

# New Americans in Los Angeles

A Snapshot of the Demographic and Economic Contributions of Immigrants in Los Angeles County and the City of Los Angeles<sup>1</sup>

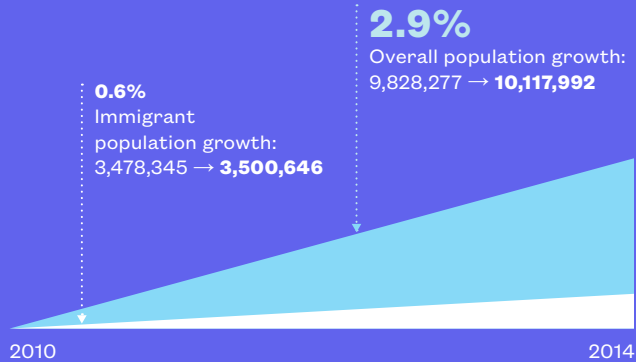


## POPULATION GROWTH

### LA COUNTY

Between 2010 and 2014, the foreign-born population grew by

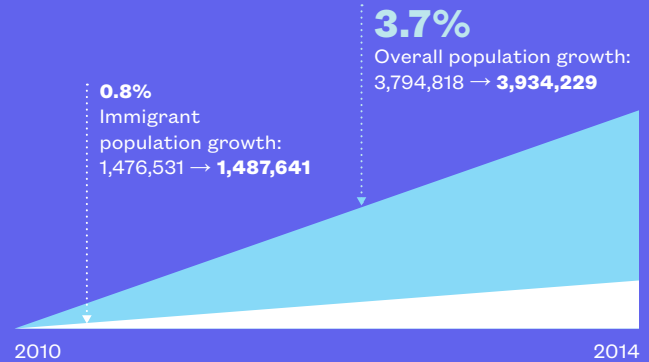
↑ **22,301**



### CITY OF LA

Between 2010 and 2014, the foreign-born population grew by

↑ **11,110**



Growth in the foreign-born population accounted for this share of overall population growth:

**7.7%** in LA County

**8%** in the City of LA



State & Local

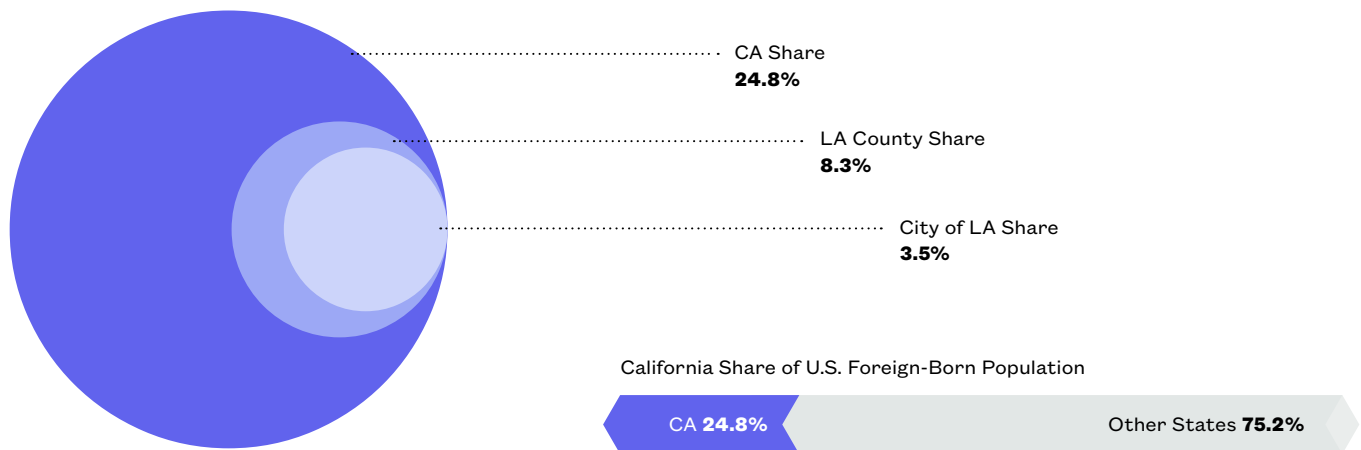


LOS ANGELES AREA  
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The share of the total population that was foreign-born in 2014 was **34.6%** in LA County and **37.8%** in the City of LA, a slight decrease from 2010.<sup>2</sup>

Los Angeles and California are home to a disproportionate share of U.S. foreign-born individuals: **one in four** of the nation's immigrants resides in California and **one in twelve** lives in LA County.

**CALIFORNIA AND LA SHARES OF U.S. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION**



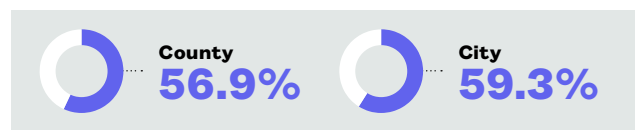
**LANGUAGE**

Share of Los Angeles residents speaking a language **other than English** at home in 2014:

**YOUTH UNDER 18**



**ADULTS**



GDP CONTRIBUTIONS



In 2014, foreign-born residents in Los Angeles County **contributed greatly** to the county's total GDP.<sup>3</sup>

**\$81.7B** came from Asian immigrants...

**\$95.3B** came from Hispanic immigrants...

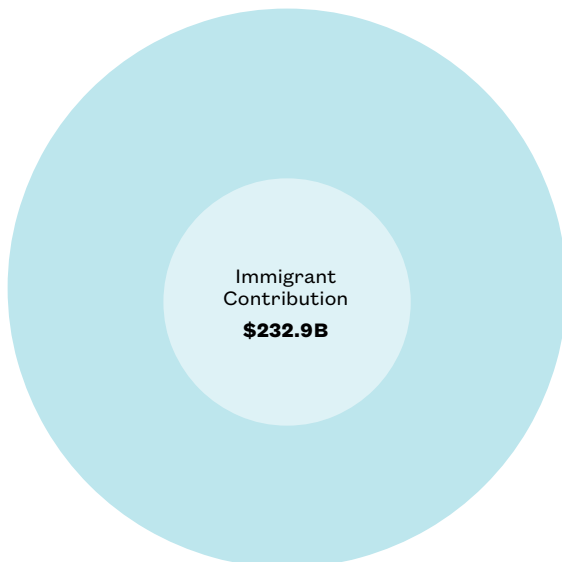
...and **\$55.9B** came from other foreign-born groups, for a total contribution of

**\$232.9B**

or **35.7%** of the county's total GDP.

