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Participation in Context: Neighborhood Diversity and Organizational Involvement in Boston

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We use unique data from the Boston Non-Profit Organizations Study, an innovative survey containing rich information on organizational participation across seven social domains in two Boston neighborhoods, to examine the relationship between ethnic diversity and participation in local organizations. In particular, we identify neighborhood-based social ties as a key mechanism mediating the initial negative association between diversity and participation. In contrast to previous work, we measure participation using both the *domain-based* and *group-based* approach, with the former approach uncovering a wider range of organizational connections that are often missed in the latter approach. We also investigate the relationship between interpersonal ties and organizational ties, documenting how primary involvement with an organization facilitates the development of further interpersonal ties and secondary forms of organizational involvement. We then discuss implications of our findings for urban poverty research.

INTRODUCTION

One important consequence of post-1965 immigration is the increase in ethnic and racial diversity in local communities across the country (Iceland 2009). This recent demographic shift has also prompted concerns about its impact on social cohesion and participation (Alesina and La Ferrara 2000; Costa and Kahn 2003; Putnam 2007; Sampson and Graif 2009). This article addresses one component of this debate by focusing on how ethnic diversity shapes involvement with local organizations in two Boston neighborhoods, one homogenous and one diverse. In particular, we ask how neighborhood diversity impacts individuals' ties to local organizations and focus on the role of *neighborhood-based*

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social ties as a mechanism meditating this relationship. Theoretically, we combine insights from the emerging literature on diversity and social capital with urban poverty research on the role of neighborhood institutions and local organizations. Empirically, we draw on unique survey data from residents of two Boston neighborhoods, Upham's Corner and West Roxbury, including measures of individuals' organizational ties[1] across multiple social domains. Using this in-depth comparative study of two neighborhoods, we argue that ethnic diversity does not necessarily lead to lower levels of organizational involvement, but instead this negative relationship is accounted for by neighborhood-based social ties. Furthermore, we investigate the complex relationship between interpersonal and organizational ties, documenting that organizational involvement often facilitates other forms of local involvement and the formation of new interpersonal ties.

This article contributes to previous research in four ways. First, we adopt novel measures of individuals' ties to organizations, using both a *group-based* and a *domain-based* approach. The group-based approach solicits individuals' involvement using a standard list of groups (e.g., civic, ethnic), whereas the domain-based approach asks about their involvement with organizations in specific social domains (e.g., healthcare, education). We show that the domain-based approach uncovers a wider range of organizational connections that might otherwise be missed in the standard group-based approach. Second, we distinguish between *primary* and *secondary* forms of involvement, depending on whether the involvement is relevant to the organization's main purpose. We also explore the bidirectional relationship between individuals' interpersonal ties and their connections to organizations. Third, we ask individuals about the formation of interpersonal ties as a result of their involvement with local organizations. Following Small (2009), we suggest that one unintended consequence of organizational involvement is an increase in interpersonal ties, which not only facilitates further involvements with other organizations, but also provides crucial support to urban residents. Fourth, our in-depth comparative study of two neighborhoods with differing ethnoracial compositions provides important leverage on *how* ethnic diversity might operate at the local level.

For our study, we define individuals' *interpersonal* ties based on self-reports on the local presence of friends and family (Guest and Wierzbicki 1999) and individuals' *organizational* ties based on self-reports on the organizations to which respondents are connected (Small 2009). We report four findings. First, there is significant variation in the extent and nature of organizational involvement across social domains. Second, the domain-based approach uncovers much higher levels of involvement than the group-based approach. Third, primary involvement with an organization often leads to both secondary involvement and the formation of interpersonal ties. Finally, neighborhood-based social ties facilitate involvement, a relationship that is not stifled in diverse neighborhoods, even though social ties might be more fragmented there.

We argue that diverse neighborhoods may render local interpersonal ties all the more important in promoting organizational involvement in the face of diversity. Diverse communities such as Upham's Corner also tend to be more transient with more renters than homeowners[2] and neighborhood-based social ties in such neighborhoods tend to be more fragmented because residents of the neighborhood have had less time to get to know each other, compared to a homogenous neighborhood where social ties might have been cultivated over decades and sometimes across generations. However, in contrast to prior arguments that diversity weakens social capital, we introduce some important conceptual nuances. Because ethnic diversity is associated with other forms

of heterogeneity (e.g., immigration, linguistic and cultural diversity, or socioeconomic diversity), residents in more diverse neighborhoods might face additional barriers to local participation. In such a context, neighborhood-based social ties might be instrumental in providing residents with information about local organizations and in encouraging them to participate. In contrast, ethnically homogenous neighborhoods tend to be more stable communities that are characterized by both stronger social and familial ties due to network homophily. Residents of homogenous neighborhoods not only face fewer barriers in communication and engagement, but also have overlapping social interactions that serve to reinforce their social networks. For example, residents not only live in the same neighborhood, but also attend the same church in the local parish and serve on the same committee at the local school board. As a result, we expect that neighborhood-based social ties in homogenous neighborhoods are less important in providing residents with information about new and different local organizations, presumably because such information is already available through multiple venues, even though they remain crucial in facilitating involvement. Specifically, we investigate whether social ties constitute a moderating factor or a core mechanism mediating the relationship between diversity and organizational participation.

This article proceeds in four parts. First, we discuss the emerging research on organizational ecology within urban sociology, while also situating our project within the debate on diversity and social capital. We suggest that the current literature remains undertheorized with regards to the social mechanisms that underlie or condition the relationship between ethnic diversity and participation. Second, we describe the Boston Non-Profit Organizations (BNPO) Study, placing special emphasis on the methodological innovations in our study. We also discuss the two neighborhoods that are the focus of our study and our rationale for their selection. Third, we present our analyses in three stages: (1) descriptive analyses of domain- and group-based ties, (2) descriptive analyses of primary and secondary involvements, and (3) multivariate analyses on the impact of neighborhood diversity on organizational involvement. The article then concludes with a summary of findings and implications for urban poverty.

THE DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL CAPITAL DEBATE

Classic works in sociology have argued that ethnic heterogeneity poses challenges to urban neighborhoods, including higher levels of alienation, disorder, and crime (Fischer 1975; Shaw and McKay 1942). The rise in post-1965 immigration has also renewed an older debate about the potential negative impact of ethnic diversity on social cohesion. Specifically, ethnic diversity has been associated with declines in group participation (Alesina and La Ferrara 2000), civic engagement and volunteering (Costa and Kahn 2003), social trust (Lancee and Dronkers 2011), and social cohesion (Laurence 2011; Putnam 2007). Other studies have also linked immigration and ethnic diversity to higher crime rates at the neighborhood and county levels (Martinez and Valenzuela 2007; McVeigh 2009). Since Putnam (2007), many studies have examined this relationship in the United States and in Europe, but the impact of diversity is not always negative and can vary widely based on the local context (Kesler and Bloemraad 2010). For example, ethnic diversity has also been found to have either a nonsignificant effect or a positive effect on community participation (Greif 2009), trust (Bakker and Dekker 2012), civic

engagement (Sampson et al. 2005), friendship contacts and local involvements (Letski 2008), and crime (Graif and Sampson 2009).

