

# The Global Value of Cities

Aakash Bhalothia\*   Gavin Engelstad†   Gaurav Khanna\*   Harrison Mitchell\*

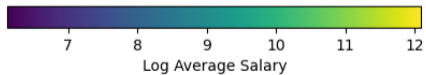
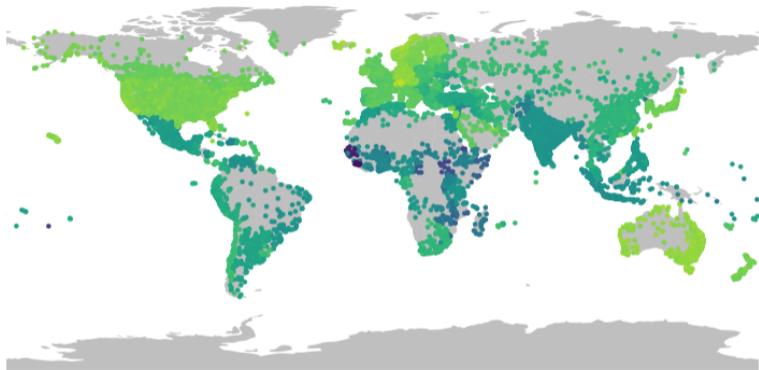
\* UC San Diego

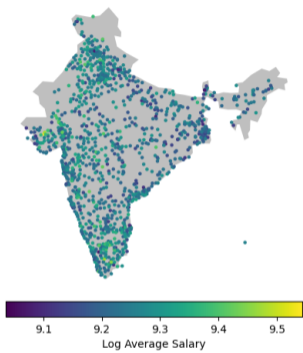
† Northwestern University

January 10, 2026

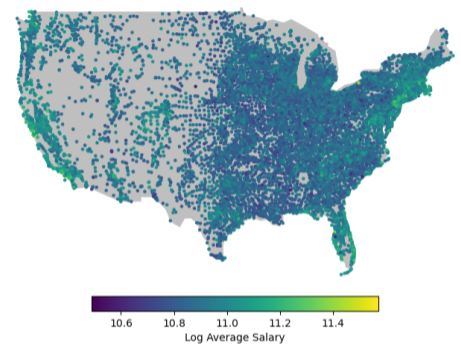
*“Mostly in the world there aren't poor people. There are people in poor places.”*

Pritchett (2017)





(a) India



(b) USA

# Questions

## 1. How much does place affect earnings?

- Are wage differences between cities caused by **city effects** or **sorting**?
  - Between New York and Omaha? What about New York and Bangalore?

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  - Are wage differences between cities caused by city effects or sorting?
    - Between New York and Omaha? What about New York and Bangalore?
2. What do productive cities look like?
  - Size? Amenities? Industry composition?
3. What are the potential gains from reallocation?
  - From low wage to high wage firms within a city? From low wage to high wage cities?
  - Do gains vary throughout the development process?

# This Paper

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  - Test for pretrends and symmetry
- Interpreting city wage premia
  - Correlates with city effects — population, industry composition, amenities
- Allocation of people across cities and firms
  - How people move between productive cities
    - In developed and developing countries
  - Quantitative exercise: Wage gains from **reallocating** workers in developing countries

## Part 1: Measuring City Effects

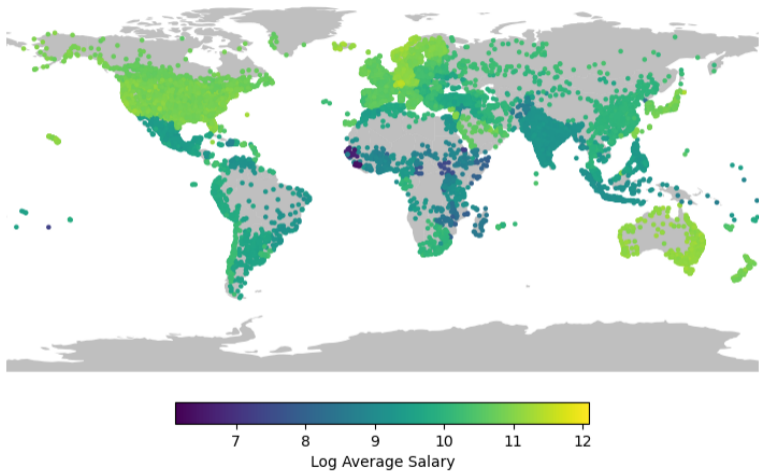
# Data

- Profiles of 513 million users from 220,000 cities in 191 countries from professional networking websites (LinkedIn) [▶ Example Profiles](#)
- Contains:
  - **Education:** Degree, Institution, Time
  - **Jobs:** Job Title (Mapped to O\*NET), Start/End Date, Company (Mapped to NAICS), Location
  - **Predicted:** Seniority level (1-5), Salary (PPP adjusted, 3% growth rate applied) [▶ Salary by Occupation](#)
- High coverage, especially for high-skilled workers and developed countries
- Our Sample: Users who who move between two firms [▶ Are Movers Different?](#)

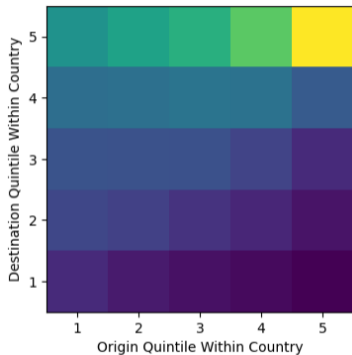
# Salary Imputation

- Function of company, occupation, tenure, year, and city characteristics (population density, unemployment rate, poor share, median housing value)
- Relevant welfare measure — higher score for better jobs
  - Amanzadeh, Kermani, and McQuade (2024) validate with individual Glassdoor data and national surveys
- We develop a new method to bound bias of estimates using imputed data

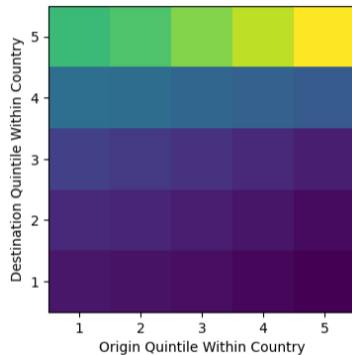
## Coverage



# Movers



(a) Wage Transition Matrix: Within Country Moves



(b) Wage Transition Matrix: Cross Border Moves

## Event Study

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$$\delta_i = \bar{y}_{d(i)} - \bar{y}_{o(i)}$$

$$y_{it} = \alpha_i + \tau_t + l_{r(i,t)} + \theta_{r(i,t)} l_{r(i,t)} \delta_i + \eta_{it}$$