TOTAL GDP OF LA COUNTY

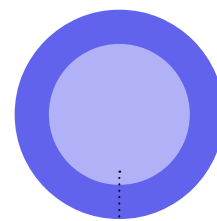
**\$652.9B**



Immigrant Contribution  
**\$232.9B**

HISPANIC CONTRIBUTION TO GDP OF LA COUNTY

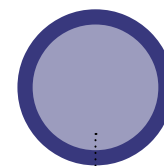
**\$194B**



Hispanic Immigrant Contribution  
**\$95.3B**

ASIAN CONTRIBUTION TO GDP OF LA COUNTY

**\$112.4B**



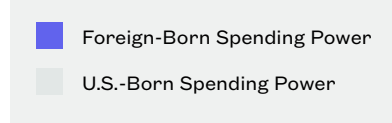
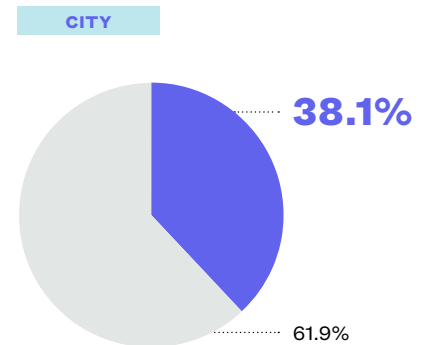
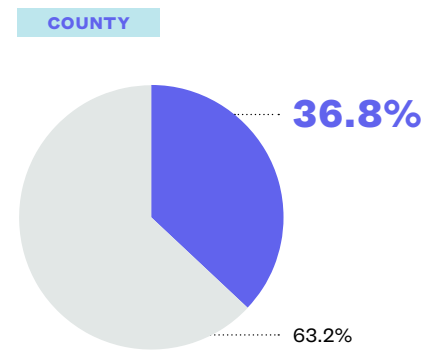
Asian Immigrant Contribution  
**\$81.7B**

## SPENDING POWER

In 2014, the foreign-born population held **\$70.7B** in spending power in LA County and **\$28.8B** in the City of LA.<sup>4</sup>

Sub-Group	County	City
<b>All Foreign-Born</b>	<b>\$70.7B</b>	<b>\$28.8B</b>
<b>All Hispanic</b>	\$54.1B	\$19.4B
— Hispanic U.S.-Born	\$23.8B	\$6.7B
— <b>Hispanic Immigrant</b>	<b>\$30.3B</b>	<b>\$12.7B</b>
— Mexican Immigrant	\$20.6B	\$7.3B
— Central American Immigrant	\$7.5B	\$4.4B
<b>All Asian</b>	\$31.8B	\$10.1B
— Asian U.S.-Born	\$7.8B	\$2.7B
— <b>Asian Immigrant</b>	<b>\$24.0B</b>	<b>\$7.4B</b>
— Filipino Immigrant	\$6.4B	\$2.3B
— Chinese Immigrant	\$3.1B	\$671M
— Korean Immigrant	\$3.7B	\$1.8B
<b>Iranian Immigrant</b>	<b>\$3B</b>	<b>\$1.8B</b>

SHARES OF FOREIGN-BORN SPENDING POWER



## TAX CONTRIBUTIONS

In 2014, foreign-born residents contributed **\$17.3B** in federal taxes in LA County / **\$6.9B** in the City of LA,<sup>5</sup> and **\$7.9B** in state and local taxes in LA County / **\$3.2B** in the City of LA.<sup>6</sup>

Sub-Group	County Federal	County State & Local	City Federal	City State & Local
<b>All Foreign-Born</b>	<b>\$17.3B</b>	<b>\$7.9B</b>	<b>\$6.9B</b>	<b>\$3.2B</b>
<b>Hispanic U.S.-Born</b>	\$5.7B	\$2.6B	\$1.5B	\$731M
<b>Hispanic Immigrant</b>	<b>\$5.8B</b>	<b>\$3.3B</b>	<b>\$2.3B</b>	<b>\$1.4B</b>
— Mexican Immigrant	\$3.8B	\$2.2B	\$1.3B	\$795M
— Central American Immigrant	\$1.4B	\$810M	\$772M	\$474M
<b>Asian U.S.-Born</b>	\$2.3B	\$879M	\$801M	\$307M
<b>Asian Immigrant</b>	<b>\$6.6B</b>	<b>\$2.7B</b>	<b>\$1.9B</b>	<b>\$819M</b>
— Filipino Immigrant	\$1.8B	\$710M	\$659M	\$260M
— Chinese Immigrant	\$808M	\$356M	\$171M	\$76M
— Korean Immigrant	\$953M	\$416M	\$393M	\$193M
<b>Iranian Immigrant</b>	\$944M	\$362M	\$602M	\$220M

## SOCIAL SECURITY & MEDICARE CONTRIBUTIONS

Foreign-born households supported federal social programs in 2014. **\$9.2B** went to Social Security in LA County / **\$3.8B** in the City of LA, and **\$2.4B** went to Medicare in LA County / **\$983M** in the City of LA.

Sub-Group	County Social Security	County Medicare	City Social Security	City Medicare
<b>All Foreign-Born</b>	<b>\$9.2B</b>	<b>\$2.4B</b>	<b>\$3.8B</b>	<b>\$983M</b>
<b>Hispanic U.S.-Born</b>	\$4.1B	\$1B	\$1.2B	\$306M
<b>Hispanic Immigrant</b>	<b>\$4.1B</b>	<b>\$982M</b>	<b>\$1.7B</b>	<b>\$419M</b>
— Mexican Immigrant	\$2.7B	\$652M	\$989M	\$234M
— Central American Immigrant	\$1.1B	\$261M	\$650M	\$154M
<b>Asian U.S.-Born</b>	\$1.2B	\$317M	\$404M	\$111M
<b>Asian Immigrant</b>	<b>\$3.2B</b>	<b>\$831M</b>	<b>\$974M</b>	<b>\$252M</b>
— Filipino Immigrant	\$903M	\$224M	\$315M	\$80M
— Chinese Immigrant	\$363M	\$97M	\$73M	\$20M
— Korean Immigrant	\$479M	\$122M	\$226M	\$57M
<b>Iranian Immigrant</b>	\$370M	\$113M	\$217M	\$69M

