

Quality of Communications Infrastructure, Local Structural Transformation, and Inequality

Camilo Acosta ^{*}, Luis Baldomero-Quintana ^{†‡}

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Abstract

We document that improvements in the quality of communication infrastructure have a causal impact on employment, wage inequality, and industry composition of US counties. Our treatment is the quality of communication infrastructure in a county, measured by the average Internet speed offered to businesses. We use as an instrumental variable the connecting lines between ARPANET nodes. ARPANET was a network funded by the Department of Defense and it is considered as the precursor of the Internet; we retrieve information from this network from historical government documents. We show that faster Internet stimulates short-run growth and increases the shares of employment in high-skilled services, while negatively affecting sectors such as retail, accommodation and food services. Two mechanisms explain our results. First, input-output linkages since industries that require more ICT inputs increase drive the previous results. Second, a rise in high-skilled workers in ICT-intensive occupations. Our results are consistent with the Rybczynski theorem of the Hecksher-Ohlin-Vanek model and the presence of capital-skill complementarity for the case of computer equipment. Lastly, lower communication costs increase local earnings inequality across U.S. counties.

JEL Codes: H54, L86, O33, R12, R23

Keywords: communication costs, Internet, infrastructure, local structural transformation, Hecksher-Ohlin-Vanek model, history of technology

^{*}School of Finance, Economics, and Government, Universidad EAFIT, cacosta7@eafit.edu.co

[†]Department of Economics, William & Mary, labaldomeroqui@wm.edu

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You can see the computer age everywhere but in the productivity statistics

- Robert M. Solow

1 Introduction

Communications equipment differs from other types of infrastructure like roads or railroads. First, it facilitates the transmission of ideas. Second, it allows individuals to consume digital services produced in any location. Third, communication infrastructure allows a region to reduce communication costs with any location while roads or railroads reduce trade costs only between locations connected by such physical infrastructures.¹ The importance of communication infrastructure is such that U.S. lawmakers recently allocated 10 billion dollars of federal funds to improve telecommunication infrastructure ([The White House, 2022](#)). Nevertheless, it is unclear to what extent the quality of communication infrastructure impacts local economic outcomes, and whether it mattered only for early stages of the Internet in the 1990s or if its impact is still relevant today.

In this paper, we provide causal evidence that modern improvements in the quality of communication infrastructure induce local structural transformation in U.S. counties. To find our causal estimates, we use cross-sectional regressions at the county level in 2018 in which the quality of Internet offered to businesses is our main treatment, and our outcomes of interest are the counties' short-run GDP, payroll and employment growth, as well as employment and GDP sectoral shares. Our first set of findings shows that Internet speeds offered to businesses positively impact short-run GDP and employment growth. Our second set of results shows that better provision of Internet to firms shifts the regional economic structure towards high-skilled services, and away from other services such as retail, accommodation services, restaurants, and some finance sub-sectors. We also find important heterogeneous impacts of better Internet on employment and GDP shares within some specific sectors, such as finance, health, support services, retail and wholesale.

Our findings suggest that quality improvements in communications infrastructure cause local structural transformation. In particular, better telecommunication infrastructure favors industries that use intensively information and communication technology (ICT) inputs, and that hire intensively the type of workers that complement them. Moreover, we also observe an increase in the earnings of such workers; hence, our results are consistent with the Rybczynski theorem from the Hecksher-Ohlin-Vanek (HOV) model ([Rybczynski, 1955](#)). Our results on wages suggest that high-skilled workers sort into counties with lower communication costs, which leads to the observed output growth in sectors that hire these workers intensively.² Most previous tests of the HOV model as-

¹Consider regions i , j , and k . Regions i and j are adjacent while region k is far from both. Let trade costs between two locations be $\tau_{od} = t_o t_{od} t_d, \forall o, d \in \{i, j, k\}$ where $o \neq d$. A new road connecting i and j reduces trade costs τ_{ij} mainly through reductions in t_{ij} . Faster Internet in i reduces trade costs with both j and k via lower t_i .