$\delta_i$ : Diff. in avg. salary;  $\alpha_i$ : User effect;  $\tau_t$ : Time effect;  $l_{r(i,t)}$ : Relative years vector

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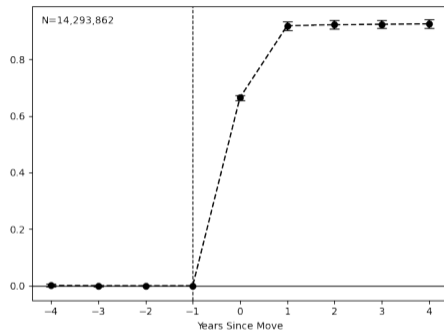
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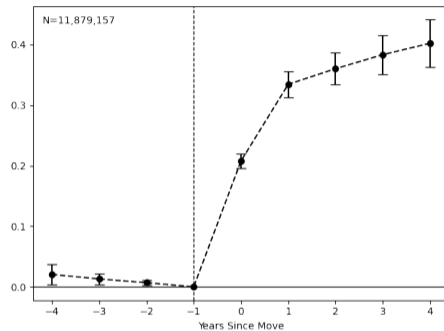
$\delta_i$ : Diff. in avg. salary;  $\alpha_i$ : User effect;  $\tau_t$ : Time effect;  $l_{r(i,t)}$ : Relative years vector

- Interested in  $\theta_{r(i,t)}$ 
  - Frac. of diff. user earns

# Results



(a) All Moves



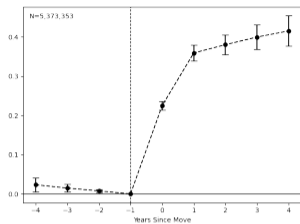
(b) Internal Moves

► Industry

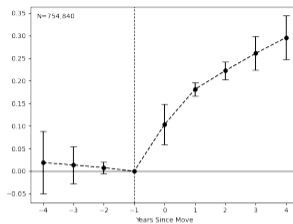
► Occupation

► Seniority

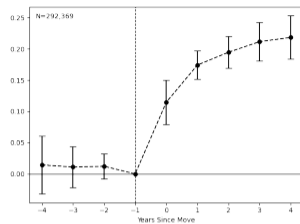
# Results Within Individual Countries



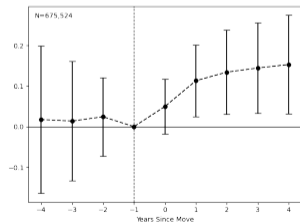
(a) United States



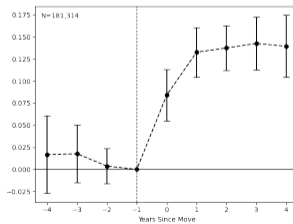
(b) United Kingdom



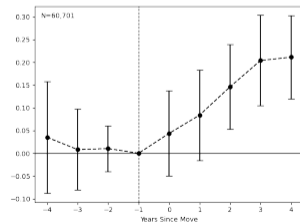
(c) Italy



(d) India

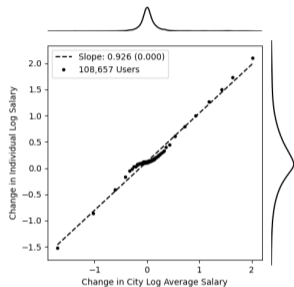


(e) Mexico

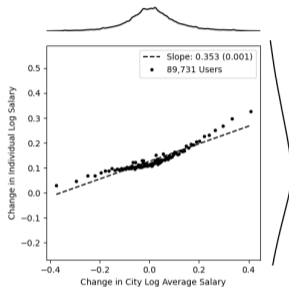


(f) Nigeria

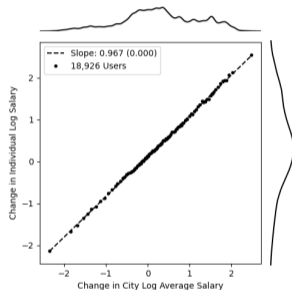
# Salary Gains by Origin-Destination Pairs



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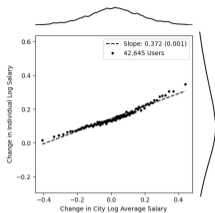


(b) Internal Moves

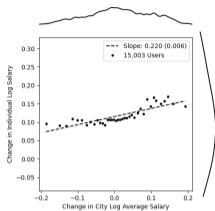


(c) International Moves

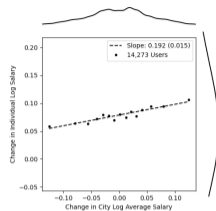
# Salary Gains by Origin-Destination Pairs Within Individual Countries



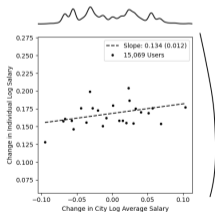
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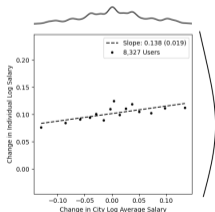
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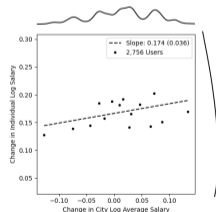
(c) Italy



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(f) Nigeria

## Basic AKM

- Decompose salary into **user effect** ( $\alpha_i$ ) and **city effect** ( $\psi_{\mathbf{J}(i,t)}$ ):

$$\log(\text{Salary})_{it} = \alpha_i + \psi_{\mathbf{J}(i,t)} + \tau_t + \mathbf{x}'_{it}\beta + \epsilon_{it}$$

$\tau_t$ : Time effect;  $\mathbf{x}'_{it}\beta$ : Time-varying controls

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- Allowed: Systematic mobility on individual and city characteristics
  - Productive workers are mobile
  - Productive cities are popular
  - Assortative matching (productive workers go to productive cities)

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- Assumes:
  - Log **additive separability** of user and city effects
  - **Exogenous mobility**
    - No sorting based on user-city match quality
    - No drift in effects over time

# Assumptions

- Event Studies:
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  - No spikes before or after moves (no Ashenfelter dip or signing bonus)

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- Origin-Destination Pairs:
  - Symmetric wage increases and decreases (additive separability and match-based sorting)

## Hierarchy Effects

- Still potential for misidentification due to **within-city firm heterogeneity**
  - Ex: Move from high-paying firms in low-wage cities to low-paying firms in high wage cities

