the neighborhoods become more affluent.

Supplementary models show that the effect holds even upon considering the geographic focus of the organization. We did not include geographic orientation in the main models due to a more limited sample size.

The city fixed effects shown in Tab. A4 indicate some differences among cities that are notable. Social integrative practices are less prevalent in Vienna and Sydney compared to San Francisco, with no significant difference to Seattle and Shenzhen. The Vienna effect appears to be driven by greater distance to beneficiaries, such as greeting clients on the street. Sydney CSOs hosted fewer recreational events and were less engaged in beneficiaries' life events, such as birthdays. Systemic integrative practices are more common in Shenzhen and Vienna compared to

San Francisco, with no significant difference to Sydney and Seattle Shenzhen shows more collaboration with for-profit organizations and the government, as well as higher average civic engagement and advocacy, while Vienna exhibits more collaboration and a greater propensity to host informational events and engage in both local and international advocacy, likely because it is a capital city. Despite accounting for variations in the overall rate of integrative practices by city through city fixed effects, no systematic differences in neighborhood effects by city were identified through interactions between city dummy variables and neighborhood characteristics.

Organizational features

We also ensured the robustness of our findings by controlling for organizational features, including CSOs' field of activity, size, and leadership professionalism. The results indicate that CSOs in fields where organizations play a representative role for communities, such as environment or public benefits, exhibit lower rates of social integration compared to recreational organizations. Conversely, those organizations demonstrate higher rates of systemic integration relative to recreational ones. Additionally, larger and more professional CSOs tend to focus more on systemically integrative practices, whereas these features are not predictive of socially integrative practices. Importantly, the neighborhood effects remain consistent even after accounting for these organizational controls (See Fig. 1 and Tab. A4). In a subset of our data

where the founding year was available, we also examined age as a potential predictor of practices but found no evidence of an effect in San Francisco, Shenzhen, and Vienna (36).

Dual pursuit of social and systemic integration

We finally examined whether there are neighborhood effects on CSOs that pursue both social and systemic integration by considering the neighborhood and organizational features that predict which CSOs are in the upper right quadrant of the distribution (illustrated in Fig. A1). We found no evidence of a consistent relationship between a continuous and a categorical measure of dually integrative practices and neighborhood income or migrant population. Not surprisingly, in neighborhoods with lower organizational density, CSOs were more likely to pursue dual integration. Organizations in Shenzhen and Vienna were more likely to engage in dual integration than in San Francisco, and organizations in Sydney were less likely to do so. Furthermore, larger and more professional organizations tend to combine the two.

Discussion

Synopsis

Our analysis demonstrates that neighborhood income and the share of migrant populations are associated with the types of integrative practices observed in CSOs across five global cities. We established the validity of social and systemic integrative practices per theoretical expectations (1) and earlier empirical work on a single city (21, 22). Our findings demonstrate that practices promoting social integration are linked to lower neighborhood income, whereas those promoting systemic integration are associated with greater heterogeneity in terms of migrant share. Organizations in more heterogeneous neighborhoods employ more practices for systemic

integration, while the effect becomes larger with increasing neighborhood wealth. Notably, there is no evidence that the proportion of migrant populations affects social integration or that affluence has an independent effect on systemic integration. Our results suggest that organizations in areas with varying levels of population heterogeneity and income pursue distinct integrative practices.

These findings offer insights into how neighborhood characteristics and practices of CSOs correspond in urban civic environments. CSOs in poorer neighborhoods strengthen social linkages among community members, whereas those in neighborhoods with a larger migrant share tend to invest in connecting communities to larger systems and resources—especially when these neighborhoods are more affluent. By investigating how various neighborhood attributes explain the integrative practices of CSOs, we underscore that resources for collective action vary based on neighborhood characteristics, suggesting the important but differentiated role of CSOs in addressing place-based deficiencies.

Organizational maintenance of urban integration

Whereas the local embedding of CSOs has mainly been understood in terms of competition among them for scarce local resources (37, 38), our findings highlight that neighborhood characteristics play a role in how CSOs use their resources. By analyzing their practices associated with two types of urban integration—socially and systemically integrative practices—across diverse neighborhoods, we revealed that these practices are influenced by some characteristics of the neighborhoods in which the organizations are located. Our results expand on earlier studies testing an assumption that integrative practices would differ by organizational characteristics (21, 22). The influence of neighborhood attributes on organizations' integrative

practices suggests that organizational efforts are shaped by neighborhood features, to both the benefit and detriment of local constituents.