This emerging body of work draws attention to two broad theoretical frames with competing predictions about the relationship between diversity and cohesion. On the one hand, the *intergroup conflict* theory argues that ethnic diversity engenders conflict and competition among groups that are often vying for limited resources at the local level (Blalock 1967). On the other hand, the *intergroup contact* theory predicts that meaningful interactions among individuals from different ethnic and racial backgrounds should reduce stereotypes and prejudices across groups, while bringing about collaboration and cooperation toward common goals (Allport 2009). These competing perspectives call attention to the difficulty in predicting the consequences of ethnic diversity in a changing American society, characterized by increasing immigration, changing racial attitudes, changing salience of racialized frames, and changing local contexts (Hopkins 2011).

A related strand of research has also argued that *neighborhood-based social ties* build social cohesion and facilitate organizational involvement. First, informal social interactions have been a critical component in discussions of social cohesion and social capital (Coleman 1990; Lin 2001; Putnam 2000). Second, higher levels of social cohesion and interactions promote the development of local friendships (Letski 2008). Third, local interactions and interpersonal ties can help ameliorate tensions and conflicts. In diverse neighborhoods, local ties might play an even more prominent role in maintaining social cohesion and providing crucial social support. Finally, this emphasis echoes earlier calls for more attention to the link between local social networks and groups' participation in civic life (Briggs 2007).

Prior research has documented inconsistent findings on the relationship between diversity and social capital due to three reasons. First, the concepts of social capital and social cohesion are admittedly broad, covering a range of related theoretical constructs (e.g., social ties, social trust, community participation, community cohesion). This lack of conceptual clarity results in a multitude of theoretical constructs being lumped together under the umbrella of "social capital" or "social cohesion" (Daly and Silver 2008). Second, the empirical operationalization of these theoretical constructs reflects both the conceptual ambiguity and operational constraints in preexisting data sources. Disaggregating and clearly defining the outcome measure of interest will facilitate theoretical development in the field. Another part of this problem is methodological. Although the General Social Survey (GSS) and the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey provide good overviews of key trends on participation, these datasets provide few insights into how ethnic diversity operates at the local level. Third, there is "insufficient theorizing" of the social mechanisms and processes that underlie or condition the relationship between diversity and cohesion (Daly and Silver 2008:537). Specifically, these studies have not examined how neighborhood-based social ties might mediate the relationship between diversity and participation, especially if social ties remain functional in diverse neighborhoods. A diverse community renders these ties all the more important because of their potential to connect individuals from different backgrounds to different resources. These studies have not explored how the local context structures participation among different subpopulations. Communities with a longer history of diversity might be more comfortable with diversity than neighborhoods with a recent influx of non-white groups. Similarly, immigrants and minority populations might be more comfortable with ethnic diversity, given their own personal experiences with it.

URBAN POVERTY RESEARCH ON ORGANIZATIONAL ECOLOGY

Within urban sociology, a robust literature has explored the role of neighborhood institutions in providing social support to the urban poor (Allard and Small 1954). In fact, one component of Wilson's (1987) theory of social dislocation argues that high-poverty neighborhoods often lack important institutional resources that facilitate social mobility.

Research on urban organizations to date has focused on specific types of organizations such as childcare centers (Small 2009), community organizations (Marwell 2006), social services (Allard 2013; Watkins-Hayes 2009), churches (McRoberts 2006), and nonprofit organizations (Galaskiewicz et al. 2006). This body of work shows that neighborhood institutions not only provide residents with important resources, but also directly impact the individual and communal well-being (McQuarrie and Marwell 2003; Small 2006).

Although this literature has documented the persistence of race- and class-based spatial inequality in access to local organizations (Allard 2013), poor and diverse neighborhoods do not necessarily have fewer resources (Small and McDermott 2006). Small and Stark (2005) show that childcare programs such as Head Start are actually more likely to be located in poor neighborhoods, given their public mandate to provide low-cost and affordable child care for low-income mothers. In a recent study, Murphy and Wallace (2010) also find that poor urban neighborhoods not only are less isolated, but can also have higher numbers of organizations than nonpoor neighborhoods, especially those that promote social mobility and provide social support.

With regards to social ties, urban poverty research has privileged individuals' interpersonal ties over their organizational ties (Dominguez and Watkins 2003; Fischer 1982; Hipp and Perrin 2009; Wellman 1979). Despite the emphasis on the consequences of social capital, there has been less attention on the process of social ties formation and how individuals become connected to organizations (but see Small 2009). Individuals' organizational ties matter because they can provide access to important resources, in addition to imparting the intrinsic rewards of feeling connected. In his study of childcare centers in New York City, Small (2009) finds evidence that mothers benefit from access to both informal social networks and formal organizational resources through their connections to childcare centers. Mothers with children at these centers also report having more friends, along with fewer material and mental hardships. In her case study of community-based organizations, Marwell (2006) illustrates how these organizations mediate the relationships between local residents and external economic, social, and political forces. Because local institutions often serve as key sites for interactions among residents, they also facilitate the formation and expansion of interpersonal ties. This is especially important in diverse, immigrant neighborhoods. Faced with linguistic and cultural barriers in accessing services, this population might rely more heavily on local organizations for support and information than in homogeneous neighborhoods.

THE BOSTON NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS STUDY

This analysis draws on unique data from the BNPO Study, which explores the role of nonprofit organizations in people's lives.[3] The project is a nested mixed methods study (Small 2011) with two main components: a random-digit-dialing telephone survey with

a stratified sample of 213 respondents in two neighborhoods in Boston and 30 in-depth semistructured interviews with a subset of the same respondents. One innovation of our study is methodological. We measure organizational involvement using both a *group-* and a *domain-based* approach. The group-based approach refers to the standard practice of the GSS and other major surveys in which individuals are asked about their involvements and formal group membership using a standard list of groups (e.g., civic, political, ethnic, racial, literary). This method is also referred to as "aided-recall" in that the standard list is meant to jog respondents' memories on specific types of organizations, and hence, improve the overall recall rate. In contrast, the domain-based approach asks respondents to think concretely about specific domains and problems in their lives (e.g., where they go to receive healthcare, where they send their children to school). Specifically, we asked respondents about their organizational involvements in seven social domains: healthcare, daycare, schools, recreation, churches, volunteering, and any "other groups." The last two domains on "volunteering" and "any other groups" are two residual categories designed to capture any remaining groups or organizations that the individual might be involved with, beyond those reported in the first five domains.[4]

The domain-based approach provides two advantages. First, it invokes both formal and informal organizational connections. In so doing, it uncovers a wider range of organizational connectedness than the group-based approach. Second, it allows us to further probe the nature of involvements by asking about both *primary* and *secondary* involvements. Primary involvements refer to connections to the organization that individuals maintain that are directly related to the explicit goal of the organization, whereas secondary involvements refer to any additional activities that individuals might also engage in as a result of their connection to the organization. For example, those with children will have a connection to their children's school that will count as a "school tie." Among those without children, we also asked if the respondents might be connected to the local schools in some other ways, instead of assuming that they have no such ties. For those reporting having a primary tie within the first five social domains, we asked about their secondary involvements with these organizations, whether they volunteered at the school, participated in activities, helped raise funds, and so on.[5]

The Center for Survey Research (CSR) at University of Massachusetts, Boston, fielded the survey. Prior to the survey, CSR conducted two focus groups, one in West Roxbury and one in Upham's Corner, with a total of 15 participants. Eight cognitive interviews were also conducted, four in each of the two neighborhoods. Results from the cognitive testing and the focus groups informed the decisions about the final survey instrument. To reach a larger pool of people than just those with listed numbers, we relied on a comprehensive database from the Marketing Systems Group (MSG). The MSG database contains households identified through numerous sources, including all telephone listings, voter registration lists, driver's license lists, tax lists, county and city database records, magazine subscription lists, and other commercial or government lists. All are updated quarterly. Although this sampling frame does not give all households in a targeted area a chance of selection into a sample, it has proven over time to be an excellent source for survey studies. MSG, in partnership with CSR, then isolated all households from its listed sample database that were known to be in the census tracts that define the neighborhoods. The sample was randomly selected from this MSG list of phone numbers, 450 in West Roxbury and 676 in Upham's Corner.