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Then, aggregate to **city effects** ( $\Gamma_j$ )

$$\Gamma_j = \frac{\sum_{j(f)=j} N_f \gamma_f}{\sum_{j(f)=j} N_f}$$

$N_f$ : Number of user-years worked at firm  $f$

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- Interpretation: Productive cities are where people work at productive firms

# Imputation Bias

- We use predicted — not actual — wages

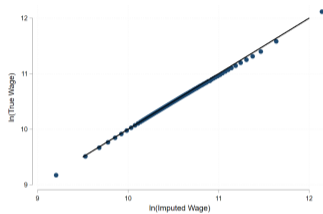
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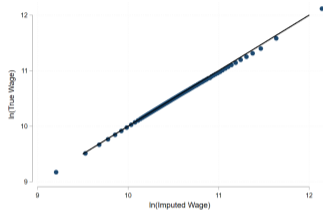
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- Problem: Salary model captures firm/location-level factors better than user-level ones
  - “Ability” is still unobserved
  - Can cause bias if there’s assortative matching
- Use matched employer-employee data from Italy and create similar imputed salary
  - Compare city effects under different imputations

# Imputation Bias

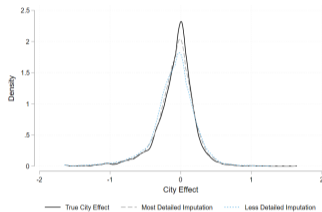


(a) True vs imputed wages

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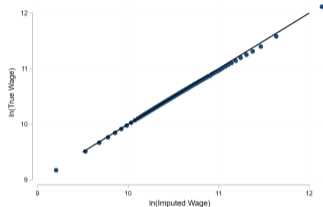


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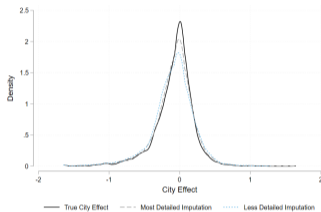


(b) City effects under different imputations

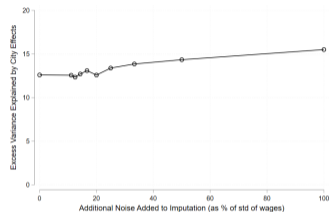
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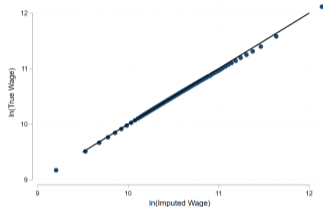


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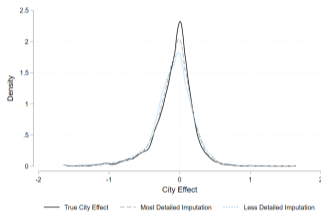


(c) Excess variance under added noise

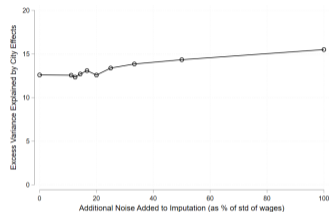
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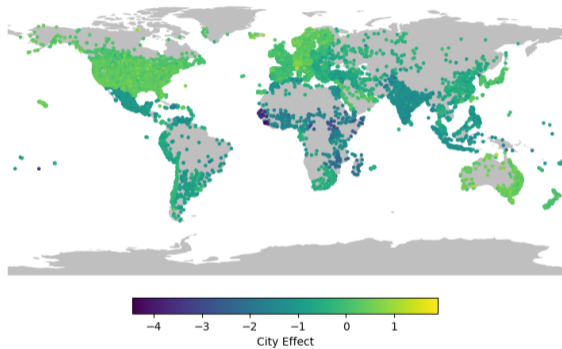
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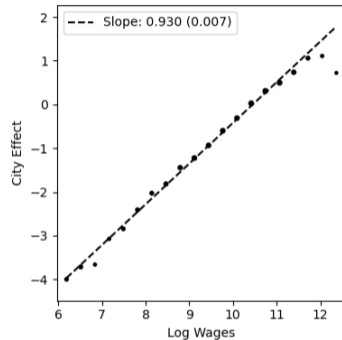
(c) Excess variance under added noise

Result: With a prediction  $R^2$  of 0.875, bias is less than 12.5%

# City Effects: Global

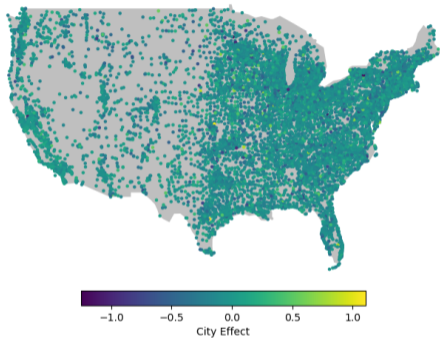


(a) Estimated City Effect

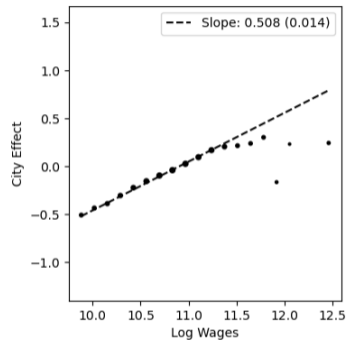


(b) Log Wages vs City Effect

# City Effects: United States

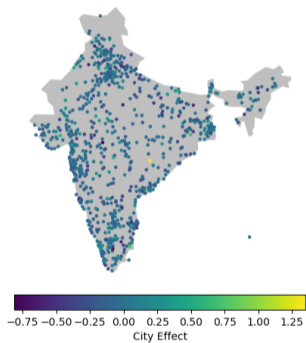


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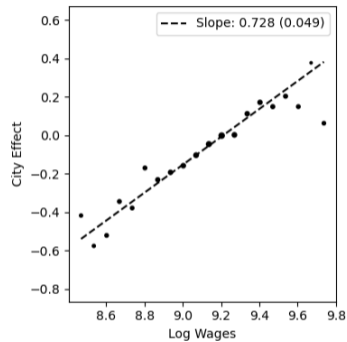


(b) Log Wages vs City Effect

# City Effects: India

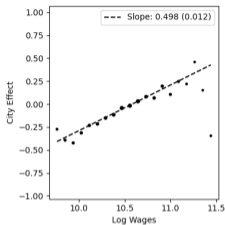


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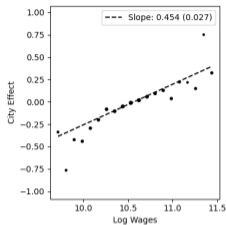