We have not, however, investigated which strategies allow or hinder CSOs to pursue both types of practices simultaneously in neighborhoods with similar characteristics. For example, disconnection between high-status leaders and low-status frontline workers or between different departments or functions within the organization may create barriers to communication and collaboration, making it difficult for the organization to effectively integrate both practices (39, 40). CSOs may also face competing demands and priorities from different goals and the best use of scarce resources, such as the need to meet short-term objectives versus pursuing long-term goals (41). This can create tensions that make it difficult to effectively balance different integrative practices. Further research is needed to understand whether the patterns of practices are due to external or internal pressures to specialize in one or the other form of integration. Work on urban governance has shown that CSOs tend to be oriented either toward the neighborhoods in which they are located (following a patronage dynamic) or the entire city (following a partnership dynamic) (29). Although we have reported some combination of social and systemic integration, the origins of geographic specialization in integrative practices and what explains such prioritization remain an open question.

Integration of migrants through organizations

Recent decades have witnessed the collision of national and international migration as a significant issue in large cities across the globe, leading to debates about social cohesion in increasingly heterogeneous communities (42). CSOs are often perceived as catering to heterogeneous populations and promoting the social and systemic integration of migrants. At the

same time, these organizations can also perpetuate or deepen the exclusion of migrants even when they provide a haven for them (43). How CSOs respond to the demands from heterogeneous environments has been understudied (44, 45). Our analysis addresses this gap, finding that neighborhoods with a greater degree of migrant population have higher rates of systemically integrative organizations. This result highlights the need for further research to comprehend the impact of integrative practices on migrant outcomes and collective action. It is important to understand which organizational resources are available to diverse populations to support urban integration (46).

Neighborhood effects on civic capacity

We extend the well-understood neighborhood effects literature by examining organizational practices and neighborhood characteristics. Our study illuminates how the factors that matter for the presence and density of CSOs also influence how organizational resources are allocated for collective action (5, 12, 13, 47). Our research helps identify which practices contribute to important features of communities, including collective efficacy (2), civic wealth (48), civic capacity (18), and community social capital (49). Bringing detailed organization-level data to the study of neighborhood effects, we show how organizations' practices may shape the ability of cities and communities to address their social and economic challenges (10, 30).

Poorer neighborhoods may not only differ in terms of the presence of CSOs; these organizations may also pursue systemic integration to a lesser extent, leaving economically marginalized populations politically and socially underrepresented (40). That said, poorer, heterogeneous neighborhoods could potentially harness relatively more organizational resources for systemic integration compared to poorer yet more homogeneous neighborhoods. To be sure,

systemic integration in affluent neighborhoods can also perpetuate inequalities between the rich and poor by offering more opportunities for the voices of the affluent city dwellers to be heard in collective and political action. In sum, our findings imply how the social and economic landscapes of neighborhoods influence organizational operations and presumably their impact.

Conclusion

Comparing organizational and neighborhood data from five major cities, our study enhances the generalizability of findings and explores place-based differences. City research is heavily place-based, and different theories in urban studies depend heavily on where they were conceived (50). By examining organizational practices in five major cities around the globe, we investigate whether these practices are similar or different across divergent cultural and political contexts.

We show that CSOs in poorer neighborhoods focus more on socially integrative practices, allocating resources to facilitate personal interactions, support community building, and address the problem of social exclusion. In these economically challenged areas, where institutional trust is often low, CSOs invest in trust-building activities essential for economic prosperity and social stability (2, 4, 13). The increased demand for socially integrating organizations in low-income neighborhoods underscores the need for social support. Conversely, CSOs in neighborhoods with higher migrant populations tend to focus on systemic integration, linking individuals to broader economic, political, legal, and philanthropic ecosystems. These systemic practices may be crucial in addressing complex social and political issues migrant populations experience in a particularly severe and unique way (43).

Despite the positive roles of each integrative practice, our findings highlight disparities in the accessibility of civic opportunities and social capital for economically and socially

marginalized individuals, contextualizing recent work on the unequal landscape of civic opportunities (20). Organizations in lower-income neighborhoods pursue social integration to foster social trust and mobilize resources at the grassroots level; those in more ethnically homogeneous places offer fewer opportunities to connect those in need to wider political, social, and institutional resources. This uneven allocation of practices indicates where CSOs fall short in addressing the needs and problems of underrepresented populations.

On the other hand, CSOs in more diverse neighborhoods tend to focus on systemic integration to bridge gaps within broader societal structures. This focus helps migrant populations enhance their social, economic, and political conditions, which are often overlooked. This seems particularly true for more affluent neighborhoods that benefit more from systemic integration; we can only speculate about the reasons but could imagine that more affluent immigrant populations are more likely to formally self-organize than economically impoverished ones that rely on informal networks. This may lead to the absence of their voices in public spheres and policy venues. Nevertheless, the consequences of these different kinds of integrative practices in different neighborhoods need further research.

This study expands the understanding of neighborhood effects on organizational practices for bridging socioeconomic differences, thus shaping communities' capacity and propensity to advocate on their behalf. Future research on cross-cultural differences in the meaning of organizational practices, as well as research that links organizational actions to community-level outcomes, will help understand whether and how the impact of integrative practices differs by place.