Telephone interviewing took place from July to September of 2007. The interview response rate was 58 percent in West Roxbury and 61 percent in Upham's Corner. Weights were calculated based on the inverse probability of selection taking into account the probability of selection for different strata (e.g., neighborhoods), the survey nonresponse rate, the number of residential phone lines, and the probability of selection within a household. These weights were applied to all analyses of the survey data. Among the 213 respondents in the survey sample, 81.7 percent indicated that they would be willing to be recontacted. From this group, we selected 30 individuals to undergo in-depth, semistructured interviews. In deciding whom we would interview for this second round, we explicitly sampled individuals to obtain a diverse range of personal perspectives, including those who reported having the highest and lowest levels of organizational ties in our survey. We also made a concerted effort to interview a group of individuals that are diverse in terms of age, gender, race, immigration, and socioeconomic status. In Upham's Corner, we interviewed eight white respondents, seven black respondents, and one Hispanic respondent. In West Roxbury, we interviewed 13 white respondents and 1 black respondent. The lack of ethnic diversity in West Roxbury meant that we ended up interviewing mostly white respondents there. The majority of the interviews were conducted in libraries, coffee shops, and respondents' homes in Spring 2008. All interviews were digitally recorded with permission from the respondents and transcribed. We then developed a list of codes based on the interview schedules, focusing on the following broad themes: personal upbringing, neighborhood experiences, interpersonal ties, organizational ties, extent and nature of organizational involvements, and access to resources through the organizations the respondents were connected to. The transcripts were then coded and analyzed with ATLAS.ti. Given space constraints, we only report the survey results, but the insights from our qualitative data helped guide our analysis.

THE NEIGHBORHOODS: UPHAM'S CORNER AND WEST ROXBURY

Our decision to sample and study two neighborhoods, one diverse and one homogenous, was purposeful. Our research design explicitly avoids sampling the most disadvantaged neighborhoods in Boston. In selecting these neighborhoods, we relied on the neighborhood characteristics from the census and our extensive knowledge of Boston neighborhoods. These two neighborhoods are "extreme cases" in terms of ethnic diversity among the distribution of Boston neighborhoods, allowing us to make comparisons that might be difficult to observe in less disparate neighborhoods (Yin 2003). As one respondent in West Roxbury observed at end of an interview (without prompting), "If you asked me before what's the exact opposite in the city of Boston of West Roxbury, I would probably say Upham's Corner." In what follows, we rely on census data, our interviews with local respondents, our observations and knowledge of Boston to describe both neighborhoods and to provide some context for our analyses of the survey data.

Figure 1 provides a snapshot of the two neighborhoods' location and the relative distribution of non-white and foreign-born populations. West Roxbury is one of Boston's predominantly white neighborhoods, whereas Upham's Corner has significant number of minority residents. Upham's Corner is a neighborhood within the larger neighborhood

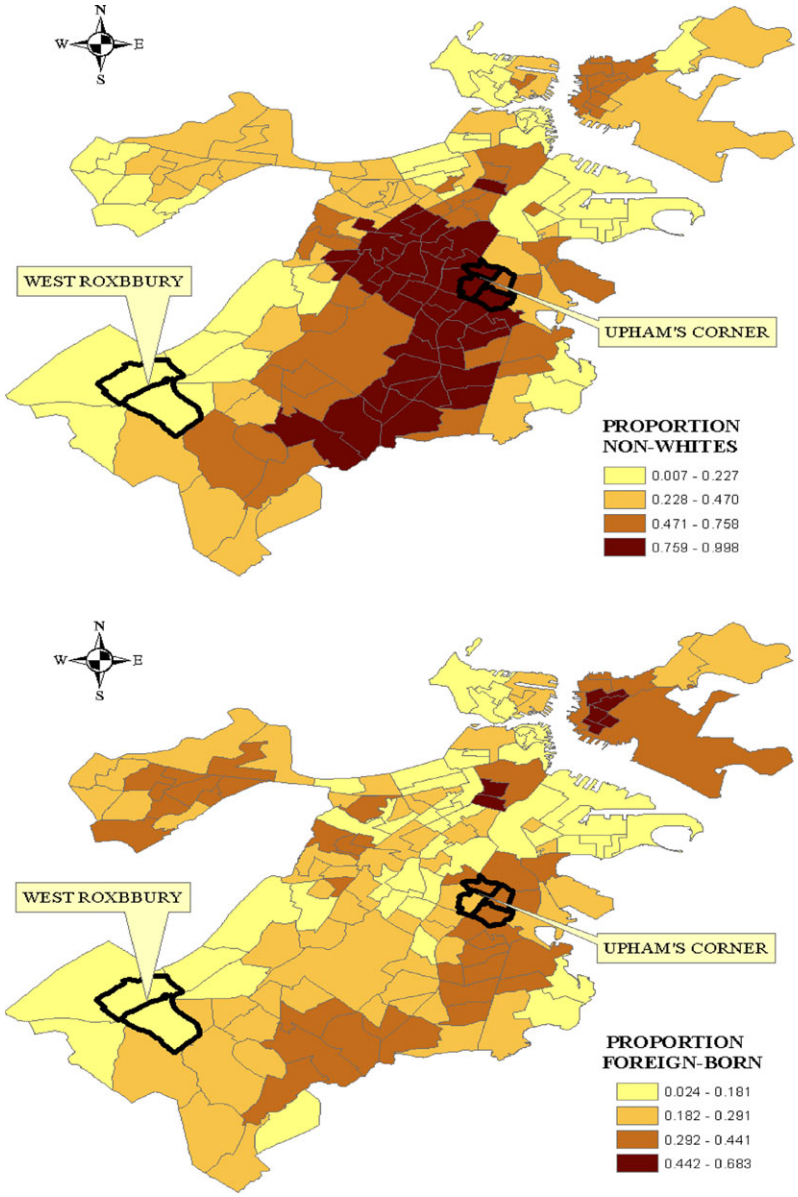

FIG. 1. Spatial distribution of non-white and foreign-born population across Boston's neighborhoods.

of Dorchester, but it also maintains a distinct history and identity as an "urban village." This identity was further solidified by the Upham's Corner Main Street program by the city of Boston to promote businesses within the commercial district.