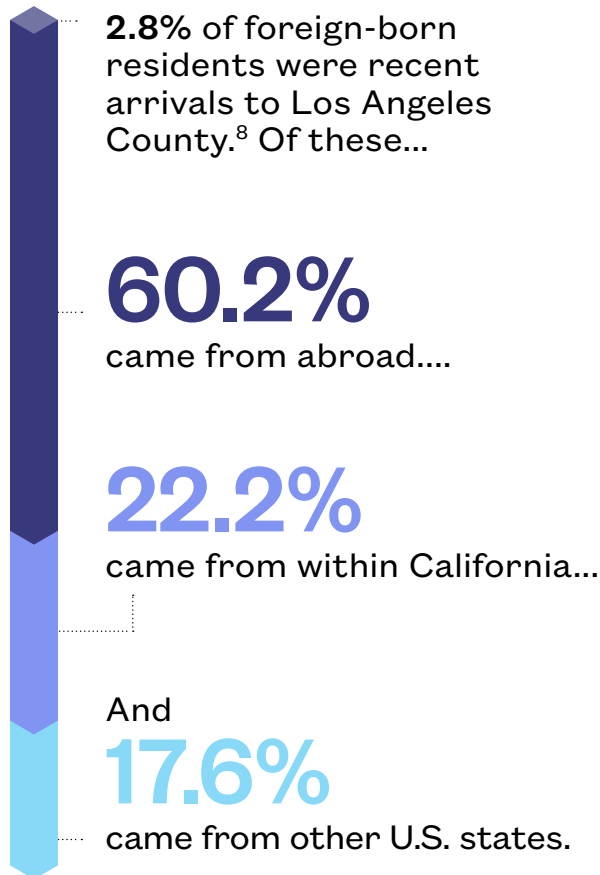
## POPULATION DIVERSITY

Sub-Group	County	Share of County Population	City	Share of City Population
<b>All Foreign-Born</b>	<b>3,500,646</b>	<b>34.6%</b>	<b>1,487,641</b>	<b>37.8%</b>
<b>All Hispanic</b>	4,898,272	48.4%	1,907,727	48.6%
— Hispanic U.S.-Born	2,911,393	28.8%	1,017,564	25.9%
— Hispanic Immigrant	<b>1,986,879</b>	<b>19.6%</b>	<b>890,163</b>	<b>22.7%</b>
— Mexican Immigrant	1,392,898	13.8%	542,328	13.8%
— Central American Immigrant	507,884	5.0%	314,326	8.0%
<b>All Asian</b>	1,483,535	14.7%	464,693	11.8%
— Asian U.S.-Born	519,193	5.1%	154,414	3.9%
— Asian Immigrant	<b>964,342</b>	<b>9.5%</b>	<b>310,279</b>	<b>7.9%</b>
— Filipino Immigrant	241,206	2.4%	88,332	2.2%
— Chinese Immigrant	172,934	1.7%	37,201	0.9%
— Korean Immigrant	155,976	1.5%	84,900	2.2%
<b>Iranian Immigrant</b>	113,087	1.1%	55,586	1.4%

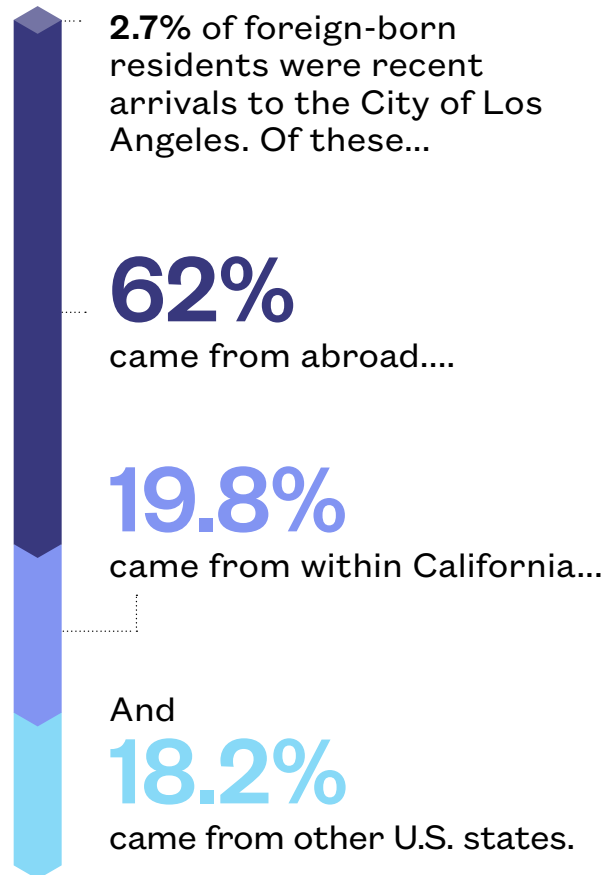
MIGRATION

In 2014, a vast majority of the foreign-born in Los Angeles had lived in U.S. for more than 10 years: **80.7%** of the foreign-born in the county and **79.3%** in the city.<sup>7</sup>

COUNTY



CITY





ENTREPRENEURSHIP

COUNTY

51.5%

of Los Angeles County’s self-employed individuals were immigrants in 2014.

Their businesses generated **\$7.2B**—or 41.7%—of all self-employed income in the county.

	Share of All Entrepreneurs	Income
<b>Hispanic Immigrant</b>	28.4%	<b>\$3.1B</b>
— Mexican Immigrant	18.4%	<b>\$2B</b>
— Central American Immigrant	8.3%	<b>\$911M</b>
<b>Asian Immigrant</b>	11.3%	<b>\$1.7B</b>
— Filipino Immigrant	1.4%	<b>\$217M</b>
— Chinese Immigrant	1.8%	<b>\$143M</b>
— Korean Immigrant	3.2%	<b>\$517M</b>
<b>Iranian Immigrant</b>	3%	<b>\$516M</b>

CITY

53.6%

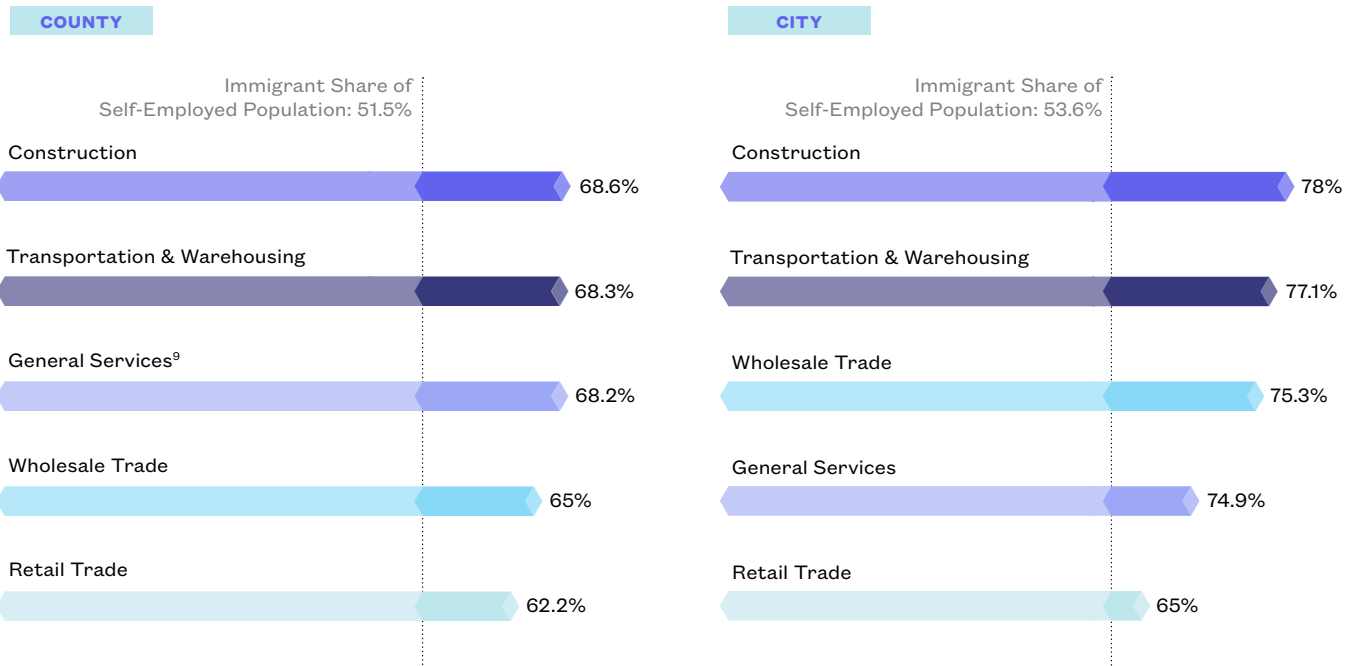
of the City of Los Angeles’ self-employed individuals were immigrants in 2014.