Methods

Data

To examine the influence of neighborhood characteristics on integrative practices among organizations, we gathered organizational data by surveying random samples of CSOs in each of the five global cities: San Francisco, Seattle, Shenzhen, Sydney, and Vienna; we include the survey instrument in an Appendix. These surveys were part of a unique, mixed-method project on the civic life of cities, designed to collect comparable data on organizations from different regions based on comprehensive records of formal associations registered with the government (30). We combined the survey data from representative samples of organizations with administrative data on the neighborhoods in which these organizations are located. These data encompass census data and supplemental information concerning various social characteristics of the neighborhoods in each city. The neighborhood characteristics include income, the proportion of migrant populations, population size, and nonprofit density.

Sampling organizations across neighborhoods in various cities advances science by going beyond a single institutional context. Our choice of the five cities represents three distinct nonprofit contexts that exhibit fundamentally different relationships between nonprofits and society (51). This allows us to ensure that our findings are not exclusive to a singular context but encapsulate diverse characteristics of urban civil societies that exist globally. San Francisco, Seattle, and Sydney represent the liberal regime, Shenzhen is a mix of statist and social democratic regimes, and Vienna is an amalgam of the social democratic and corporatist regimes. The surveys captured detailed information about the internal practices of the organizations, including their focus on community building versus systemic social change, and their use of

various strategies and tactics to achieve these goals. Attrition was no concern in the cross-sectional surveys.

The samples are representative of the population of formally registered CSOs but nonetheless have some limitations in terms of generalizability. The sampling procedure excludes religious congregations, organizations under a cutoff of USD 25,000 of annual expenses (adjusted for purchasing power outside of the US), and temporary or informal organizations that are not formally registered. Considering that religious congregations as well as temporary and informal organizations frequently pursue social integration, our results may underestimate the extent of socially integrative practices available in certain neighborhoods. Whereas it would be difficult to incorporate the makeup of religious communities across hundreds of neighborhoods, future work might examine the interplay between CSOs and congregations in specific cities and neighborhoods. Location was established based on the location of the organization's official headquarters, which may at times deviate from their service sites.

Measurement strategy

Comparing organizational and neighborhood characteristics across cities in different parts of the world comes with significant challenges. We followed a two-pronged strategy for designing an effective multi-city analysis. First, the meaning of organizational practices may not be identical across cities with different histories, laws, norms, and values. For instance, nonprofit leaders in Sydney and Shenzhen could interpret the survey questionnaire about the same organizational practice differently. Hence, our study is carefully designed to examine whether findings from one well-studied city also apply to others. To that end, we did not follow a strictly deductive measurement of integrative practices because a definition applicable to one region may not apply

to another. We instead opted for an inductive approach, in which we allow the approximation of measures to vary by city through an exploratory factor analysis. Second, neighborhood features can vary significantly based on location. For instance, there are notable differences in incomes between cities in both absolute figures and concerning each city's purchasing power relative to others. Additionally, countries differ in how they measure income and define neighborhoods. To address these measurement challenges, we adopted a relative approach to assess income: we evaluated the distribution within each city and calculated deciles specific to each city rather than comparing absolute figures. We also added city fixed effects to account for potential variations stemming from regional and institutional differences.

Measures

Our dependent variable is the presence of practices aimed at social and systemic integration respectively. We designed this variable following existing work on the San Francisco Bay Area nonprofit sector, which provides a proof of concept for estimating social and systemic integration as two orthogonal dimensions (21, 22). We included 18 organizational features that reflect different aspects of an organization's interaction with its environment. We first established an organization's relationship to beneficiaries by asking whether an organization's leader and staff (a) know beneficiary names, (b) greet beneficiaries on the street, (c) spend time with beneficiaries outside of work, (d) give beneficiaries advice, and (e) participate in beneficiaries' life events such as weddings or funerals. To assess the political activities, we asked whether the organization regularly engaged in (f) local advocacy, (g) supra-local advocacy, and (h) a range of actions intended to encourage political engagement. To assess the perceived importance of social capital for an organization, we asked whether the organization pursues (i) trust and (j) social

interactions as a key goal. To assess an organization's propensity for collaboration, we asked whether the organization regularly collaborates with (k) non-profit associations, (l) for-profit corporations, (m) philanthropic foundations, and (n) government agencies. We also asked whether the organization regularly involves (o) staff and volunteers and (p) beneficiaries in its decisions. We then conducted an exploratory factor analysis of the presence or absence of each practice using the survey responses on these 18 organizational features, which yielded two orthogonal dimensions that are indicative of socially and systemically integrative practices. Neither of these measures at the boundary of organizations and their wider environment definitively establish whether an organization pursues social or systemic integration, but the two latent dimensions are robust to a variety of different specifications. The factor analysis is specified by the following equation, where p is a vector of indicators, β is the vector of intercepts for each indicator, Λ is the factor loading matrix, and ξ is the vector of vectors.

$$p = \beta_p + \Lambda_p \xi + e_p \quad (1)$$

In supplementary analyses, we also examined the predictors of dually integrative practices (DI), which we define as an organization i's high level of both socially and systemically integrative practices. These measures were derived both (1) categorically as the organizations that fall into the first quadrant of having above-median socially and systemically integrative practices, and (2) continuously as the product of range-shifted measures of socially and systemically integrative practices: $DI_i = (P1_i + |\min(P1_i)|) \times (P2_i + |\min(P2_i)|)$.