(b) Log Wages vs City Effect

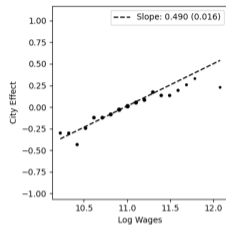
# City Effects: Other Countries



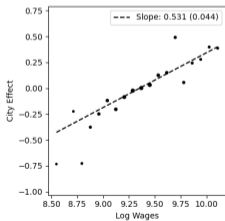
(a) United Kingdom



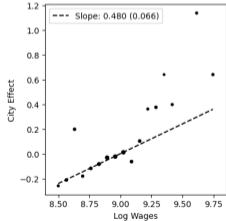
(b) Italy



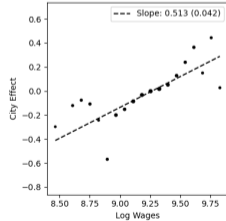
(c) Germany



(d) Mexico

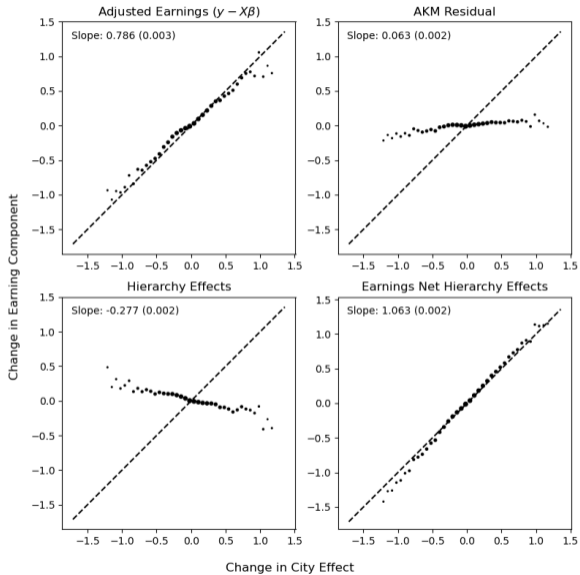


(e) Nigeria



(f) Philippines

# Hierarchy Effects



## Decomposition of Wage Differences: Global

	Below to Above Median (1)	Bottom to Top 25% (2)	Bottom to Top 5% (3)	Bangalore to San Francisco (4)	Var ( $\bar{y}_j$ ) (5)
Difference in Ln Wages	0.75	1.27	2.39	1.1	–
Difference due to City	0.65	1.07	2.05	1.02	–
Share due to City	0.87	0.84	0.86	0.93	0.93
Bounded Share					(0.75)

▶ Share Formula

## Decomposition of Wage Differences: United States

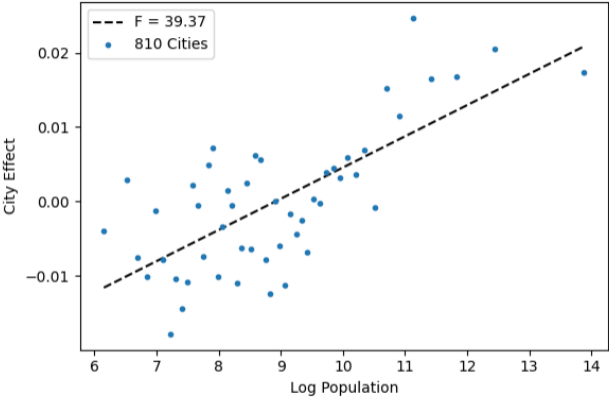
Panel A: United States	Below to Above Median (1)	Bottom to Top 25% (2)	Bottom to Top 5% (3)	San Diego to New York (4)	Var ( $\bar{y}_j$ ) (5)
Difference in Ln Wages	0.32	0.52	1.0	0.2	–
Difference due to City	0.14	0.24	0.45	0.04	–
Share due to City	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.22	0.51
Bounded Share					(0.41)

## Decomposition of Wage Differences: India

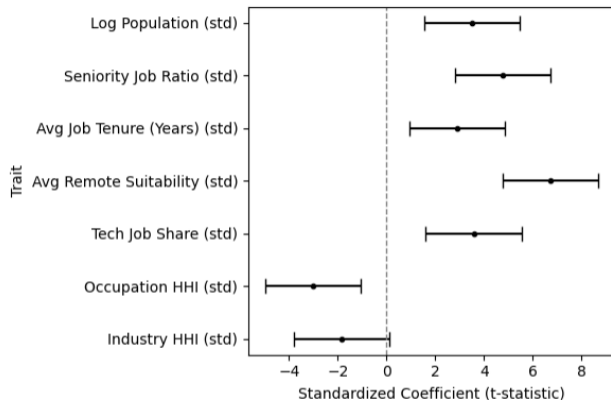
Panel A: India	Below to Above Median (1)	Bottom to Top 25% (2)	Bottom to Top 5% (3)	Kolkata to Bangalore (4)	Var ( $\bar{y}_j$ ) (5)
Difference in Ln Wages	0.26	0.44	0.84	0.13	–
Difference due to City	0.17	0.29	0.47	0.1	–
Share due to City	0.65	0.65	0.56	0.74	0.73
Bounded Share					(0.59)