²The Rybczynski theorem shows that higher endowments of one factor lead to a more than proportional ex-

sume that regions have identical production technologies; while such assumption is quite strong for cross-country comparisons, we consider that it is not that strong in a cross-county setting.

Obtaining causal estimates of the impact of telecommunications infrastructure on local economic outcomes is challenging. On one hand, counties with better amenities or higher productivity attract more college-educated workers and productive establishments (Glaeser et al., 2004), thus Internet Service Providers (ISPs) may offer better service in these locations. On the other hand, counties with low competition among ISPs may provide lower quality Internet, which may disincentivize establishments that need high-quality Internet to locate in these areas.

We circumvent these issues by using an instrumental variable approach. Our instrument is the distance of counties' centroids to the lines connecting ARPANET nodes,³ a military research network that was the backbone of Internet in its initial stage.⁴ These lines represent the telecommunications equipment that connected ARPANET nodes. To build our instrument, we digitized ARPANET maps from the 1970s and the 1980s using historical government reports. We also talked with Bob Kahn and Vint Cerf, two of the *fathers of the Internet*, who worked on the design of ARPANET.

Historical government reports help us document that the ARPANET structure satisfies the IV assumptions. First, the history of Internet supports the relevance of our instrument. From 1969 to the early 1980s, ARPANET's physical infrastructure (both the nodes and the lines connecting them) was the backbone of the Internet. Due to path dependence of infrastructure (Duranton et al., 2014; Duranton, 2015), the old Internet backbone is a good predictor of the modern Internet backbone, whose location is not public.⁵ Physical closeness to the modern Internet backbone allows ISPs to provide higher quality Internet at a lower cost.⁶ Our data supports the idea that locations closer to ARPANET lines have faster Internet offered to firms today.

Second, the instrument plausibly satisfies the exclusion restriction since the Department of Defense (DoD) decided the location of ARPANET based military needs, contracting relationships between

pansion of the output in the sector which uses such factor intensively, and a decline of the output of the sector that does not use such factor intensively (Rybaczynski, 1955).

³In computer networks, a node is a connection point in a network that is a processing device with an assigned address, as a router, computer terminal, peripheral device, or mobile device, (Encyclopedia.com, 2022).

⁴A backbone of a network is a high speed network that connects low-speed local networks. A national backbone of the Internet refers to the high speed network infrastructure that connects local networks in cities, companies, universities, among other, across the country and the globe.

⁵There are two reasons for this. First, the information belongs to private companies since the Internet backbone equipment is maintained by private top tier networks that provide service to last-mile Internet service providers (Xfinity, Comcast, etc.). Second, the Internet backbone location is of national security interest. Think tanks have lobbied to safeguard the transatlantic cables that form the worldwide Internet backbone (Wall, 2021).

⁶The modern Internet backbone requires underground fiber optic infrastructure protected by a external layer called raceway or conduit. Installing fiber network in general (for a city or for a national backbone) requires planning and costs for the underground construction. But the closer a county is to existing fiber network, the lower the underground construction costs since the level of underground construction is lower.

the DoD and academics, and characteristics of computer science departments. Commercial companies did not influence ARPANET spatial location. Moreover, we exclude counties with ARPANET nodes from our sample and our instrument only uses the connecting ARPANET lines. We expect our instrument to satisfy the exogeneity assumption since current productivity and amenities of counties are unlikely to be related to whether ARPANET lines are routed through these counties. This is because a straight line is the least cost way to connect two locations with physical infrastructure (roads, cables, etc.). Our data confirms that the presence of an ARPANET line in a county is uncorrelated with its share of high-skilled services in the 1970s, which also supports the exogeneity assumption. Lastly, our results are also robust to dropping from our sample counties from six major metropolitan areas in the country, including three California tech hubs (Boston, Washington DC, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, and San Jose).