To examine context effects on integrative practices, we used measures of income, percent of migrant populations, population size, and nonprofit density of each city. Tab. A1 presents the definition of the geographic neighborhoods for each city, measures of neighborhood income and migrant populations, and sources of other administrative data. To measure neighborhood

affluence, we created deciles of each city's income and assessed where the organization's neighborhood average falls on the distribution of each city's data instead of using absolute monetary values. While this strategy allows cross-city comparisons, the measures of neighborhood affluence used in our models have relative income values, ranging from 1 to 10.

We also included multiple additional control variables that may confound the primary relationship between neighborhood characteristics and integrative practices. Organization-level controls include organization size, calculated using the decile within the city's distribution, other organizational features such as professionalism and managerial practices (36), and the field of activity clustered by whether organizations pursue recreation, human services, or representation according to their International Classification of Non-Profit Organizations (ICNPO) category. Our findings are robust to including all 12 ICNPO categories (Litofcenko et al., 2020).

Estimation

We estimated the presence of integrative practice P for each organization ($i = 1, \dots, n$) using the following ordinary least square (OLS) model, where I is the neighborhood income, M is the neighborhood's migrant population, O is a set of k organizational controls including the organization's size and a categorical variable of the organization's sub-field with δ_k coefficients, N represents a vector of neighborhood-level control variables including the neighborhood's population and density of CSOs, and C represents a vector of city fixed effects. We also incorporated an interaction term between neighborhood income and migrant population ($I \times M$) to consider the possibility that the meaning of heterogeneity varies by affluence. Furthermore, we applied clustered standard errors by neighborhood to account for a violation of the assumption that organizations were identically and independently sampled.

$$P_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 I_i + \beta_2 M_i + \beta_3 I_i \times M_i + \delta_k O_{ki} + \gamma_m N_{mi} + \zeta_u C_{ui} + e_i \quad (2)$$

Since the data are cross-sectional, our study does not provide proof of a causal effect of neighborhood features on the kinds of strategies organizations choose and does not rule out the possibility that organizations with particular practices select their location depending on neighborhood needs. Common method bias is not an issue because neighborhood features were independently assessed. We tested the robustness of our models to alternative specifications. Maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors was consistent with our findings. A multilevel model (MLM) or hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) was not selected because of the small number of neighborhood clusters (level 2 factors) and small cluster sizes in some cities.

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Author Contributions

C.B., K.L., G.P., W.L., D.S., H.H., M.M., and W.W.P. designed and performed the research; C.B., K.L., and G.P. analyzed the data; C.B., K.L., G.P., W.L., and M.M. wrote and edited the paper, W.W.P. and M.M. raised funds.