## Part 2: City Characteristics

# Agglomeration



## Other Characteristics

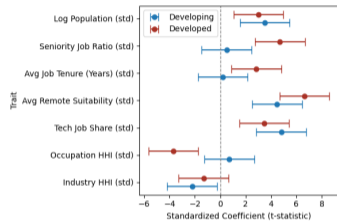


► Seniority

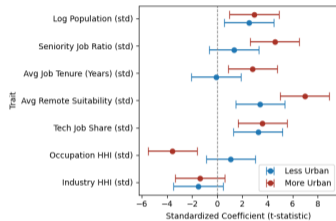
► Modern Firms

► Industrial Diversity

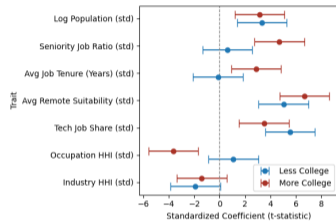
# By Country Status



(a) By Development Status

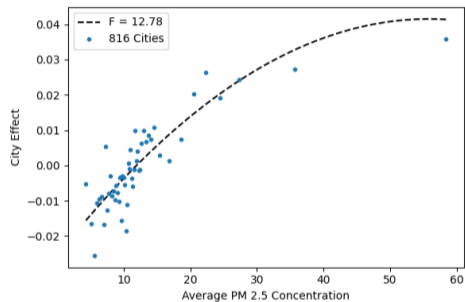


(b) By Urbanization Level

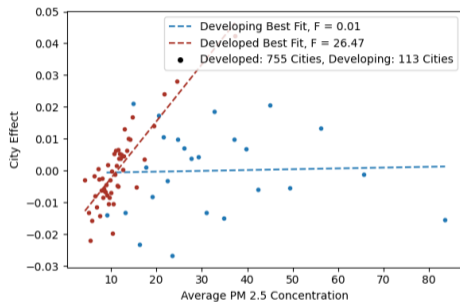


(c) By College Attainment

# Pollution

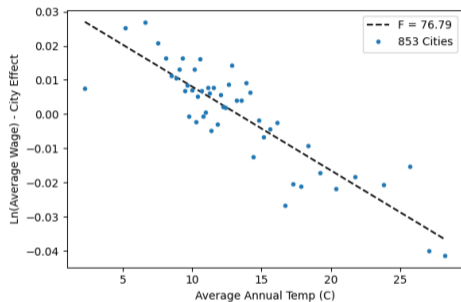


(a) Pollution

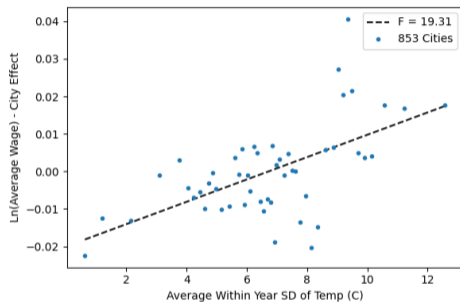


(b) Pollution by Dev. Status

# Amenities and Compensating Differentials

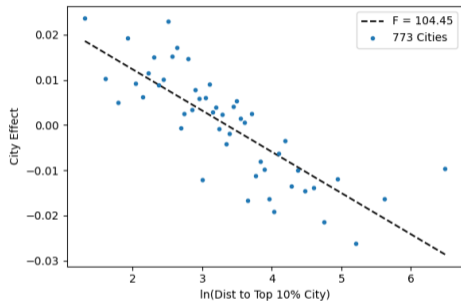


(a) Temperature Avg.

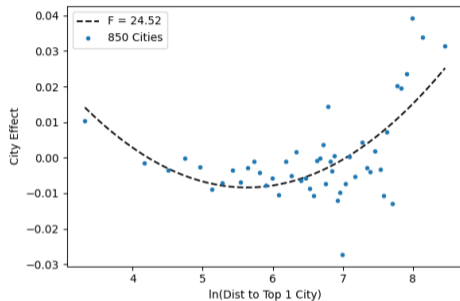


(b) Temperature St. Dev.

# Shadows



(a) Distance to Top 10% Effect City in Country



(b) Distance to Highest Effect City in Country

## Part 3: Allocation

# Allocation

- Two types:

# Allocation

- Two types:
  - **Between firms** within a city
    - Move from low- to high-productivity firms  $\implies$  higher city effect

# Allocation

- Two types:
  - Between firms within a city
    - Move from low- to high-productivity firms  $\implies$  higher city effect
  - **Between cities** within a country
    - Move from low- to high-productivity cities  $\implies$  higher national production

## Allocation Across Firms

- Olley and Pakes (1996): Decompose city effects into **mean effect** and **allocative effect**

# Allocation Across Firms

- Olley and Pakes (1996): Decompose city effects into mean effect and allocative effect

$$\Gamma_j = \sum_{j(f)=j} s_f \gamma_f$$

$s_f$ : Share of user-years at firm  $f$

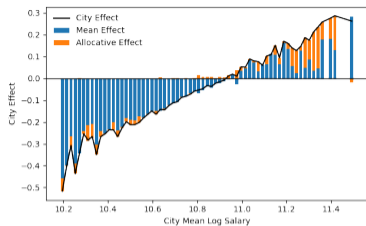
# Allocation Across Firms

- Olley and Pakes (1996): Decompose city effects into mean effect and allocative effect

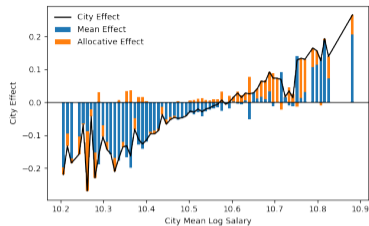
$$\Gamma_j = \sum_{j(f)=j} s_f \gamma_f = \underbrace{\bar{\gamma}_j}_{\text{Mean}} + \underbrace{\sum_{j(f)=j} (s_f - \bar{s}_j) (\gamma_f - \bar{\gamma}_j)}_{\text{Allocation}}$$