In selecting our two cases, we paid attention to the population size of the two neighborhoods, so that we can obtain comparable geographical and social communities. Although the two neighborhoods differ in their ethnoracial, socioeconomic, and

TABLE 1. Selected Demographic Characteristics for Field Neighborhoods in Boston

	Upham's Corner[a]	West Roxbury[b]	City of Boston
Racial/Ethnic Composition			
Non-Hispanic white (percent)	14.3	92.1	49.4
Non-Hispanic black (percent)	37.7	1.1	23.6
Non-Hispanic Asian (percent)	3.9	2.8	7.5
Non-Hispanic other (percent)	21.0	2.7	5.0
Hispanic or Latino (percent)	23.1	1.3	14.5
Female (percent)	53.0	54.3	51.9
Foreign-born (percent)	34.5	14.9	25.8
Education profile[c]			
Less than high school (percent)	33.3	9.3	21.09
High school (percent)	3.9	18.9	41.97
Some college (percent)	21.8	21.9	19.37
Bachelor's degree or more (percent)	14.0	49.9	35.56
Income profile			
Less than $30,000 (percent)	46.9	16.5	34.39
$30,000–$50,000 (percent)	22.5	16.7	20.65
$50,000–$100,000 (percent)	23.5	38.3	30.39
$100,000 or more (percent)	6.1	28.5	14.57
Median household income	30,792	66,650	39,629
Per capita income	14,671	31,973	23,353
Below poverty (percent)	24.9	3.2	19.53
Household language profile			
Speaking English at home (percent)	47.31	79.18	66.57
Speaking Spanish at home (percent)	23.42	3.51	12.57
Speaking another language at home (percent)[d]	29.27	17.31	20.86
Female-headed households with children (percent)	31.64	9.99	16.21
Lived in the same house last five years (percent)	57.4	62.3	47.77
Occupied units that are owner-occupied (percent)	29.46	73.31	32.24
Total population	13,102	9,029	589,141
Total household	4,132	3,593	239,603

[a]Census tracts 912, 913, 914, and 915 were used to approximate the boundaries of Upham's Corner.
[b]Census tracts 1302 and 1303 were used to approximate the boundaries of West Roxbury.
[c]Individuals 25 years of age or over.
[d]"Other language" indicates neither English nor Spanish.

Source: U.S. Census 2000.

linguistic composition, the most salient difference that we observed is ethnoracial diversity. Even though some respondents remarked on the socioeconomic differences between the two neighborhoods in terms of availability of resources and amenities, it was quite clear to us that ethnoracial diversity was the most salient dimension of difference. Table 1 provides information on key neighborhood characteristics, drawing on data from the 2000 Census. Compared to the city as a whole, Upham's Corner is more diverse, transient, and renter-occupied, whereas West Roxbury is more homogenous, affluent, owner-occupied, and less transient. On racial composition, Upham's Corner is 14.3 percent white, 37.7 percent black, 23.1 percent Latino, and 31 percent "Other." One third of the population is foreign-born and a quarter report speaking Spanish at home. In contrast, West Roxbury's population is 92.1 percent white and 14.9 percent foreign-born. On socioeconomic characteristics, one third of the population in Upham's Corner has less than a high school education, one quarter lives in poverty, and one half of the households reported annual income of less than $30,000. In contrast, West Roxbury is home to

Boston's middle-class, including many who work in the city's public sector: civil servants, fire-fighters, and teachers; 49.9 percent had a bachelor's degree, 28.5 percent reported annual income of $100,000 or more, and 73.3 percent reported owning their home.

Between 2000 and 2010, there was no change in the ethnoracial composition of Upham's Corner, whereas West Roxbury has become slightly more diverse. That said, West Roxbury remains predominantly white, along with a small influx of Hispanics. For example, the size of the white population slightly declined from 92.1 percent to 84.9 percent whereas Hispanics grew from 1.3 percent to 5.5 percent. This is in keeping with the overall trend for the city of Boston where the white population registered a decline from 49.4 percent to 47 percent during the same period, compared to an increase from 14.5 percent to 17.5 percent among Hispanics.

On the ground, West Roxbury is a "family-oriented" community with mostly single-family homes, lots of green space and a convenient location by the regional rail. Given its high rate of home ownership, our respondents perceive it to be a "close-knit" community, and some families have been there for several generations. Furthermore, the Irish-Catholic parishes create a dense network of educational, religious, and social institutions that connect neighborhood residents to each other (Gamm 1999). This strong sense of community emerged as quite important for those who live there. The West Roxbury Main Streets program, an initiative by the city of Boston to support local businesses, has further strengthened the local businesses, which include many restaurants, boutique shops, and amenities along Main St., the neighborhood's center thoroughfare.

In contrast, Upham's Corner is home to many immigrant groups from both Latin America and the West Indies. Walking down the streets, one can hear multiple foreign languages being spoken and see a dazzling array of immigrant businesses, from Jamaican restaurants and Portuguese barbershops to African churches and Mexican bodegas. The neighborhood is notable for its socioeconomic diversity and has significantly gentrified over the last decade, as evidenced by the recent opening of the neighborhood CVS store and the vibrant commercial strip at the heart of the neighborhood on Columbia Road. This recent wave of gentrification was spearheaded by the local LGBT population that arrived in search of affordable housing from the South End, the city's historically gay neighborhood that has increasingly become more upscale and affluent. Middle-class parents with young children along with some of the LGBT population and artistic crowds account for the majority of the neighborhood's white population, although Upham's Corner remains heavily renter-based and is more transient. The local residents in our study also noted that it is a rather friendly and convenient place to live, with many local amenities and retail shops, as well as easy access to public transportation.

MEASURING ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT: DOMAIN- AND GROUP-BASED TIES

The BNPO survey measures individuals' organizational ties using both the *group-* and *domain-based* approaches. First, we asked our respondents about their ties to organizations using the standard list from the GSS, which includes the following 13 groups[6]: fraternal, veteran, environmental, political, hobby or garden, advocacy, nationality, literary or art discussion, community centers, charity or welfare, civic or business or service, labor unions, and neighborhood organizations. Second, we ask respondents about

TABLE 2. Group-Based versus Domain-Based Organizational Ties by Neighborhood

	Upham's Corner		West Roxbury		GSS 2004	
Individual Ties to Organizations	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Group-based ties						
A fraternal group	0.03	0.17	0.07	0.23	0.03	0.18
A veteran's group	0.03	0.19	0.06	0.23	0.03	0.16
An environmental group	0.03	0.19	0.12	0.31	0.03	0.16
A hobby or garden club	0.04	0.21	0.09	0.27	0.06	0.23
A political advocacy group	0.07	0.28	0.16	0.34	0.02	0.14
A racial, ethnic, or nationality group	0.09	0.30	0.11	0.29	0.02	0.12
A literary, art, or discussion group	0.11	0.34	0.17	0.35	0.06	0.23
A political organization or campaign	0.12	0.36	0.19	0.37	–	–
A labor union	0.12	0.35	0.17	0.35	–	–
A charity or welfare group	0.14	0.38	0.29	0.42	0.05	0.22
A community center	0.18	0.42	0.24	0.39	0.16	0.37
A civic, business, or service club	0.22	0.45	0.21	0.37	0.05	0.22
A neighborhood organization	0.32	0.51	0.25	0.40	–	–
Total number of group-based ties	1.49	1.89	2.14	2.01	–	–
Domain-based ties						
Religious organizations	1.39	2.10	1.40	1.78	–	–
Healthcare organizations	1.13	0.78	1.15	0.69	–	–
Schools (including kindergarten)	0.99	1.86	1.29	1.89	–	–
Recreational facilities	0.48	0.93	0.80	1.14	–	–
Daycare organizations	0.33	0.86	0.52	1.36	–	–
Volunteering organizations	0.31	0.86	0.74	1.28	–	–
Other informal groups	0.27	1.07	0.28	0.77	–	–
Total number of domain-based ties	5.77	4.18	8.00	4.85	–	–
N	111		102		2,806	

Note: For dichotomous and categorical variables, mean values reported are actual percentages.
Source: BNPO (2007) and GSS (2004).

involvements with organizations in seven domains: healthcare, daycare, schools, recreation, churches, volunteering, and any "other groups." We view these two approaches to measuring individuals' organizational ties as complementary. For our multivariate analyses, we created two composite measures that count the total number of organizational ties[7] for both the *domain-* and *group-based* approaches.