Data availability

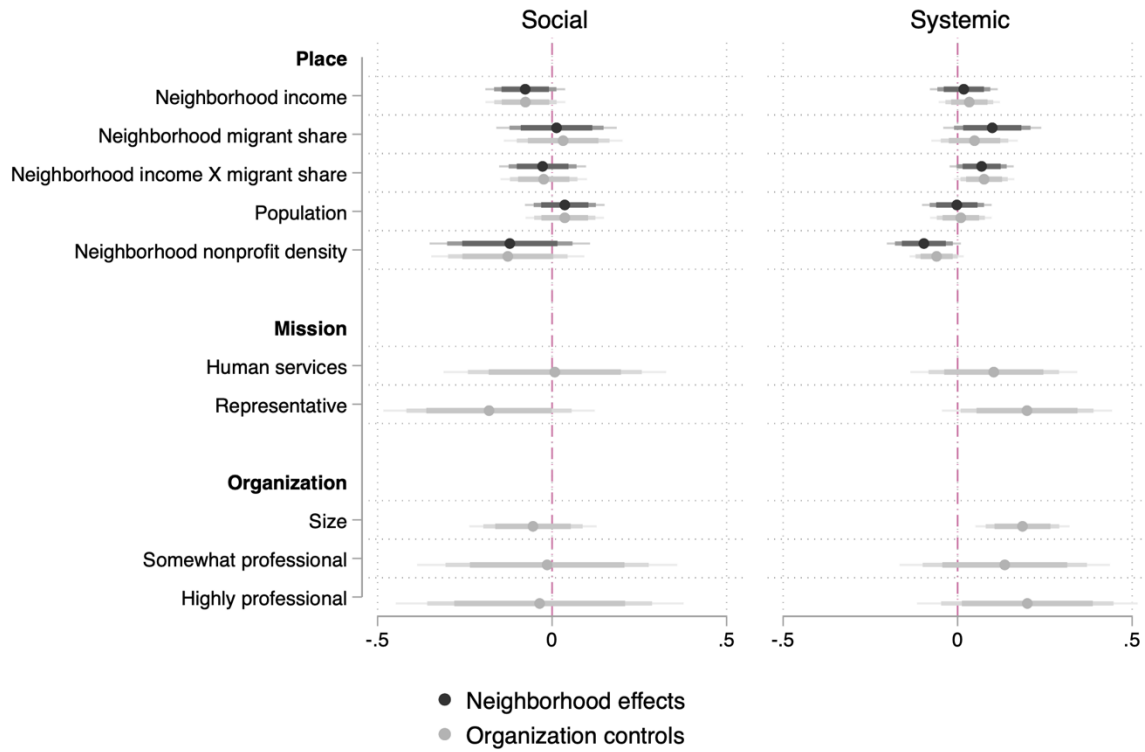
The data supporting this study's findings is available from [Code Ocean](#). Organizational data is shared in an anonymized format to preserve respondents' confidentiality.

Code availability

All Stata code used to produce this study's findings is available from [Code Ocean](#).

Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Coefficient plot of socially and systemically integrative practices by neighborhood and organizational features



Note: Center for error bars is an OLS point estimate with 95% and 99% confidence intervals. N = 845.

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Supplemental material

Appendix Table A1. Definitions of neighborhood, income, migrant population, and sources of administrative data

City	Definition of neighborhood	Income	Migrant population	Administrative Data
San Francisco, Seattle	Census tract: cover around 2–4,000 people	Household income (per capita), from 2020 Census	Percent foreign-born population from 2020 Census	National Center for Charitable Statistics Core file 2019-20, American Community Survey 2019-20
Vienna	Grid cells (250 x 250 meters)	Per capita income, number of households per grid cell	Foreign-born population by citizenship	Statistik Austria
Shenzhen	Residential “street” (<i>jiedao</i>) cover around 200-500k people. A “street” administers 10-20 “communities” (<i>shequ</i>).	Average rent at street level ¹	People without permanent residency in the city at community level	Shenzhen Municipality Statistical yearbooks, Bureau of Statistics, and the Survey Office of the National Bureau of Statistics in Shenzhen
Sydney	Local Government Areas (35 cities, municipalities, and Shires making up the Sydney area) ²	Median weekly household income, from 2021 Census	Percent foreign-born population from 2021 Census	2021 Australian Census

¹ In Shenzhen, the government does not make income information publicly available, which is why we used the average per capita rent in the community as a proxy.

² <https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/about/Pages/The-Roles-and-Responsibilities-of-Federal-State-a.aspx>

Appendix Table A2. Descriptive statistics of the variables in the model, N = 845

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. dev.</i>	<i>Range</i>
<i>Integrative practices</i>			
Social integration	0.00	1.00	[-2.31,2.04]
Systemic integration	0.00	1.00	[-2.17,2.54]
<i>Neighborhood characteristics</i>			
Income	5.51	2.83	[1,10]
Proportion of migrant populations	25.41	15.77	[11.4,79.3]
Nonprofit density	5.33	2.77	[1,10]
Population size	5.43	2.87	[1,10]
<i>Organizational characteristics</i>			
Size (staff, deciles)	4.87	3.46	[1,10]
<i>Professionalism</i>			
Not professional	0.37	0.48	[0,1]
Somewhat professional	0.15	0.36	[0,1]
Highly professional	0.48	0.50	[0,1]
<i>Service category</i>			
Recreation	0.24	0.43	[0,1]
Human service	0.40	0.49	[0,1]
Representation	0.36	0.48	[0,1]
<i>City</i>			
San Francisco	0.26	0.44	[0,1]
Seattle	0.15	0.36	[0,1]
Shenzhen	0.19	0.39	[0,1]
Sydney	0.08	0.26	[0,1]
Vienna	0.32	0.47	[0,1]

Appendix Table A3. Exploratory factor analysis of integrative practices of nonprofits showing two principal components corresponding to socially and systemically integrative practices, N = 845