$s_f$ : Share of user-years at firm  $f$

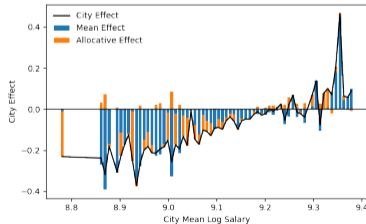
# Olley-Pakes Decomposition



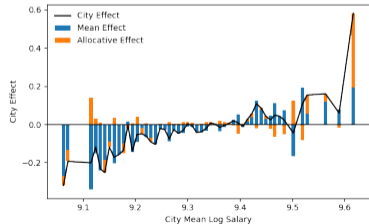
(a) United States



(b) United Kingdom

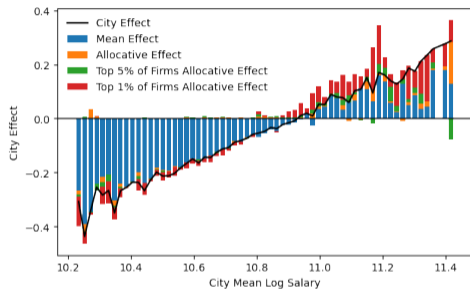


(c) India

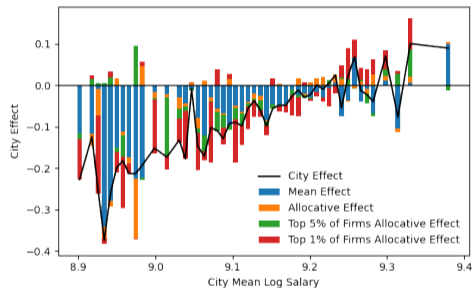


(d) Mexico

# Large Firms

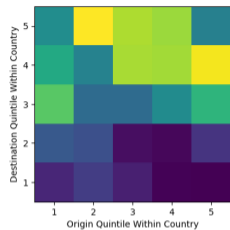


(a) United States

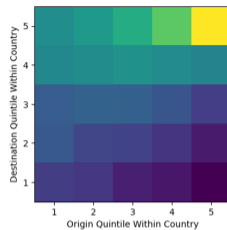


(b) India

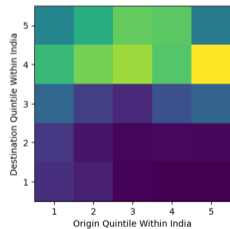
# City Effect Transition Matrices



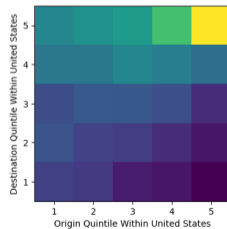
(a) Low Income Countries



(b) High Income Countries

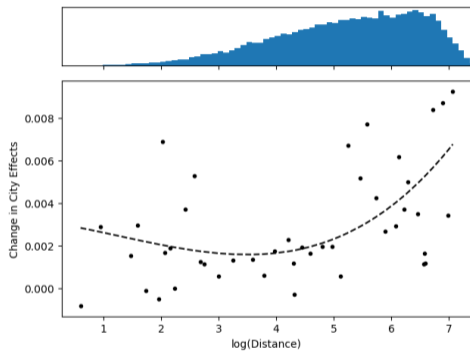


(c) India

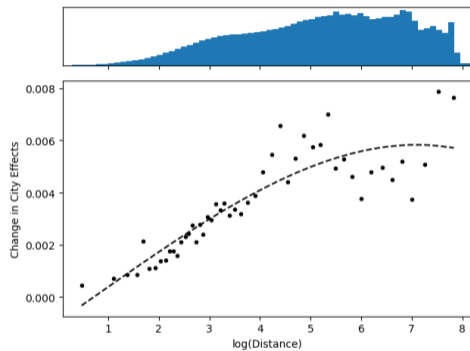


(d) United States

# Move Distances

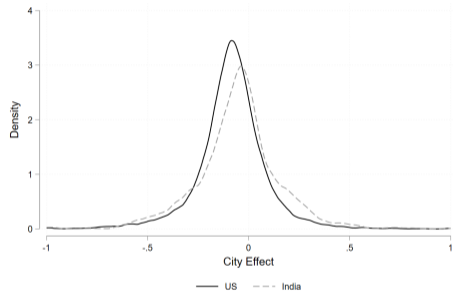


(a) Low Income Countries



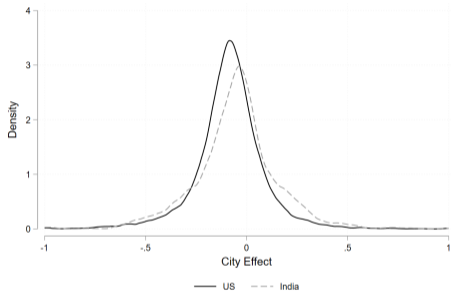
(b) High Income Countries

# Distribution

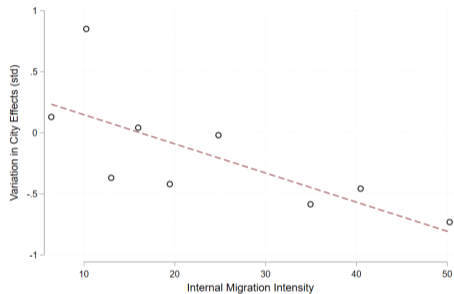


(a) City Effects Distribution

# Distribution



(a) City Effects Distribution



(b) Migration Intensity and City Effect Variation

# Reallocation

- What is the effect of reallocating workers in developing countries similar to developed countries?

# Reallocation

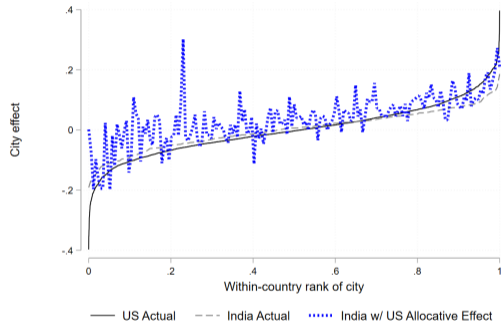
- What is the effect of reallocating workers in developing countries similar to developed countries?
- Perform quantification exercise moving workers in India to match US distribution

## Firm Allocation

Move workers so that Olley-Pakes allocation component is the same for similarly ranked cities

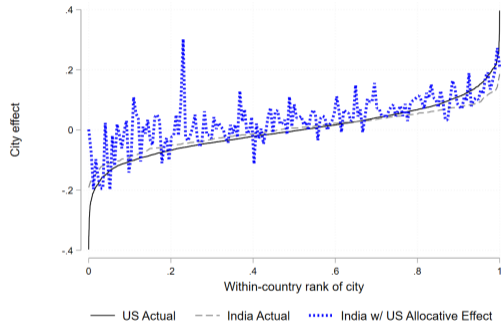
# Firm Allocation

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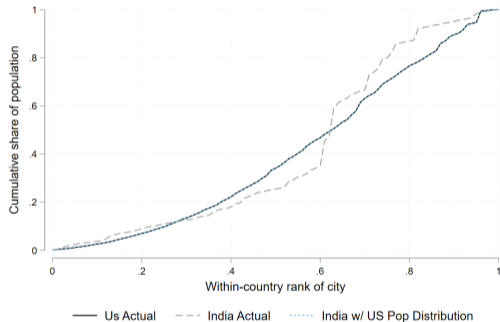
Average wages increase by **2.6%**

## City Allocation

Move workers so population CDF across city effect rank is the same

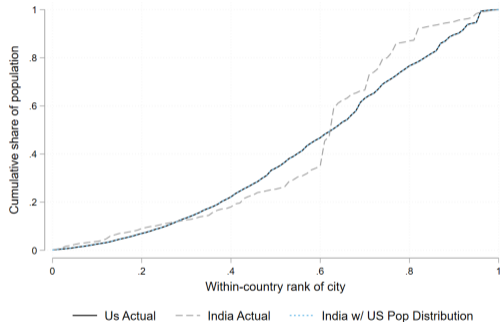
# City Allocation

Move workers so population CDF across city effect rank is the same



# City Allocation

Move workers so population CDF across city effect rank is the same



Average wages increase by **2.3%**

## Both

- Limited crowding out from doing both

# Both

- Limited crowding out from doing both
- Reallocation both within and across cities  $\implies$  Average wages increase by **4.3%**

# Punchline

- City effects are important for explaining wage differences between cities
  - Within a Country: Explain 45-73% of wage variation
  - Between Countries: Explain 93% of wage variation

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  - International Migrants: Move to the highest effect cities
  - Especially in developed countries

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  - Within a Country: Explain 45-73% of wage variation
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- People move to cities where they make more
  - Internal Migrants: Move to higher effect cities
  - International Migrants: Move to the highest effect cities
  - Especially in developed countries
- Developed countries have a more efficient allocation of workers than developing countries
  - Both **across firms** within cities and **across cities** within a country
  - Worker reallocation in developing countries leads to significant potential wage gains

Thanks!