Their businesses generated **\$3.5B**—or 45.6%—of all self-employed income in the city.

	Share of All Entrepreneurs	Income
<b>Hispanic Immigrant</b>	30.5%	<b>\$1.5B</b>
— Mexican Immigrant	16.9%	<b>\$801M</b>
— Central American Immigrant	12%	<b>\$631M</b>
<b>Asian Immigrant</b>	7.8%	<b>\$560M</b>
— Filipino Immigrant	1.5%	<b>\$131M</b>
— Chinese Immigrant	0.4%	<b>\$15M</b>
— Korean Immigrant	3.3%	<b>\$260M</b>
<b>Iranian Immigrant</b>	3.7%	<b>\$322M</b>

**ENTREPRENEURSHIP BY INDUSTRY**

Immigrant entrepreneurs are **overrepresented in key industries** in Los Angeles, comprising a larger share in those industries than in the total population of self-employed immigrants:



**HISPANIC IMMIGRANT**

County	City
Construction: 51.6%	Construction: 60.3%
General Services: 48.7%	General Services: 55.9%
	Professional Services: 28.7% <sup>10</sup>

**ASIAN IMMIGRANT**

County	City
Wholesale Trade: 25.9%	N/A
Retail Trade: 20.8%	
Healthcare & Social Assistance: 14.2%	

**MEXICAN IMMIGRANT**

County	City
Construction: 36.9%	Construction: 37.3%
General Services: 26.4%	General Services: 25.4%
Professional Services: 19%	Professional Services: 17.9%

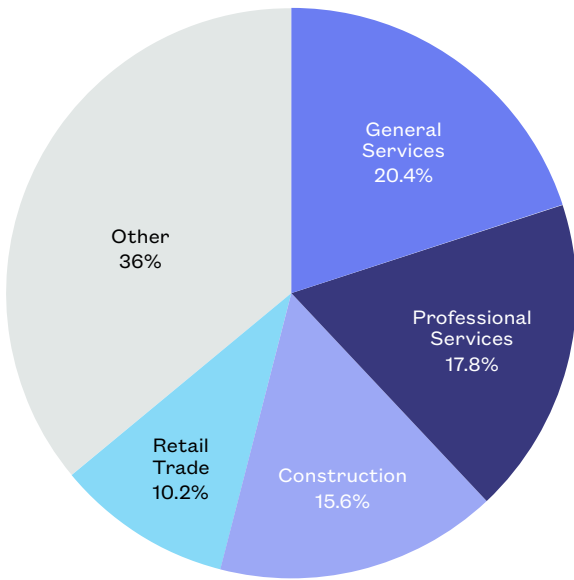
**CENTRAL AMERICAN IMMIGRANT**

County	City
General Services: 19.7%	General Services: 28.5%
Construction: 14%	Construction: 22.1%

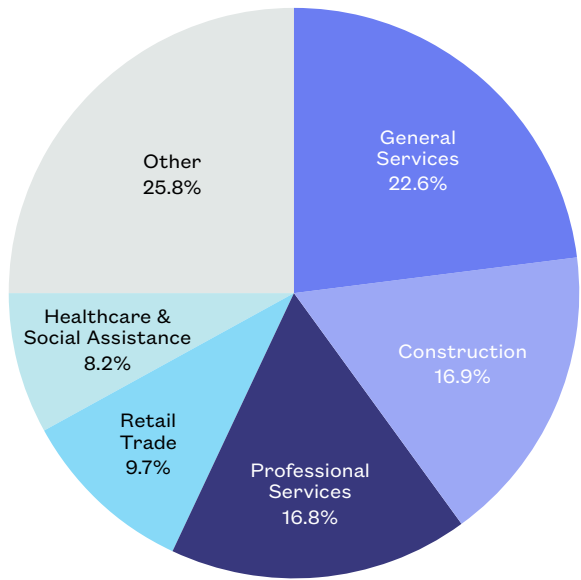
**FOREIGN-BORN ENTREPRENEURSHIP**

Foreign-born entrepreneurs are concentrated in certain industries:

**COUNTY**



**CITY**



	Number of Businesses Owned, 2012 <sup>10</sup>	Sales Revenue, 2012	Number of Employees, 2012
<b>Hispanic Residents in Los Angeles County*</b>	332,967	<b>\$32.8B</b>	160,944
<b>Asian Residents in Los Angeles County</b>	213,203	<b>\$97.6B</b>	374,355

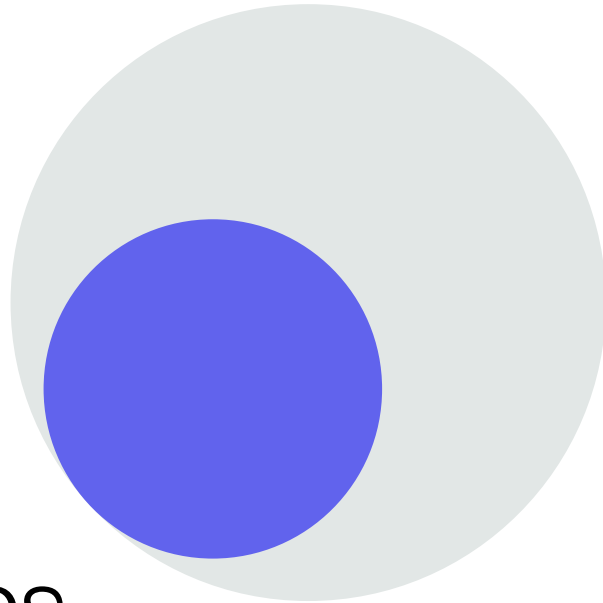
\* Although Hispanic business owners were more numerous, they were largely one-person businesses and did not employ other workers. This explains both the difference in sales receipts and number of employees employed.

**FORTUNE 500**

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In 2015, **6 of the 13 Fortune 500** companies in Los Angeles County were founded by immigrants or the children of immigrants.

That's **46%** of the Fortune 500 companies in Los Angeles County.