Our instrument builds on the works of [Forman et al. \(2012\)](#) and [Jiang \(2022\)](#). [Forman et al. \(2012\)](#) uses ARPANET nodes as an instrument for counties' private investment on Internet to analyze how these investment impacted wages of U.S. counties between 1995 and 2000. Their instrument is weak because nodes were scarce and investment is lumpy. We make adjustments to their strategy improving the strength of the instrument. First, we used the lines that connected the nodes as an IV and do not consider counties with these nodes. Second, our treatment is the quality of Internet provision rather than investment, a more continuous variable. We produce a strong instrument that can be used for any cross-sectional analysis of how Internet impacts economic, social or political outcomes at the county level.

Similarly, [Jiang \(2022\)](#) uses as treatment the NSFNET nodes in the late 1980s, combined with the Internet privatization in 1995, to analyze how access to Internet affects the spatial structure of manufacturing firms. Informed by historical factors, we chose ARPANET lines instead of NSFNET nodes to address several biases in our empirical framework. The history of Internet indicates that NSFNET nodes are likely correlated with local productivity in the 1970s due to the financial incentive structure of the National Science Foundation (NSF), while ARPANET nodes are not since the location of the latter was driven only by military interests ([Abbate, 2000](#); [DARPA, 1981](#); [Hauben et al., 1998](#); [Leiner et al., 1997](#)). Nevertheless, our approach does not contradict the identification strategy of [Jiang \(2022\)](#), since her unit of observation is the firm, while we use local aggregates.⁷ Thus, our IV is ideal for cross-county analysis.

We analyze three mechanisms: industry linkages, sorting of ICT-driven high-skilled worker, and

⁷Correlation between the location of NSFNET nodes and county productivity does not represent an identification issue for [Jiang \(2022\)](#). First, her regressions use outcomes for manufacturing firms, whose location determinants are probably unrelated to ICTs before the mid-1990s. Second, her framework requires changes between two spatial equilibria in the internal organization of manufacturing firms. Her empirical framework satisfies these assumptions. If researchers were to use her identification strategy to analyze the internal organization of services firms or county level outcomes, some adjustments to her empirical framework would be necessary.

higher earnings inequality. First, better Internet quality benefits sectors with strong dependence on ICT-inputs and workers who use them. But the impacts of faster Internet on sectors with low dependence on ICT inputs and workers associated with them are negative or statistically insignificant. Second, we find that faster Internet in a county increases the number of workers in occupations related to ICTs, such as management, business and finance, office and administrative support, engineering, and computer sciences. Interestingly, the sectors that benefit the most from higher quality of Internet provision benefit from higher abundance of workers who are in ICT-related occupations. Finally, we show that this sorting is accompanied by an increase in earnings inequality as faster Internet in a county leads to higher earnings for high-skilled workers without affecting lower-skilled workers.

Our work has implications for public expenditures on infrastructure. They suggest that subsidies to improve Internet access can induce changes in the regional economic structure. Advanced and developing nations have used public funds to Internet quality. Some examples include Canada ([Government of Canada, 2019](#)), the United States ([The White House, 2022](#)), Germany ([European Commission, 2022](#)), United Kingdom ([Hutton, 2022](#)), Colombia ([Gobierno de Colombia, 2022](#)), and Brazil ([Governo Federal do Brasil, 2020](#)).

Our findings relate to three concepts from the international trade literature. First, our results are in line with the Rybczynski theorem predictions from the HOV model: a rise in the endowment of a factor increases the output of the sector that uses the factor intensively, while the production of the other sector falls. We find that counties with faster Internet have more college-educated workers and a larger share of workers who are engineers, managers, and computer science professionals. Such counties have higher economic activity in industries that employ intensively workers with college education or in the aforementioned occupations. Differently, sectors that employ these professionals less intensively have smaller sectoral shares (e.g., wholesale, truck transportation, branch banks, and food services). Second, our empirical results relate to capital skill complementarity as the use of better Internet is likely to induce firms to invest in ICT-related capital, since more advanced Internet technologies may require newer devices. This ICT-related capital could be a complement for high-skilled workers, which could become more productive in their tasks. Third, our empirical results show the impact of globalization on local inequality. We find that high-skilled workers benefit more in a county that has access to a better Internet.