Table 2 presents these bivariate results from our survey for the two neighborhoods and comparable results at the national level from the 2004 GSS. These bivariate results are consistent with the hypothesis that ethnically homogenous neighborhoods have higher levels of organizational involvements than ethnically diverse neighborhoods. Using the *group-based* measures, residents in Upham's Corner reported fewer ties to organizations than those in West Roxbury across most of these groups. Two tailed *t*-tests showed that many of these differences are statistically significant (results not presented, but available upon request). For some groups (e.g., fraternal or environmental) these results are generally consistent with those reported by the GSS. For others (e.g., ethnoracial, charity, or welfare), the proportions are higher than those in the GSS, reflecting the diverse urban setting and the higher concentration[8] of religious and social service groups in Boston compared to the organizational context in the national sample in GSS. On the *domain-based* results, respondents also reported fewer ties to organizations in Upham's

Corner than in West Roxbury. Across domains, organizational involvement is highest in religion, healthcare, and schools while lowest in recreation and daycare.

The nature of individuals' organizational ties varies by neighborhood. In Upham's Corner, 32 percent of the respondents reported belonging to a neighborhood organization, the highest rate in this neighborhood among the 13 types of groups that we asked about in the survey. Our qualitative interviews also pointed to the active role of neighborhood associations, such as the Annapolis Neighborhood Association in Upham's Corner,[9] in facilitating involvements among local residents. Our qualitative respondents recalled joining this organization when they first moved to the neighborhood, so that they could stay abreast of what was happening to their neighborhood and get acquainted with neighbors through regular meetings. In West Roxbury, the most common organizational ties related to charity or welfare groups, with 29 percent of the respondents reporting such a tie. This is consistent with our qualitative interviews, which also revealed the central role that churches and charity organizations play in the neighborhood. Given West Roxbury's Irish Catholic roots, many respondents have lived in the neighborhood their whole lives, having raised their children there, and participated actively in the local community.

To provide an overall picture, we also tabulated the total number of organizational ties based on both approaches. Using the *group-based* approach, residents reported 1.49 organizational ties in Upham's Corner compared to 1.89 in West Roxbury. Using the *domain-based* approach, residents reported 5.77 organizational ties in Upham's Corner compared to 8 in West Roxbury. Overall, the domain-based approach revealed much higher levels of organizational involvement than the group-based approach. These results would suggest that surveys using the standard group-based approach underestimate the actual level of organizational involvement. These results are all the more relevant, given that we focused on only *seven* social domains, compared to *thirteen* specific groups, so the latter approach provided more specificity, which should presumably improve the aided-recall process. Furthermore, these two approaches capture potential differences in the meaning of involvement. The domain-based approach might make accessible to the respondents the organizational ties that are meaningful and consequential to their daily lives instead of their formal memberships in organizations that might be more remote and less important.

UNPACKING ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY TIES

Because we were interested in the meaning of these connections, we included in our survey an innovative series of questions that probe the nature of respondents' organizational ties. For organizations in each social domain, we inquired about both *primary* and *secondary* involvements. For example, a respondent's primary involvement with a healthcare center was to receive healthcare. Once we established this primary tie, we then followed up with: "Sometimes people go to hospitals or health clinics for things other than health care. In the last year, have you done anything at all, other than receive healthcare, at or for a hospital or health clinic?" Among those reporting secondary ties, we further asked whether the respondent worked for, volunteered at, donated money to, fundraised for,

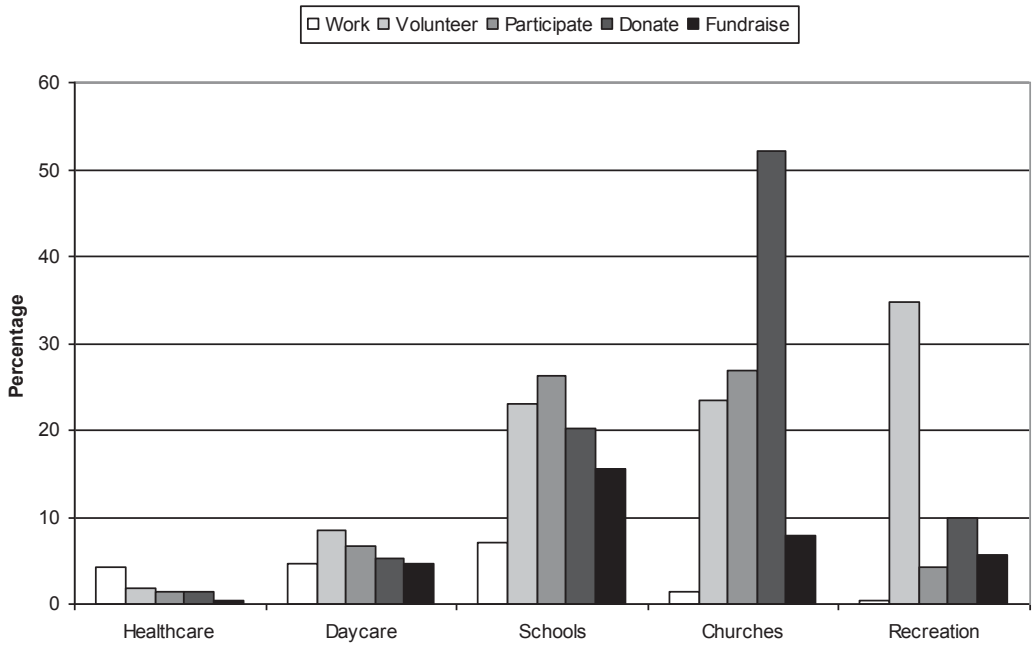

FIG. 2. Frequency of secondary involvement by social domain.
Source: BNPO (2007).

or participated in social activities at the organization. We also asked if they made new friends or socialized with those whom they met through these organizations.