Number of Companies, 2015	Combined Revenue, 2015	Number of Employees, 2015
6	<b>\$98B+</b>	351,000

## HOUSING WEALTH



Between 2010 and 2014, immigration to Los Angeles increased total housing value by **\$8.9B in the county** and **\$1.8B in the city.**<sup>11</sup>

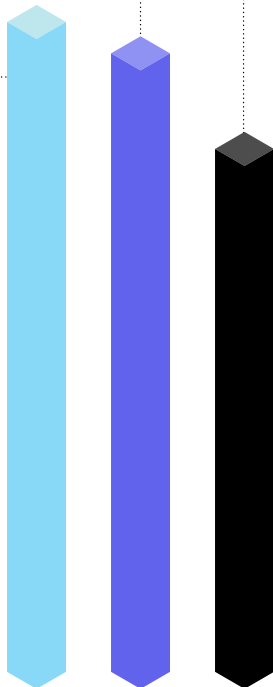
## LABOR FORCE

### COUNTY

In 2014, immigrants made up **34.6%** of the population in Los Angeles County...

**41.1%** of the area's **working-age population**...

And **43.2%** of the **employed labor force**.

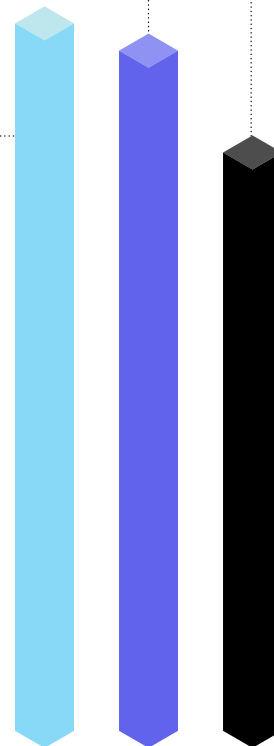


### CITY

In 2014, immigrants made up **37.8%** of the population in the City of Los Angeles...

**44.8%** of the area's **working-age population**...

And **46.7%** of the **employed labor force**.

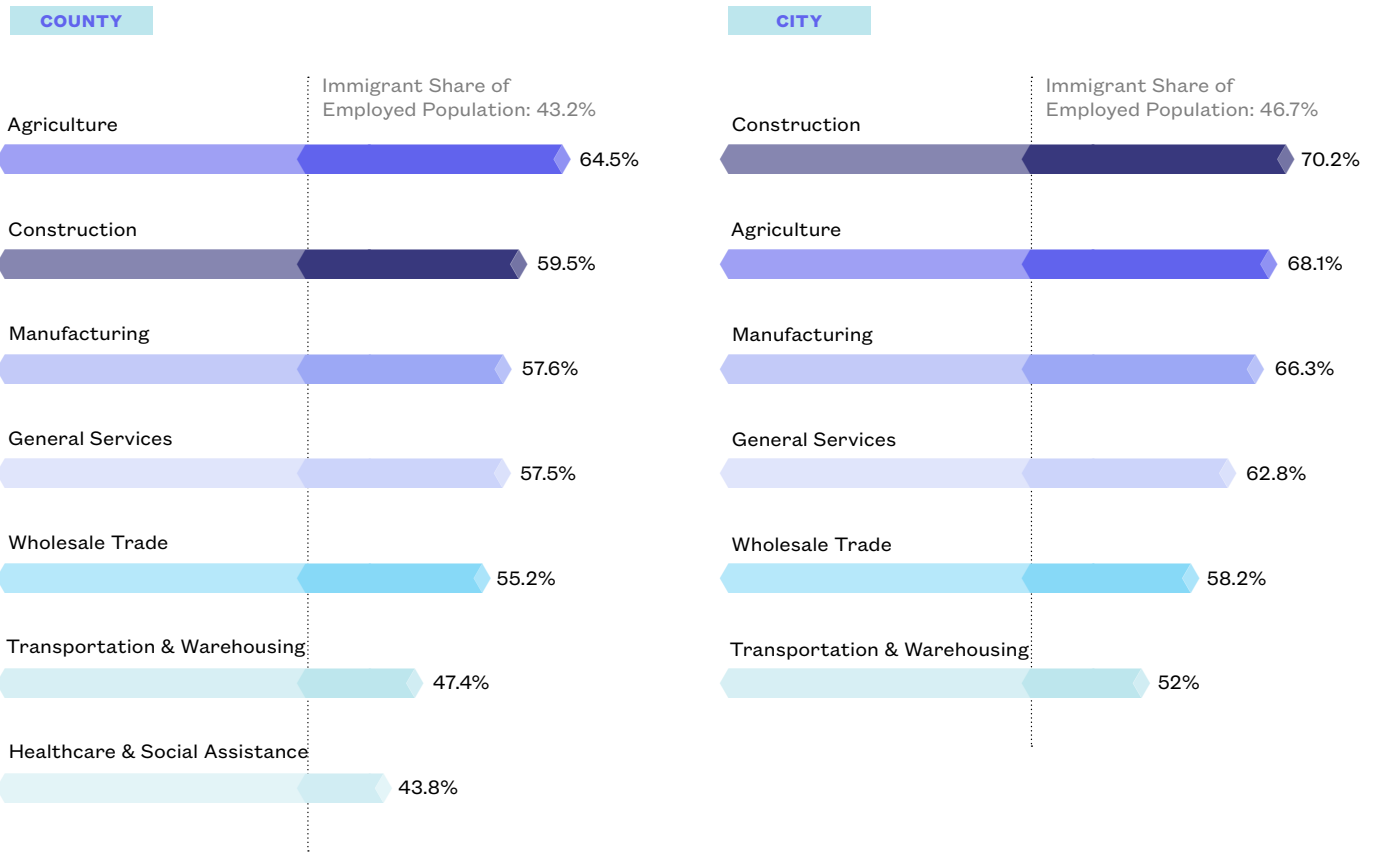


**LABOR FORCE**

Sub-Group	County Share of Working-Age Population	County Share of Employed Population	City Share of Working-Age Population	City Share of Employed Population
<b>All Foreign-Born</b>	<b>41.1%</b>	<b>43.2%</b>	<b>44.8%</b>	<b>46.7%</b>
<b>Hispanic U.S.-Born</b>	23.4%	20.8%	19.4%	16.8%
<b>Hispanic Immigrant</b>	<b>24.6%</b>	<b>25.6%</b>	<b>28.3%</b>	<b>29.3%</b>
— Mexican Immigrant	17.4%	17.6%	17.4%	17.4%
— Central American Immigrant	6.3%	6.9%	10%	10.8%
<b>Asian U.S.-Born</b>	4.4%	4.1%	3.6%	3.5%
<b>Asian Immigrant</b>	<b>10.8%</b>	<b>11.4%</b>	<b>8.8%</b>	<b>9%</b>
— Filipino Immigrant	2.7%	3.2%	2.6%	2.9%
— Chinese Immigrant	1.8%	1.7%	1%	0.9%
— Korean Immigrant	1.7%	1.7%	2.2%	2.2%
<b>Iranian Immigrant</b>	1.2%	1.2%	1.5%	1.7%

LABOR FORCE BY INDUSTRY

Immigrants are **overrepresented in key industries** in Los Angeles, comprising a larger share in those industries than in the total workforce:



## LABOR FORCE BY GROUP AND INDUSTRY

### HISPANIC U.S.-BORN

COUNTY	CITY
<b>Retail Trade: 28.6%</b>	<b>Retail Trade: 23.2%</b>
Public Administration & Government: 25.5%	Education Services: 20.6%
Utilities: 25.0%	Transportation & Warehousing: 20%
Agriculture: 25.0%	Recreation & Accommodation: 19.1%
Education Services: 23.5%	