Literature review. We relate to the literature that explores the impacts of infrastructure on local outcomes ([Coşar et al., 2022](#); [Duranton et al., 2014](#); [Duranton, 2015](#); [Gertler et al., 2022](#)). First, [Coşar et al. \(2022\)](#) show that upgrades in a road system increase trade flows and manufacturing employment. Second, [Duranton et al. \(2014\)](#) find that a road national system drives U.S. cities to trade heavy goods, while [Duranton \(2015\)](#) documents that major roads induce Colombian cities to

trade light goods. Third, [Gertler et al. \(2022\)](#) show that road maintenance increases local welfare in Indonesia. We complement the previous work by analyzing local industry composition and inequality, and by focusing on communications infrastructure rather than roads.

Our study relates to well-known tests of the HOV model using aggregate economic data ([Leontief, 1953](#); [Bowen et al., 1986](#); [Trefler, 1995](#); [Davis and Weinstein, 2001](#)). A notable difference with respect to previous studies is that our test uses regional outcomes. Hence, the assumption that production technology is the same across U.S. counties is less restrictive than in cross-country comparisons. Our work also relates to recent work on how both technological change and trade increase the use of capital that complements high-skilled workers, thus impacting inequality. This work includes structural models ([Burstein et al., 2013](#); [Parro, 2013](#)) and empirical evidence on developing nations ([Verhoogen, 2008](#)). We add to the previous literature by providing causal estimates of how ICT-related capital impacts local inequality in U.S. regions.

The closest study to our work is [Michaels \(2008\)](#), who finds that the construction of the Interstate Highway System induced changes in the demand for skilled labor in skilled-abundant counties in the US due to higher trade flows. His results are consistent with predictions of the HOV model. We complement his work by studying a continuous measure of communication infrastructure, rather than a single road infrastructure project. Interestingly, [Michaels \(2008\)](#) does not find conclusive evidence that the construction of the highway system changed the local industrial composition, but we do find that communication infrastructure changes it. Moreover, we show that infrastructure can have different effects within the same broad sector, as are the cases of finance and health services.

We relate to the economic geography literature that explores how infrastructure affects sectoral specialization at the regional level using structural models ([Fajgelbaum and Redding, 2022](#); [Sotelo, 2020](#); [Baldomero-Quintana, 2022](#)). Other papers consider how infrastructure affects welfare outcomes of regions overall leaving aside the sectoral impacts ([Alder, 2016](#); [Allen and Arkolakis, 2022](#); [Allen and Atkin, 2016](#); [Asturias et al., 2019](#); [Bonadio, 2016](#); [Donaldson, 2018](#); [Donaldson and Hornbeck, 2016](#); [Faber, 2014](#)). We complement this literature by providing causal evidence that infrastructure quality impacts local specialization without assuming strong functional forms.

We relate to work in spatial economics on the effects of communication costs and ICT. This includes work on ICT and agglomeration ([Charlot and Duranton, 2006](#); [Gaspar and Glaeser, 1998](#); [Glaeser and Ponzetto, 2007](#); [Malecki, 2002](#); [Lin, 2011](#); [Zook, 2002](#)); Internet and real estate prices ([Ahlfeldt et al., 2017](#); [Ford et al., 2005a](#); [Dietzel, 2016](#); [Beracha and Wintoki, 2013](#)); and communication and innovation ([Carlino et al., 2007](#); [Kantor and Whalley, 2019](#); [Rosenblat and Mobius, 2004](#)). We complement this literature by focusing on Internet and local economic structure.