On secondary involvements, Figure 2 presents results across five social domains. In addition to primary ties, a substantial number of individuals reported secondary ties. Respondents reported the highest levels of secondary involvements with churches and schools and the lowest levels of involvements with daycare and healthcare centers. Among those who reported a secondary involvement, 52.1 percent donated money to their church, 34.7 percent volunteered at their local gym, 26 percent participated in social activities either at their church or their children's schools, and 15.5 percent organized a fundraising event for their schools. This variation in secondary involvements across social domains is partially due to differences in structural opportunities to be involved. The meaning of involvement can also vary significantly by domain, because some organizations are more likely to rely heavily on individual participation than others. Therefore, these results capture both the individuals' propensity to participate and the organizational structures for involvement. On the formation of interpersonal ties in these organizational contexts, Figure 3 presents the relevant results on "making new friends" and "socializing with others." The questions on friendships and socializing were asked of *all* respondents who reported that they had a primary tie to an organization within a domain. Among those who reported a primary involvement, about one third reported either socializing with or becoming friends with those whom they had met in the healthcare domains, whereas about half reported the formation of interpersonal ties in all the other domains, with churches and schools being the most likely places for such ties to develop. Our qualitative interviews revealed many instances where respondents' involvement with

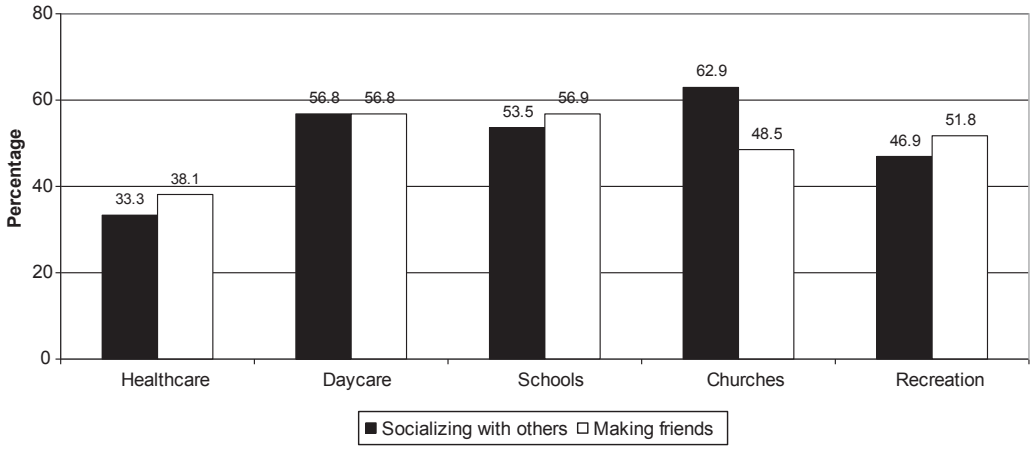

FIG. 3. Formation of interpersonal ties by social domain.
Source: BNPO (2007).

the neighborhood school, the community center, or the local parish led to sustained relationships with friends and acquaintances that they had met in these organizational settings. These relationships range from "saying hi" when seeing each other in the neighborhood and "speaking on the phone" once in a while to "meeting up for dinners" and "taking dance lessons" together. When asked about these relationships, respondents in both neighborhoods reported that these organizations provide them with crucial information about their neighborhood and relevant resources. However, we do not want to suggest that everyone was unstinting in his or her organizational involvement. For example, some respondents reported that they were simply not "joiners," pointing to their busy schedules or their concern about making a commitment that they cannot honor as the main reasons for not being more involved.

The formation of social ties routinely occurred within organizational contexts. For many of our respondents, their organizational involvement was multifaceted and not confined to the primary reason for which they initially became involved with the local organization. Most organizations provided individuals with not only opportunities to connect with a particular set of resources, but also the possibility of meeting and befriending a particular set of individuals who were members of the same organizations. However, not every organization provides the same opportunities for participation and this difference is captured by the variation in secondary involvement across domains. Many of these ties were also locally based because our qualitative respondents reported basing their initial choice of neighborhood to live on recommendations from friends and acquaintances. These same friends and neighbors also provided information about the local organizations. From schools and churches to book clubs and baseball leagues, our respondents recounted how neighborhood-based social ties shaped the navigation of their neighborhood and the types of organizations to which they became connected.

On consequences of involvement, many respondents described neighborhood associations as catalysts of social ties, as mediators of conflicts between neighbors, or as

hubs of information exchange among neighbors about local events and other resources. Beyond promoting interactions among residents in the neighborhood, these associations also provided the forum for collective action on specific issues facing the neighborhood. The following respondent describes how local residents advocated for the placement of a stop sign on a busy intersection to prevent speeding.

> I mean the organization that I belong to is the Annapolis Neighborhood Association which is my neighborhood association and that also helped with getting to know my neighbors other than just people walking by and saying hi [. . .]. But by having common issues or at least, you know, issues raised in a setting where we're all sitting there and you know someone will say, well I really, can I get a stop, what do we need to do to get a stop sign here, people are speeding and, you know, it just dawns on me that, oh yeah, that's right I always see cars flying down that street. One of the members will pass out flyers and, you know, so you come home and it's on your door, reminding you that the meeting is . . . plus e-mail (46-year-old white male, Upham's Corner).

NEIGHBORHOOD DIVERSITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

The literature on diversity and social capital would predict that residents in West Roxbury have *more* social and organizational ties than residents in Upham's Corner. We empirically investigate this hypothesis through multivariate analyses. The two dependent variables were the total number of group- and domain-based organizational ties. Because our measures of organizational involvements were actual counts (i.e., the number of organizational ties), we fitted three nested negative binomial models for each outcome. In Model 1, our key independent variable is "neighborhood" (i.e., West Roxbury coded as 1 and Upham's Corner as 0), to address the association between neighborhood diversity and participation. In Model 2, we further control for observable demographic variables, along with three measures of neighborhood-based interpersonal ties: number of friends in the neighborhood, number of family members in the neighborhood, and number of years the respondent has lived in their neighborhood.[10] In Model 3, we add interaction terms for neighborhood and the neighborhood-based interpersonal ties.[11] Because personal contacts matter for participation (Letski 2008), we expect interpersonal connections to matter in diverse neighborhoods as much as, if not more than, in homogenous neighborhoods. Because the dependent variables contain count data (i.e., the number of organizational ties), the negative binomial regression coefficients were calculated as the log of the rate ratio. The incidence rate ratios, in turn, are logged transformations of these coefficients. For ease of interpretation, we reported the incidence rate ratios in all models.

Table 3 provides multivariate results on group-based organizational ties. Model 1 shows that residents reported a higher rate of organizational ties in West Roxbury than in Upham's Corner, with an estimated rate ratio of 1.37. Controlling for observable covariates, Model 2 reverses this pattern and shows that residents in Upham's Corner were more likely than those in West Roxbury to be connected, although blacks

TABLE 3. Negative Binomial Regressions on Group-Based Organizational Ties

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
West Roxbury vs. Upham's Corner	1.370*	0.703*	0.868
	(0.222)	(0.127)	(0.234)
Black vs. white		0.575**	0.611*
		(0.155)	(0.167)
Other vs. white		0.658	0.646
		(0.209)	(0.209)
Immigrant		0.944	0.987
		(0.207)	(0.217)
Female		1.120	1.116
		(0.175)	(0.173)
Age		1.012*	1.014**
		(0.007)	(0.007)
Education (in years)		1.132***	1.138***
		(0.041)	(0.0419)
Income (in $10,000)		1.001	1.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)
Employed		1.435*	1.417*
		(0.299)	(0.298)
Married		1.242	1.254
		(0.216)	(0.220)
Number of children under 18		0.917	0.921
		(0.073)	(0.074)
Number of friends in neighborhood		1.089*	1.176**
		(0.056)	(0.097)
Number of family members in neighborhood		0.978	0.951
		(0.032)	(0.039)
Number of years in neighborhood		0.998	1.002
		(0.006)	(0.008)
Neighborhood * Number of friends			0.890
			(0.097)
Neighborhood * Number of family members			1.067
			(0.067)
Neighborhood * Number of years			0.993
			(0.010)
Constant	1.538***	0.108***	0.079***
	(0.177)	(0.073)	(0.057)
Log-likelihood	− 362.798	− 337.56	− 336.27
N	200	200	200

Notes: Incidence rate ratio reported. Standard errors are in parentheses. *$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$.
Source: BNPO (2007).

reported fewer organizational ties compared to whites (0.703). Furthermore, the number of friends in the neighborhood is a significant predictor of organizational ties (1.089). Model 3 adds interactions for neighborhood and neighborhood-based social ties. The coefficient size for the interaction term for neighborhood and number of friends was not significant. However, the magnitude (0.890) suggests that friendship ties in West Roxbury might matter less for organizational ties compared to Upham's Corner.