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Olley, G. Steven, and Ariel Pakes. 1996. "The Dynamics of Productivity in the Telecommunications Equipment Industry." *Econometrica* 64 (6): 1263–1297. ISSN: 00129682, 14680262, accessed May 30, 2025.




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# Example LinkedIn Profile


## Experience + ✎

**Tobin Pre-Doctoral Fellow**  
Yale University · Full-time  
Aug 2020 - Jun 2021 · 11 mos  
New Haven, Connecticut, United States  
  
Research fellow under Professor Rohini Pande


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**Research Associate**  
NERA Economic Consulting  
Jul 2019 - Jul 2020 · 1 yr 1 mo  
Greater New York City Area


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**Research Assistant**  
Department of Economics, UC Berkeley  
May 2018 - May 2019 · 1 yr 1 mo  
Berkeley, California  
  
Evaluated the effects of unconditional direct cash transfers using data from a randomized control trial in Kenya (working with Professor Edward Miguel)

---

**Undergraduate Student Instructor**  
University of California, Berkeley  
Jan 2018 - May 2019 · 1 yr 5 mos  
  
Teaching Assistant for an intermediate Data Science course (Data Science 100)

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**Software Engineering Intern**  
NVIDIA  
May 2017 - Aug 2017 · 4 mos  
Santa Clara, CA  
  
Built tools to uncover performance bottlenecks in CUDA compiler and applications

# Example Bad LinkedIn Profile

## Experience



### Research Assistant

Yale University

Jun 2019 - Present · 5 yrs

New Haven, Connecticut



### Supplemental Instructor

Macalester College

Aug 2018 - May 2019 · 10 mos

Greater Minneapolis-St. Paul Area



### Farm Hand

Easy Bean Farm

May 2018 - Sep 2018 · 5 mos

Greater Minneapolis-St. Paul Area



### Macalester College

2 yrs 10 mos

Greater Minneapolis-St. Paul Area



#### Preceptor

Jan 2018 - May 2018 · 5 mos



#### Student Recycler

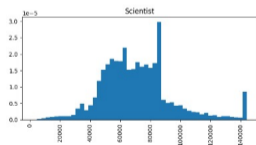
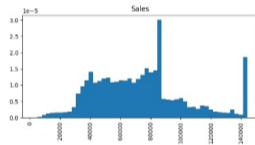
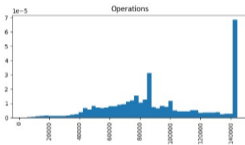
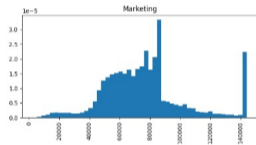
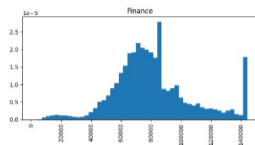
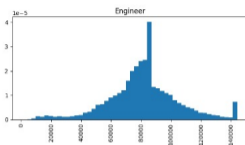
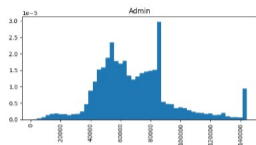
Aug 2015 - May 2018 · 2 yrs 10 mos

- Responsible for maintaining clean living area in dorms
- Ensures classrooms are orderly before each academic day
- Practices sustainable cleaning methods

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# Salary by Occupation (United States)

US Salary by Role Category



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## How Different Are Movers? (Full Sample)

	<b>Moved Firms</b>	<b>Moved Cities</b>	<b>Moved Countries</b>	<b>Not in Dataset</b>
Salary	43,415.65 (33,002.43)	51,043.42 (32,289.17)	47,830.56 (32,677.85)	48,420.13 (35,987.82)
NAICS Wage	51,848.30 (9,604.69)	52,026.82 (9,058.45)	52,275.66 (8,803.39)	47,883.93 (12,982.51)
ONET Wage	48,589.38 (13,172.00)	48,074.86 (12,567.75)	50,897.55 (13,431.65)	49,356.41 (15,439.86)
Seniority	2.48 (1.41)	2.39 (1.41)	2.63 (1.45)	2.67 (1.61)
Num. Users	5,241,672	3,638,898	783,360	193,900,336

*Notes:* Standard deviations in parentheses.

## How Different Are Movers? (United States)

	<b>Moved Firms</b>	<b>Moved Cities</b>	<b>Moved Countries</b>	<b>Not in Dataset</b>
Salary	63,753.10 (36,280.31)	64,052.72 (32,930.04)		63,831.08 (39,277.46)
NAICS Wage	64,218.43 (16,105.24)	65,085.95 (15,536.17)		59,351.19 (19,103.08)
ONET Wage	63,290.77 (23,966.32)	64,821.54 (23,522.72)		64,154.50 (26,599.89)
Seniority	2.43 (1.50)	2.38 (1.47)		2.64 (1.65)
Num. Users	1,644,316	1,708,471		66,721,565

*Notes:* Standard deviations in parentheses.

## How Different Are Movers? (India)

	<b>Moved Firms</b>	<b>Moved Cities</b>	<b>Moved Countries</b>	<b>Not in Dataset</b>
Salary	10,482.96 (3,254.26)	10,518.35 (3,445.25)		10,722.45 (4,939.91)
NAICS Wage	10,641.67 (1,508.29)	10,757.72 (1,420.27)		10,238.83 (2,050.60)
ONET Wage	10,482.93 (1,872.67)	10,636.35 (1,981.41)		10,806.14 (2,632.39)
Seniority	2.62 (1.18)	2.58 (1.23)		2.77 (1.45)
Num. Users	751,519	306,936		11,958,280

Notes: Standard deviations in parentheses.