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Descriptive statistics</i>			<i>Factor parameters</i>	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. dev.</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Systemic</i>
Beneficiary interaction: greet	3.59	1.44	[1,5]	0.83	-0.01
Beneficiary interaction: time	2.50	1.42	[1,5]	0.80	-0.06
Beneficiary interaction: name	3.71	1.37	[1,5]	0.79	-0.07
Beneficiary interaction: advice	2.68	1.43	[1,5]	0.79	-0.01
Beneficiary interaction: life	2.26	1.36	[1,5]	0.78	-0.02
Goals: trust	1.59	0.63	[0,2]	0.45	0.07
Goals: interaction	1.49	0.65	[0,2]	0.44	0.11
Events: recreational	0.39	0.49	[0,1]	0.27	0.20
Civic index	3.03	2.41	[0,9]	0.25	0.47
Involvement: beneficiaries	0.40	0.88	[0,6]	0.17	0.36
Collaboration: foundation	0.24	0.43	[0,1]	0.07	0.46
Advocacy: local	0.67	0.47	[0,1]	0.02	0.56
Involvement: staff	2.71	2.37	[0,7]	-0.01	0.45
Collaboration: charity	0.77	0.42	[0,1]	-0.04	0.42
Events: talks	0.55	0.50	[0,1]	-0.05	0.49
Collaboration: government	0.51	0.50	[0,1]	-0.08	0.69
Advocacy: global	0.62	0.49	[0,1]	-0.10	0.62
Collaboration: corporation	0.48	0.50	[0,1]	-0.11	0.63

The survey questions used in the factor analysis are as follows:

Beneficiary interaction. Do your staff members or regular volunteers know your beneficiaries well enough to a) recognize each other by name, b) greet each other on the street, c) spend time together outside of the organization's setting and activities, give advice on topics unrelated to organization's activities, participate in each others' life events (e.g., attend birthdays, weddings)? [scale from definitely not to definitely]

Goals. Which of the following activities and goals do you pursue to further your organization's mission? [promoting regular interactions among our beneficiaries, building trust among our beneficiaries]

Events. "Approximately how many of the following events does your organization host or sponsor in a typical year? [recreational activities, community festival or ethnic celebration, conference, lectures, talks, panel discussions, or seminars, public meeting, hearing, petition, rally, demonstration]"

Collaborations. Does your organization collaborate or form partnerships with other organizations from the nonprofit, for-profit or public sectors for any of the following purposes? [types of collaboration: service delivery, advocacy, capacity building, commercial purposes, volunteer recruitment, organize events; types of organizations: nonprofit organizations, for-profit entities, foundations, government]

Advocacy. Have you participated in the development of a policy or legislation, given testimony, or participated in an official community consultation process over the past 3 years? [routinely, occasionally, or never; on levels: neighborhood, municipality, region, state, country, worldwide]

Civic index. Over the past 3 years, have you done anything to encourage or discourage your staff, members, volunteers, or beneficiaries to engage in any of the following activities: Vote in elections, run for public office, start a new organization, volunteer for or join other organizations, donate to or raise funds for other organizations, author newspaper articles and op-eds, organize a rally, participate in a rally, attend public meetings (e.g., town hall, city council meeting), boycott particular brands or products, sign petition, contact government representatives, discuss the organization's cause with family and friends, write blog posts, post or tweet about the organization on social media]

Involvement. Who is routinely involved in the following tasks? Selecting executive staff, initiating new projects, writing or revising mission or vision statement, creating strategic plan, making annual budget, communicating to the public (e.g., annual report, newsletter, storytelling), maintaining social media, Updating website? [executive team, board, staff, volunteers or interns, beneficiaries or service recipients, consultants].

Geographic focus [control]. Where are the people and organizations most affected by your organization's work located? [specific neighborhood, specific municipality or county, all over the region, all over the state, all over the country, outside the country, other]

Appendix Table A4. Coefficients of OLS models predicting organizations' practices aiming at social and systemic integration as a function of neighborhood and organizational characteristics, N = 845