Table 4 provides multivariate results on domain-based organizational ties. Model 1 shows that residents in West Roxbury reported significantly more organizational

TABLE 4. Negative Binomial Regressions on Domain-Based Organizational Ties

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
West Roxbury vs. Upham's Corner	1.399***	1.018	0.990
	(0.129)	(0.114)	(0.158)
Black vs. white		0.983	0.982
		(0.149)	(0.151)
Other vs. white		0.825	0.840
		(0.154)	(0.163)
Immigrant		0.827	0.839
		(0.103)	(0.105)
Female		1.171*	1.176*
		(0.109)	(0.109)
Age (in years)		1.000	1.000
		(0.004)	(0.004)
Education (in years)		1.073***	1.073***
		(0.023)	(0.023)
Income (in $10,000)		1.001	1.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)
Employed		1.015	0.994
		(0.116)	(0.115)
Married		1.241**	1.223**
		(0.124)	(0.123)
Number of children under 18		1.106**	1.110**
		(0.047)	(0.047)
Number of friends in neighborhood		1.059*	1.087*
		(0.031)	(0.048)
Number of family members in neighborhood		0.989	0.974
		(0.018)	(0.022)
Number of years in neighborhood		0.999	0.998
		(0.003)	(0.005)
Neighborhood * number of friends			0.946
			(0.057)
Neighborhood * number of family members			1.045
			(0.038)
Neighborhood * number of years			1.002
			(0.006)
Constant	5.602***	1.508	1.495
	(0.366)	(0.578)	(0.592)
Log-likelihood	− 362.798	− 337.556	− 336.272
N	194	194	194

Note: Incidence rate ratio reported. Standard errors are in parentheses. *$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$.
Source: BNPO (2007).

involvements than did those in Upham's Corner (1.399). Model 2 shows that the initial difference in organizational ties between the two neighborhoods was explained away after controlling for observable covariates (1.018). Among the demographic variables, being female, being educated, having kids, and being married were positive predictors of organizational ties whereas there is no difference by race. In addition, the number of friends in the neighborhood was associated with a higher rate of involvement (1.059). Model 3 adds interactions for neighborhood and neighborhood-based social ties. The coefficients for the interaction terms were not significant but their direction was consistent with the findings for group-based organizational ties.

This set of results showed the following. First, once we control for observable covariates, residents in Upham's Corner were slightly more likely than those in West Roxbury to be connected to local organizations. Second, residents with more friends in the neighborhood reported higher numbers of ties to organizations in both neighborhoods. Third, these core findings are robust with regards to both measures of *group-* and *domain-based* organizational ties. Finally, we found no clear evidence for lower levels of participation in Upham's Corner, even though we had expected to do so.

SENSITIVITY ANALYSES

One potential confounder is the possibility that the neighborhoods differ in their organizational ecology, which might lead to differential opportunities for involvement. To address this concern, we drew on the GuideStar database, a comprehensive source of data on nonprofits, to provide an accurate count of the organizations located within the two neighborhoods. We supplemented this administrative data source with our own internet searches and research on the two neighborhoods. We then combined these sources and deleted all duplicate records to arrive at a comprehensive list of nonprofits by neighborhood.[12] They are mostly "local organizations" within the domains of arts and culture, charity, religion, recreation, and social service, serving the local population. Our own sense of the local ecology, based on personal observations and our interviews, was that there was no major difference between the two neighborhoods on this dimension.

Organizational ecology is unlikely to explain the difference in organizational involvement across the two neighborhoods because the number of nonprofits in both neighborhoods is quite similar (i.e., 46 in Upham's Corner and 42 in West Roxbury). However, the organizations in both neighborhoods differ slightly in their main focus and mission. Nonprofit organizations in Upham's Corner tend to be more religion-based (17) and service-oriented (12), followed by organizations on art and culture (5), education (4), and health (3). Nonprofit organizations in West Roxbury are more evenly distributed across domains, including religion (11), education (7), charity (5), and the arts (5). This difference in the distribution of organizational type might have contributed to some of the differences in organizational involvement across the neighborhoods (in Table 2).

Since we asked people about their ties to organizations in seven domains, we would suggest that these differences in neighborhood organizational ecology make our results more conservative. If respondents in the more diverse Upham's Corner have local access to a less diverse pool of organizations, they should report lower organizational involvement than those in West Roxbury. Instead, when we control for individual characteristics, residents in Upham's Corner reported higher or similar levels of organizational involvement. Because we only compare the organizational ecology of our two field neighborhoods, we cannot rule out the possibility that some respondents in one neighborhood might be more or less likely than those in the other neighborhood to be involved with organizations "outside" of their neighborhood. In the domain-based portion of the survey, we did ask individuals about the location of the organizations they are connected to, but we do not have comparable data on the organizations that we solicited based on the group-based approach, making a systematic analysis of such data difficult. Although our qualitative interviews show that the local boundaries of participation are quite fluid and

vary significantly across social domains, they are also predominantly locally based, confirming the enduring significance of neighborhoods (Sampson 2012). Given Boston's public transportation system, we expect similar respondents living in the two neighborhoods to have equal access to organizations beyond their neighborhood.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

First, the domain-based approach to organizational ties is complementary to the group-based approach, and has the advantage of generating a significantly higher number of organizational ties. This finding has both theoretical and empirical implications. On the one hand, it calls attention to the increasingly fluid and multifaceted nature of local participation. In an age of instant communication, the widespread use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter has made it easier than ever before for individuals to stay connected and to get involved on both a local and global scale (Hampton et al. 2011). For example, some respondents mentioned the increasing use of local email listservs as an important tool to stay connected with local organizations, while others mentioned that an email listserv *is,* in fact, the organization. On the other hand, it illustrates that how we approach the question of participation also shapes the empirical data we collect and analyze. By asking people about specific social domains, we imposed no rigid distinctions between *formal* versus *informal* participation. As a result, we captured a more diverse range of responses and organizational types.

Second, our findings underscore how primary involvement often leads to both secondary involvement and the formation of new interpersonal ties. These ties are often quite meaningful and consequential. For example, local social ties not only increase a community's collective capacity to mitigate the effect of neighborhood disadvantage on participation, but also help residents stay engaged with issues in their community. This finding highlights the central role of local organizations in the social fabric of urban communities. Furthermore, understanding why some organizations are more effective in facilitating both secondary involvements and the formation of new social ties will be useful in future research. Such an effort will help address a gap in the current literature on social capital, namely, "[w]hen, where, and for whom do social ties produce positive or negative consequences" (Daly and Silver 2008: 563). Future research should examine how networks of local organizations intersect to serve the needs of all local residents.