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# Share Formulas

Share of wage differences explained by city effects:

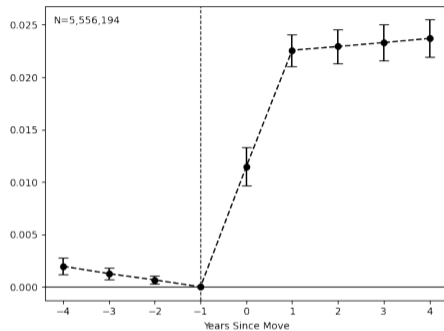
$$S(R, R') \equiv \frac{\Gamma_R - \Gamma_{R'}}{\bar{y}_R - \bar{y}_{R'}}$$

Share of variance in wages due to city effects:

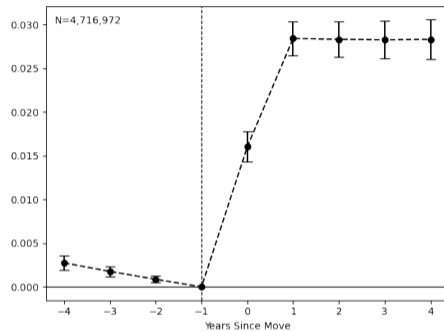
$$\Omega \equiv \frac{\text{Cov}(\Gamma_j, \bar{y}_j)}{\text{Var}(\bar{y}_j)}$$

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# Industry Score (Avg. log salary within NAICS code)



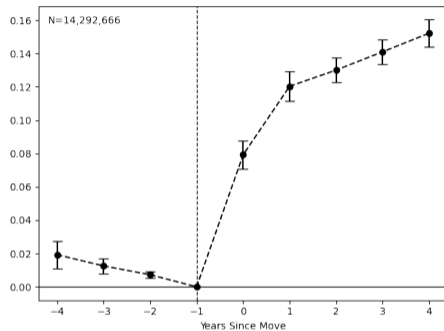
(a) All Moves



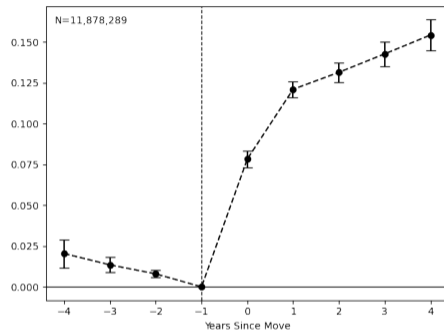
(b) Internal Moves

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# Occupation Score (Avg. log salary within O\*NET code)



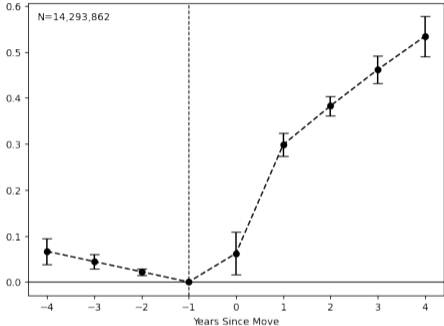
(a) All Moves



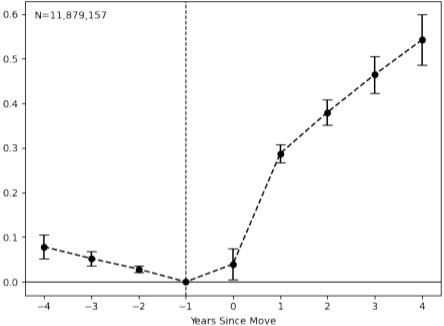
(b) Internal Moves

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# Seniority (1-5)



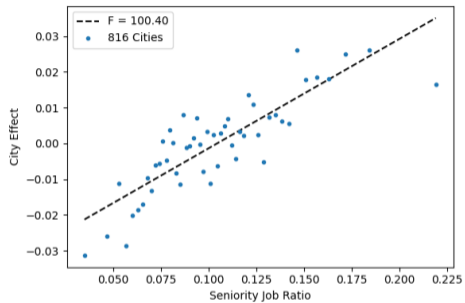
(a) All Moves



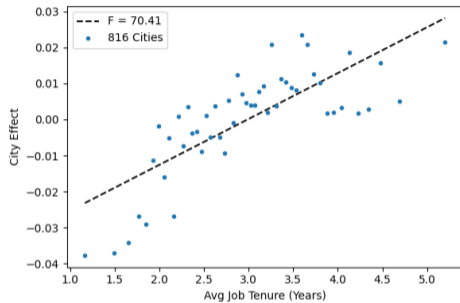
(b) Internal Moves

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# Seniority



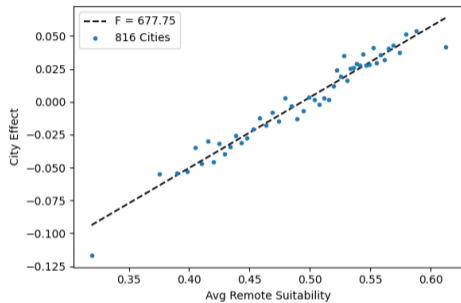
(a) Seniority Ratio



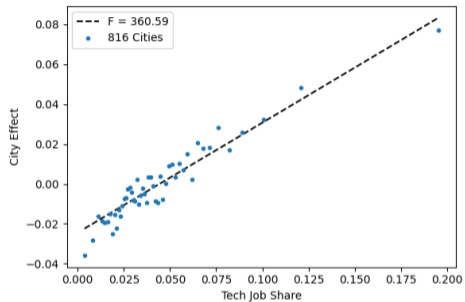
(b) Avg. Job Tenure

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# Modern Firms



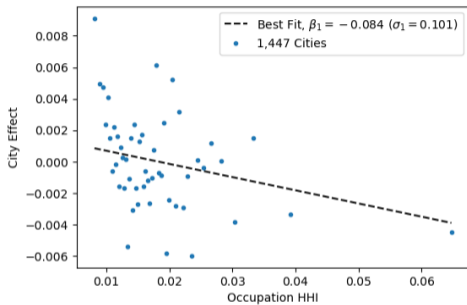
(a) Remote Suitability



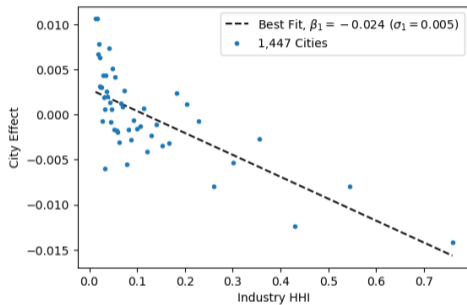
(b) Tech Jobs

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# Industrial Diversity



(a) Occupational Diversity



(b) Industrial Diversity

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