	(4.1)	(4.2)	(4.3)	(4.4)	(4.5)	(4.6)
	Socially integrative			Systemically integrative		
Neighborhood features						
Income	-.081*	-.082*	-.082*	-.005	-.003	.019
	(.035)	(.035)	(.035)	(.031)	(.031)	(.027)
Migrant share	.016	.008	.027	.083+	.100*	.033
	(.049)	(.052)	(.051)	(.043)	(.045)	(.037)
Income × Migrant share		-.028	-.025		.055+	.066*
		(.038)	(.037)		(.030)	(.026)
Population	.036	.036	.036	-.008	-.009	.008
	(.035)	(.035)	(.034)	(.033)	(.032)	(.027)
Nonprofit density	-.119+	-.119+	-.125+	-.096*	-.097*	-.047+
	(.068)	(.069)	(.066)	(.038)	(.038)	(.027)
Organizational features						
Size			-.056			.236***
			(.055)			(.041)
<i>Subfield (ref = recreational)</i>						
Human services			.006			.100
			(.096)			(.073)
Representative			-.182*			.201**
			(.092)			(.074)
<i>Staff (ref = least professional)</i>						
Somewhat professional			-.012			.234*
			(.113)			(.094)
Highly professional			-.033			.321***
			(.124)			(.094)
City fixed effects (ref = San Francisco Bay Area)						
Seattle	-.134	-.137	-.125	.086	.092	.066
	(.122)	(.122)	(.122)	(.119)	(.118)	(.100)
Shenzhen	.078	.072	.105	1.111***	1.124***	1.081***
	(.124)	(.125)	(.124)	(.104)	(.106)	(.089)
Sydney	-.351**	-.338*	-.378**	-.202	-.227+	-.040
	(.133)	(.134)	(.133)	(.133)	(.135)	(.126)
Vienna	-.585***	-.583***	-.602***	.922***	.918***	1.045***
	(.088)	(.088)	(.087)	(.084)	(.084)	(.074)
Constant	.209**	.206**	.290*	-.520***	-.513***	-.870***
	(.066)	(.066)	(.123)	(.069)	(.068)	(.097)
Observations	845	845	845	845	845	845
R ²	.09	.09	.10	.26	.26	.40
AIC	2358.59	2359.85	2358.33	2157.78	2156.20	1989.40
df	8	9	14	8	9	14

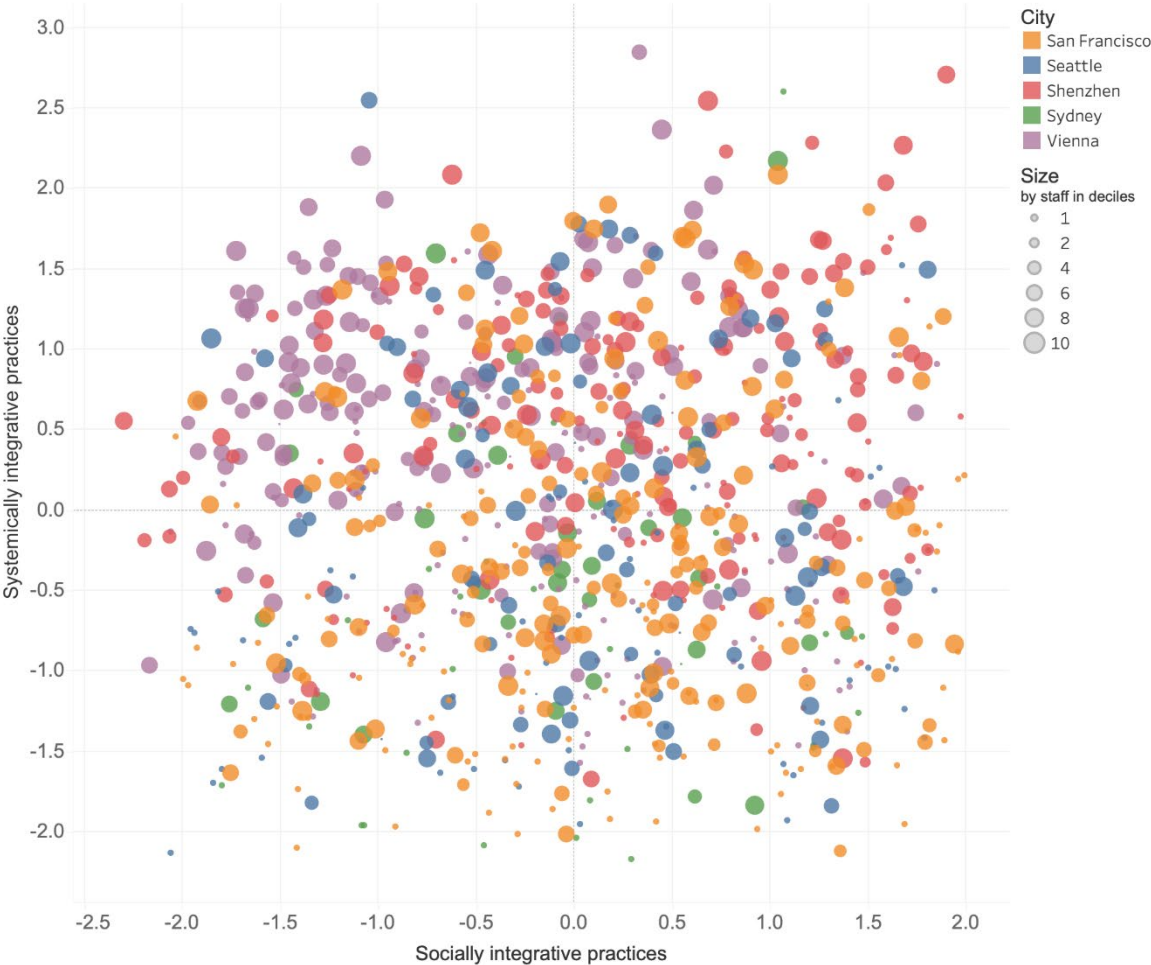
Note: Standard errors clustered on the neighborhood level in parentheses; + p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001; Significance tested using two-sided t-tests. Exact p-values for relevant coefficients provided in text.