Third, residents in the diverse Upham's Corner reported marginally higher rates of group-based organizational ties and similar levels of domain-based organizational ties than in homogenous West Roxbury, once we accounted for observable covariates. Put differently, *we did not find evidence, after controls, that neighborhood diversity dampens organizational involvement.* We also show that neighborhood-based social ties predict organizational involvement. In contrast to previous work, one contribution of this study lies in identifying the role of neighborhood-based social ties as a mechanism which, in combination with typical controls, fully accounts for the relationship between diversity and participation. While after controls, Upham's Corner has slightly lower levels of neighborhood-based social ties than West Roxbury, the role of social ties on participation is no less important in the diverse neighborhood than in the homogenous one.

Our qualitative interviews further revealed that many of respondents' interpersonal ties are also neighborhood-based. Some respondents reported that they chose to move

to the neighborhoods based on recommendations by friends, relatives, or realtors who lived in the same neighborhood. Once there, they are often introduced by these friends to the local organizations: the neighborhood association, the local school, the community center, the football league, and the local church. These initial organizational ties, once established, provide new venues for them to meet others, which in turn generate further interpersonal and organizational ties. These insights have implications for "neighborhood effects" research by pointing to the nonrandom nature of neighborhood selection. Individuals' decision to move to a neighborhood is often shaped by preexisting social networks within a neighborhood and their neighborhood choice set is often limited by these social ties. As a result, advantages in one's social networks can often lead to neighborhood advantages, and vice versa. This points to the need to better understand how neighborhood-based social ties might matter for neighborhood selection and social mobility among the disadvantaged population, a key direction for future work.

Fourth, these findings also point to new directions of analysis for urban poverty research on social networks and social support. In this research literature, individuals' interpersonal ties and organizational ties are often either collapsed together under the encompassing concept of "social capital" or examined as if they were unrelated to each other. We show that the formation of individuals' interpersonal ties often occurs in specific organizational settings, especially those with institutional structures that facilitate involvements, such as schools and churches. Furthermore, this process might be driven by *necessity* (e.g., having to get involved in school because of a child or staying in touch with the community health center) or by *choice* (e.g., going to church because a friend also goes there or attending a neighborhood meeting because a neighbor says that it is a good way to stay informed). On a broader note, most previous studies have focused on the impact of ethnic diversity on either interpersonal or organizational ties. Instead, we explored both sets of ties and show that they are quite intricately connected. Although we do not address the causal relationship between the two sets of ties, our qualitative and quantitative evidence provides support for both sets of predictions. Organizational ties lead to the creation of interpersonal ties, and preexisting interpersonal ties also facilitate individuals' involvements with organizations both *within* and *beyond* the neighborhood.

We now note several limitations. First, our research design does not allow us to statistically distinguish the impact of neighborhood diversity from other neighborhood socioeconomic characteristics, even though our careful case-based analysis suggested strongly that ethnic diversity is the most salient dimension of difference between the neighborhoods, especially after we controlled for variation in respondent's background characteristics. Furthermore, neighborhood attributes that are positively associated with diversity, such as lower income, education, or median age and higher social disorder, mistrust, or crime, would negatively affect residents' social ties. For this reason, if ethnic diversity amplifies rather than stifles local interpersonal ties or organizational ties, our findings are likely conservative estimates of these relationships. Second, our data cannot address other factors beyond geographical proximity that might have shaped respondents' involvements, such as respondents' needs and preferences to participate in a particular organization because it serves a particular purpose in their lives, regardless of where the organization might be located vis-à-vis their own neighborhood. Third, our findings are limited to two neighborhoods in one urban setting. Whether the patterns we identified are applicable to other neighborhoods and cities remains an open empirical question that

awaits further research. Given that we have conducted a survey-based comparative case study, our conclusions should be tested in a larger study with multiple neighborhoods.

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Notes

[1]Geographically, the organizations reported by our respondents are located both *within* and *outside* of our two field neighborhoods, but the majority of these organizations are located within the Greater Boston area. Thus, this study does not consider varying organizational density of the two neighborhoods.

[2]This extends beyond the case of Upham's Corner, because diverse neighborhoods in Boston and other metropolitan areas also have higher concentrations of the foreign-born population and are more transient. Prior research has also shown that few neighborhoods remain stably integrated, although the number of integrated neighborhoods has increased over the last two decades (Ellen et al. 2012).

[3]Even though the study's main purpose was to study the role of nonprofits, our survey instrument solicits the widest range of organizations that local residents are connected to, regardless of their nonprofit status.

[4]Specifically, we used the following two questions. On volunteering, we asked: "in the last year, did you volunteer or help raise money for any groups or organizations that you haven't already told me about?" On, all other groups, we asked: "in the last year, have you been a member of or participated in any other group that plays a useful or important role in your life – such as a book group, knitting group, sports team, or neighborhood council?"

[5]We did not ask about "secondary involvement" in the last two "residual domains" because the purpose of the last two domains was simply to capture the residual groups so that we can arrive at an exhaustive count of the domain-based organizational ties.

[6]We use the term "groups" to refer to the membership groups that the GSS uses to solicit individuals' connections to organizations. These groups might be based on common interests, identity, or ideology.

[7]We focus on the total count of all organizations because this count provides a good summary of local participation and an efficient way to compare across the two summary measures of participation. Although we cannot address the extent and nature of involvement, our qualitative interviews provide some important insights. What we learned surprised us. People described in some detail how each of the organizations they are connected to serves particular purposes in their life. Examples range from the local book group from which an elderly woman in West Roxbury draws support to the neighborhood association from which a young couple in Upham's Corner received information about local events and childcare support.

[8]We address the question of organizational density in some detail in our sensitivity analyses.

[9]This is but one of the neighborhood associations in Upham's Corner, but it is quite active and engaged.

[10]For descriptive statistics of the variables, please see Table S1 on the journal's website.

[11]We also tested for interactions between neighborhoods and other covariates in two ways. First, we fitted neighborhood-specific negative binomial regressions on each of the two dependent variables and the results did not differ substantively from those reported. Second, we selectively tested for interactions between neighborhood and demographic covariates, but none of them turned out to be statistically significant.

[12]The full list is available upon request. We focused our comparison of organizational ecology on overall count and organizational type. Although we could compare the size of organizations, their budgets, etc., using data from GuideStar, such an analysis is beyond the scope of our article and we did not pursue it here.

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Participación en Contexto: Diversidad Barrial e Involucramiento Organizacional en Boston (Van C. Tran, Corina Graif, Alison D. Jones, Mario L. Small y Christopher Winship)

Resumen
Usamos información única del Estudio sobre Organizaciones Sin Fines de Lucro en Boston, una encuesta innovadora que contiene información rica sobre participación en organizaciones en siete dominios sociales en dos barrios de Boston, para examinar la relación entre diversidad étnica y participación en organizaciones locales. En particular, identificamos lazos sociales a nivel barrio como un mecanismo clave que media en la asociación negativa entre diversidad y participación. En contraste con trabajos previos, medimos participación usando la aproximación a *nivel dominio* y a *nivel grupo*, siendo la primera aproximación la que descubre un gran rango de conexiones organizacionales que muchas veces son desapercibidas por la segunda aproximación. También investigamos la relación entre lazos interpersonales y lazos organizacionales, y mostramos cómo un involucramiento primordial con una organización facilita el desarrollo de vínculos interpersonales posteriores y formas secundarias de involucramiento organizacional. Luego discutimos las implicancias de nuestros resultados para la investigación sobre pobreza urbana.

Supporting Information

Additional Supporting Information may be found in the online version of this article at the publisher's web site:

Table S1: Means and Standard Deviations of Key Variables.