### HISPANIC IMMIGRANT

COUNTY	CITY
<b>Agriculture: 57.8%</b>	<b>Agriculture: 63.9%</b>
Construction: 49.5%	Construction: 60.5%
Manufacturing: 42.6%	Manufacturing: 52.5%
General Services: 38.8%	General Services: 42.9%
Wholesale Trade: 31.7%	Wholesale Trade: 37.7%

### ASIAN U.S.-BORN

COUNTY	CITY
<b>Education Services: 6.0%</b>	<b>Education Services: 5.3%</b>
Healthcare & Social Assistance: 5.5%	Healthcare & Social Assistance: 4.8%
Public Administration: 4.8%	Public Administration: 4.7%
Finance & Real Estate: 4.7%	Information & Communications: 4.2%
Information & Communications: 4.6%	

### ASIAN IMMIGRANT

COUNTY	CITY
<b>Wholesale Trade: 18.6%</b>	<b>Healthcare &amp; Social Assistance: 15.9%</b>
Healthcare & Social Assistance: 18.4%	Finance & Real Estate: 12.8%
Finance & Real Estate: 14.3%	Wholesale Trade: 12.6%
Public Administration: 12.0%	Public Administration: 11.8%
Utilities: 11.7%	

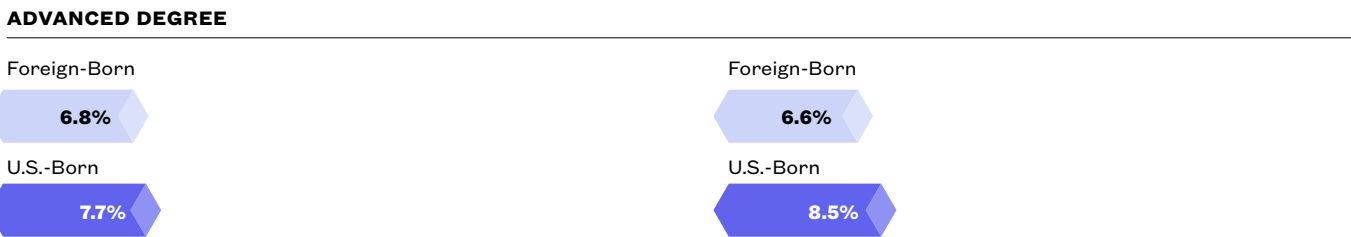
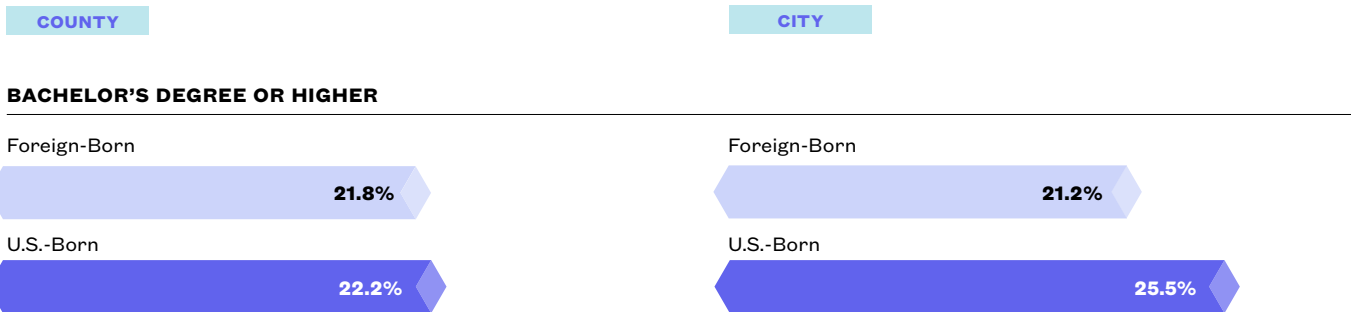


## LABOR FORCE BY SUB-GROUP AND INDUSTRY

Sub-Group	County	City
<b>Mexican Immigrant</b>	Agriculture: 39.2% Construction: 34.6% Manufacturing: 32.1% Wholesale Trade: 23.9% General Services: 23.8%	Construction: 36.5% Manufacturing: 33.9% Wholesale Trade: 25.1% General Services: 23%
<b>Central American Immigrant</b>	Agriculture: 17.7% Construction: 13.7% General Services: 13.4% Manufacturing: 9.2% Transportation & Warehousing: 8.5%	Construction: 22.5% General Services: 18.5% Manufacturing: 17.2% Transportation & Warehousing: 11.8%
<b>Filipino Immigrant</b>	Healthcare & Social Assistance: 10.3% Public Administration: 4.5% Finance & Real Estate: 3.2%	Healthcare & Social Assistance: 10.5% General Services: 3.0% Finance & Real Estate: 2.7%
<b>Chinese Immigrant</b>	Wholesale Trade: 2.8% Recreation & Accommodation: 2.3% Finance & Real Estate: 1.9%	N/A
<b>Korean Immigrant</b>	Wholesale Trade: 3.6% Finance & Real Estate: 2.8% Retail Trade: 2.3% General Services: 2.2%	Finance & Real Estate: 4.1% Retail Trade: 3.2
<b>Iranian Immigrant</b>	Retail Trade: 2.3% Professional Services: 1.9% Healthcare & Social Assistance: 1.3%	N/A

**EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT**

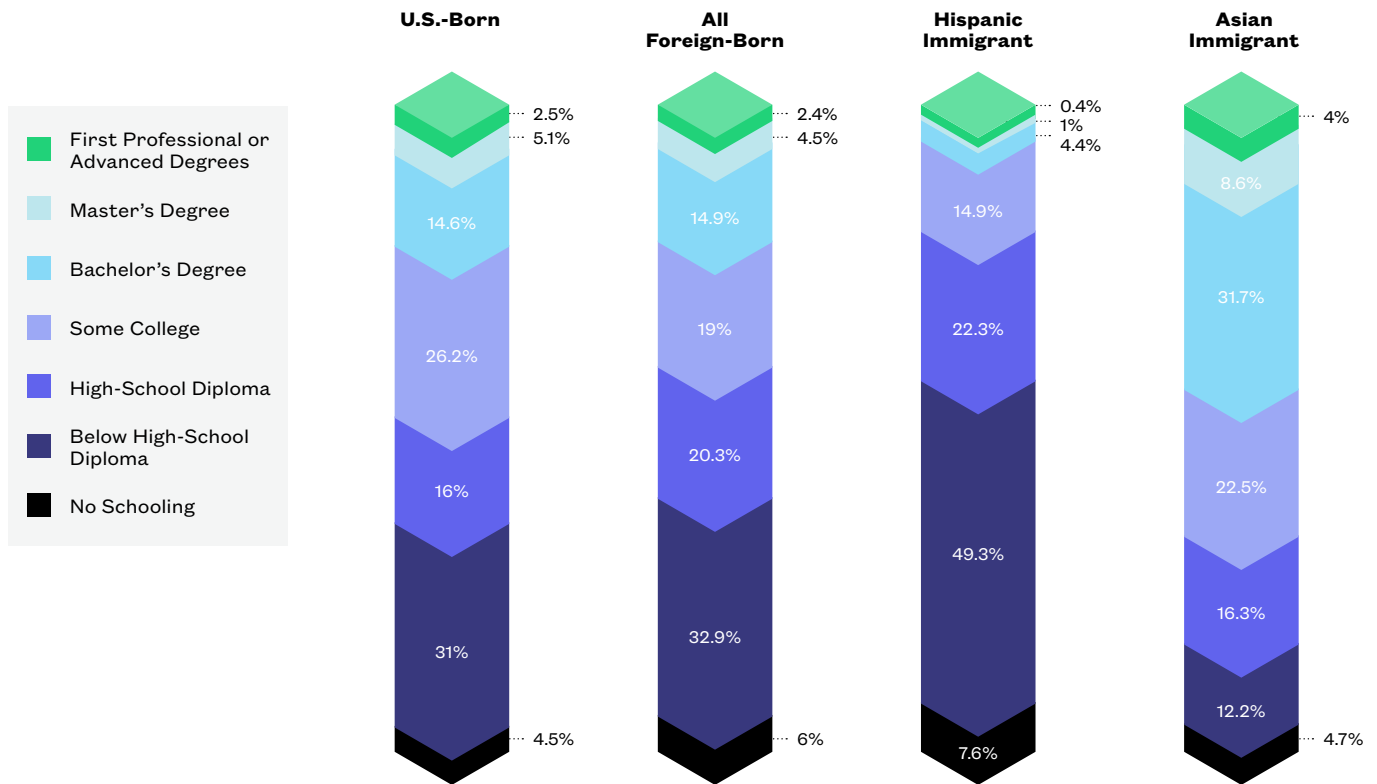
In 2014, foreign-born residents of Los Angeles had slightly lower levels of educational attainment overall than the U.S.-born population, but some immigrant groups had higher education levels than U.S. natives.\*



Foreign-born share of all degree holders:

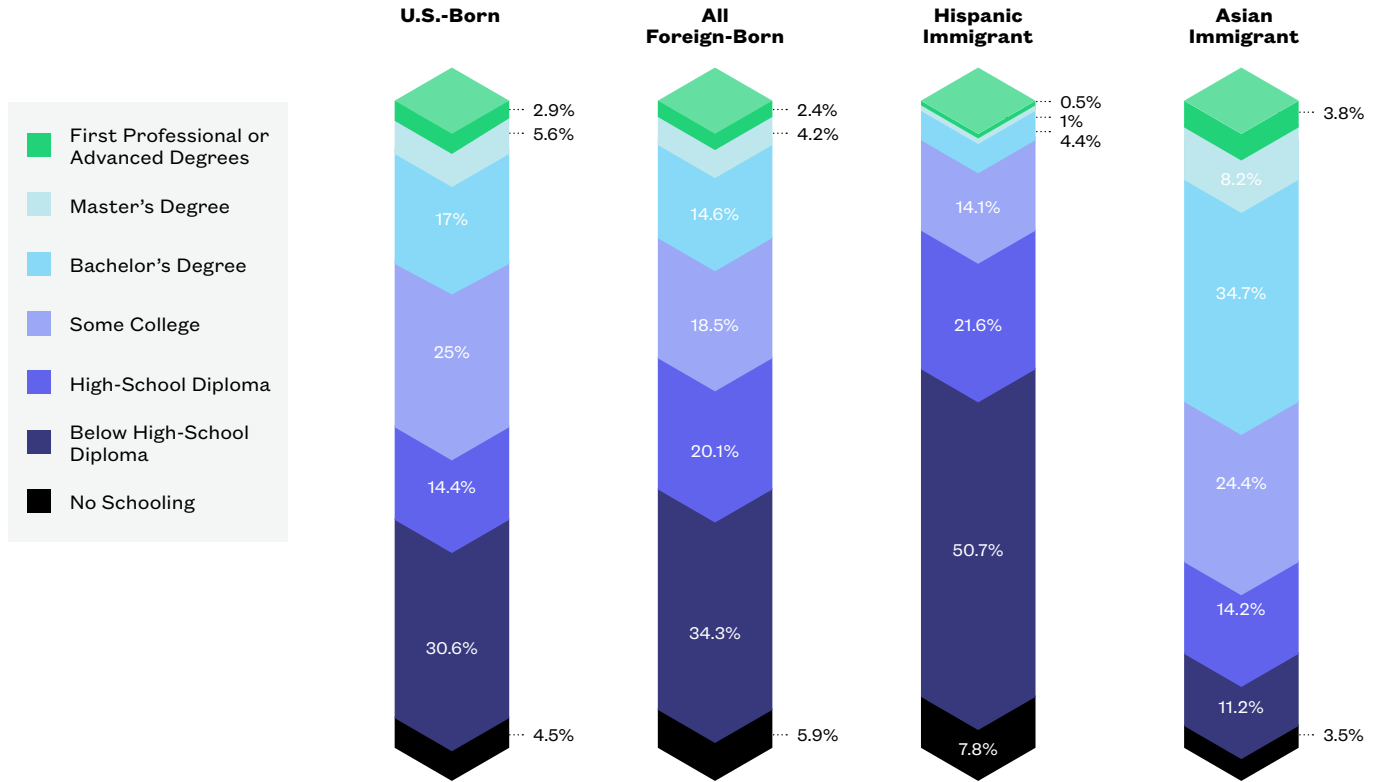
Level of Degree	County	City
<b>Bachelor's Degree</b>	<b>36.4%</b>	35.7%
<b>Master's Degree</b>	<b>32.7%</b>	32.6%
<b>First Professional Degree</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	29.2%
<b>Doctorate Degree</b>	<b>39.9%</b>	43.8%

## EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY



Educational Attainment	Mexican Immigrant	Central American Immigrant	Filipino Immigrant	Chinese Immigrant	Korean Immigrant	Iranian Immigrant
<b>No Schooling</b>	7.5%	8.4%	1.3%	7.7%	2.1%	4.5%
<b>Below High-School Diploma</b>	53.1%	44.4%	8.1%	18.6%	8.4%	13.6%
<b>High-School Diploma</b>	21.9%	23.5%	11.7%	21.2%	19.2%	22.9%
<b>Some College</b>	13.1%	17.3%	29.7%	17.1%	24.2%	25.0%
<b>Bachelor's Degree</b>	3.3%	5.2%	41.9%	22.2%	34.1%	20.1%
<b>Master's Degree</b>	0.7%	0.9%	4.2%	8.3%	7.7%	6.9%
<b>First Professional Degree</b>	0.2%	0.2%	2.5%	1.8%	2.6%	3.5%
<b>Doctorate Degree</b>	0.1%	0.1%	0.5%	3.1%	1.5%	3.5%

### EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES



Educational Attainment	Mexican Immigrant	Central American Immigrant	Filipino Immigrant	Chinese Immigrant	Korean Immigrant	Iranian Immigrant
<b>No Schooling</b>	7.3%	8.9%	1.6%	6.7%	2.2%	3.7%
<b>Below High-School Diploma</b>	55.2%	47.1%	7.0%	19.6%	9.9%	9.5%
<b>High-School Diploma</b>	21.2%	22.8%	9.8%	13.2%	20.0%	22.0%
<b>Some College</b>	11.8%	16.1%	31.0%	19.1%	23.9%	21.4%
<b>Bachelor's Degree</b>	3.7%	3.9%	44.1%	22.0%	33.7%	25.3%
<b>Master's Degree</b>	0.5%	0.9%	3.9%	10.8%	6.8%	7.9%
<b>First Professional Degree</b>	0.1%	0.1%	2.3%	2.6%	2.0%	5.0%
<b>Doctorate Degree</b>	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	6.0%	1.4%	5.3%

LONG-TERM ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

**42,313**

Number of students with temporary resident visas in the county enrolled in higher education during fall of 2014.<sup>12</sup>

**19,635**

Local jobs supported by them.

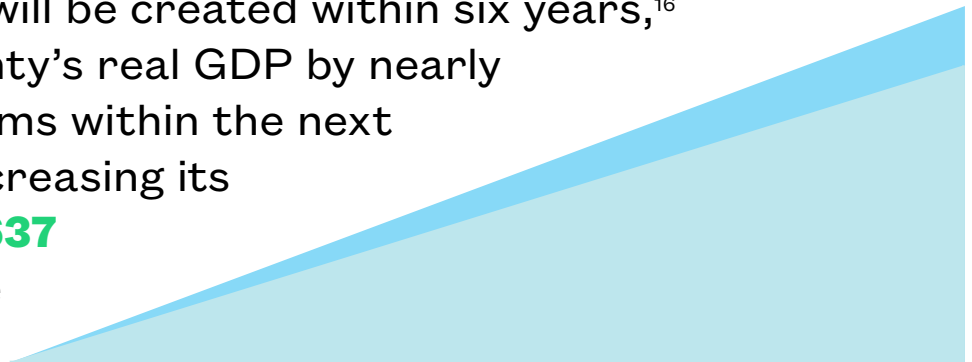
**\$1.6B**

Spending contribution that academic year.<sup>13</sup>



If the county could increase its population of international students by **10%**, the number of university patents granted would be expected to rise by **16**, or **5.3%**, to **318 patents**.<sup>14 15</sup>

If Los Angeles County retains one-half of its international students after graduation with bachelor's degrees or higher, **6,527 local jobs** will be created within six years,<sup>16</sup> boosting the county's real GDP by nearly **\$1.8B** in 2014 terms within the next 30 years,<sup>17</sup> and increasing its population by **52,637** people within the next 50 years.<sup>18</sup>



# Endnotes

- 1 Unless otherwise specified, data comes from one-year samples of the American Community Survey from 2010 and 2014 and figures refer to Los Angeles County and the City of Los Angeles.
- 2 The share of the total population that was foreign-born in 2010 was 35.4% in LA County and 38.9% in the City of LA
- 3 These figures derive from our calculations based on immigrants' share of wage income and self-employment income in the five-year ACS sample from 2014 and the statistics of GDP by the National Association of Counties. Retrieved from: <http://explorer.naco.org/>
- 4 Estimates are based on federal tax rates from the U.S. Congressional Budget Office, and state and local tax rates from the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy.
- 5 U.S. Congressional Budget Office. 2014. "The Distribution of Household Income and Federal Taxes, 2011." Retrieved from: <https://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/113th-congress-2013-2014/reports/49440-Distribution-of-Income-and-Taxes-2.pdf>
- 6 Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy. 2015. "Who Pays? A Distributional Analysis of the Tax Systems in All Fifty States." Retrieved from: <http://www.itep.org/whopays/states/california.php>
- 7 In 2014, a vast majority of the foreign-born in Los Angeles had lived in U.S. for more than five years: 91.1% of foreign-born in the county and 90.8% in the city.
- 8 Recent refers to residents of LA County or The City of LA that indicated that they moved to the area (county or city, respectively) in the last year prior to the time the data was collected in 2014.
- 9 General services include personal services (e.g. laundry services, barber shops, and repair and maintenance), religious organizations, social services, labor unions, etc.
- 10 2012 Survey of Business Owners, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from: [http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=S-BO\\_2012\\_00CSA01&prodType=table](http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=S-BO_2012_00CSA01&prodType=table)
- 11 Vigdor, Jacob. 2013. "Immigration and the Revival of American Cities: From Preserving Manufacturing Jobs to Strengthening the Housing Market." Partnership for a New American Economy. Retrieved from: <http://www.as-coa.org/sites/default/files/ImmigrationUSRevivalReport.pdf> Our estimates of the increase in total housing value as a result of the rising immigrant population use the methodology in this report, which found that each immigrant moving in a county increased the value of each housing unit in that county by 11.6 cents. We apply this multiplier to the change in the foreign-born population between 2010 and 2014 to produce our estimates.
- 12 Data on total student enrollment in the county is derived from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System maintained by the National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from: <https://ncesdata.nsf.gov/webcaspar/>
- 13 Economic data is derived from the International Student Economic Value Tool maintained by NAFSA, the association of international educators. Retrieved from: [http://www.nafsa.org/Policy\\_and\\_Advocacy/Policy\\_Resources/Policy\\_Trends\\_and\\_Data/NAFSA\\_International\\_Student\\_Economic\\_Value\\_Tool/](http://www.nafsa.org/Policy_and_Advocacy/Policy_Resources/Policy_Trends_and_Data/NAFSA_International_Student_Economic_Value_Tool/)
- 14 To derive the patent counts, we used the data on patent assignees available from Patent Full-Text and Image Database maintained by the US Patent and Trademark Office. Retrieved from: <http://patft.uspto.gov/netahtml/PTO/search-adv.htm>

- 15** Chellaraj, Gnanaraj, Keith E. Maskus, and Aaditya Mattoo. 2005. "The Contribution of Skilled Immigration and International Graduate Students to US Innovation." World Bank Policy Research Working Paper (3588). Retrieved from: <http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/abs/10.1596/1813-9450-3588>
- 16** Curtis Simon. 1998. "Human Capital and Metropolitan Employment Growth." *Journal of Urban Economics* 43. Retrieved from: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0094119097920489>
- 17** Rita Ray. 2014. "Effect of Education on Gross Domestic Product: A Case Study from US 'Mid-West'." *International Review of Business Research Papers*, Vol. 10-1. Retrieved from: <http://www.irbrp.com/static/documents/March/2014/1.%20Rita.pdf>
- 18** Edward L. Glaeser, Giacomo A. M. Ponzetto, and Kristina Tobio. 2014. "Cities, Skills and Regional Change." *Regional Studies*, Vol. 48-1. Retrieved from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00343404.2012.674637>
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