Appendix Table A5. Coefficients of OLS and logit models predicting whether organizations dually pursue social and systemic integration at the same time as a function of neighborhood and organizational characteristics, N = 845

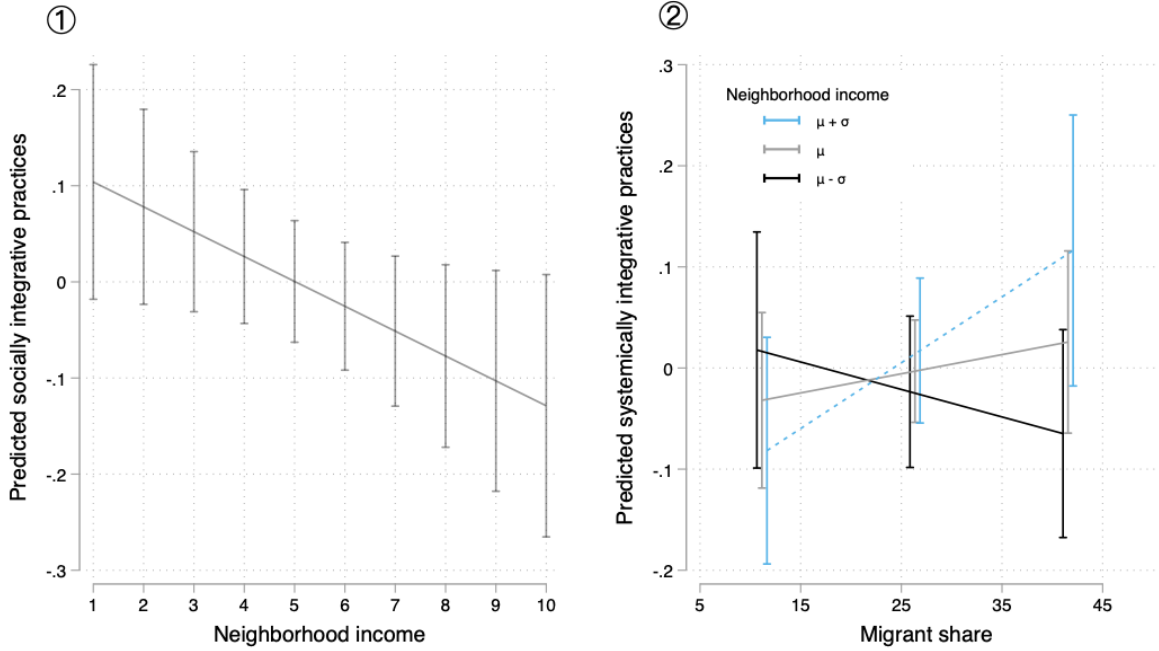
	(A5.1—OLS) Continuous measure of dually integrative practices	(A5.2—logit) Categorical measure of dually integrative practices
<i>Neighborhood features</i>		
Income	-.192+ (.111)	-.001 (.088)
Migrant share	.138 (.143)	.087 (.105)
Income X migrant share	.085 (.117)	-.014 (.079)
Population	.139 (.110)	.059 (.086)
Nonprofit density	-.341* (.134)	-.224 (.173)
<i>Organizational features</i>		
<i>Subfield (ref = recreational)</i>		
Human services	.142 (.286)	-.090 (.229)
Representative	.109 (.293)	.171 (.218)
Size	.365* (.164)	.239+ (.125)
<i>Staff (ref = least professional)</i>		
Somewhat professional	.499 (.383)	.035 (.331)
Highly professional	.646+ (.383)	.361 (.283)
<i>City dummies (ref = San Francisco Bay Area)</i>		
Seattle	-.011 (.361)	-.018 (.316)
Shenzhen	3.020*** (.354)	1.480*** (.246)
Sydney	-.876* (.439)	-2.631* (1.055)
Vienna	.767** (.289)	.212 (.232)
Constant	3.887*** (.397)	-1.802*** (.312)
Observations	845	845
R^2	.17	
AIC	4331.25	850.51
df	14	14

Note: Standard errors clustered on the neighborhood level in parentheses; + $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; Significance tested using two-sided t-tests.

Appendix Figure A1. Scatter plot of organizations in sample indicating their socially and systemically integrative practices by city and organizational size, N = 845



Appendix Figure A2. Predicted socially integrated practices decline with neighborhood income [panel 1], whereas predicted systemically integrative practices increase with the migrant share in the population of neighborhoods with higher income [panel 2]



Note: Margins plots indicate estimated marginal effect in OLS model with 95% confidence intervals. N = 845.