Recent work has explored how communication costs impact firms' entry, performance and structure (Arfi and Hikkerova, 2021; Acosta and Lyngemark, 2020; Beem, 2022; Forman and Van Zeebroeck, 2012; DeStefano et al., 2022; Jiang, 2022; Marinoni and Roche, 2022), and trade flows (Fink et al., 2005; Allen, 2014; Freund and Weinhold, 2004; Blum and Goldfarb, 2006; Breinlich and Criscuolo, 2011; Juhász and Steinwender, 2018; Steinwender, 2018; Cristea, 2011). We complement these studies in two ways. First, we document empirically that the quality of communications infrastructure (intensive margin), and not only access (extensive margin), impacts local economic outcomes. Second, we study regional economic specialization, while previous work focuses on trade or firm outcomes.

We share similarities with Forman et al. (2012) and Jiang (2022), even though our research questions differ substantially. Forman et al. (2012) focuses on the impacts of private Internet investment on local labor markets in the late 1990s. They find no impacts. Our findings differ since we analyze a different period of study, when Internet is a highly adopted technology that experienced major changes after the 2000s.⁸ Our study is related to Jiang (2022), who finds that the spatial organization of manufacturing firms changes when firms can access Internet after 1995. Our results complement hers since we find that counties with better Internet have higher manufacturing and service activity in specific sub-sectors.

The rest of the paper proceeds as follows. In Section 2, we document the history of Internet. Such historical context informs our empirical strategy. In Section 3, we describe our data and present descriptive statistics. Section 4 presents our empirical model, including our identification strategy. In Section 5 we present the results of the paper, together with the two mechanisms proposed that can explain such results. Section 6 concludes.

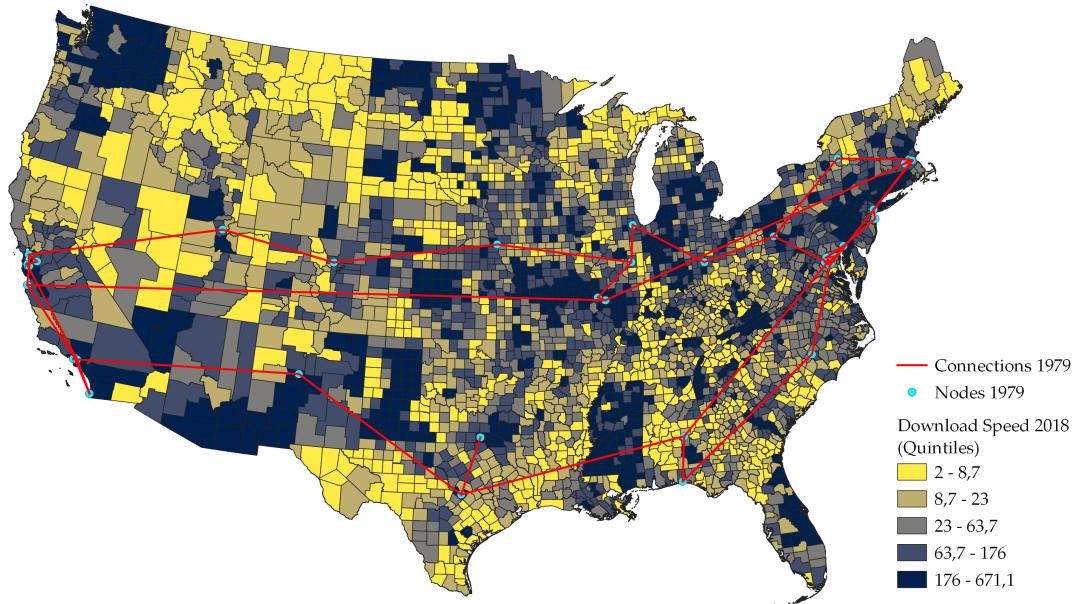
2 Context: The History of Internet

In this section we document the origins of the Internet. We provide information on ARPANET, the first network to operate as the Internet backbone. We also present facts about the National Sciences Foundation network, NSFNET, which took over the functions of ARPANET in the late 1980s. Our historical context supports the idea that the location of ARPANET nodes and connecting lines is exogenous to county productivity while NSFNET nodes are not. In addition, we document that ARPANET network was the first backbone. Thus, it is a good predictor of Internet speeds in the

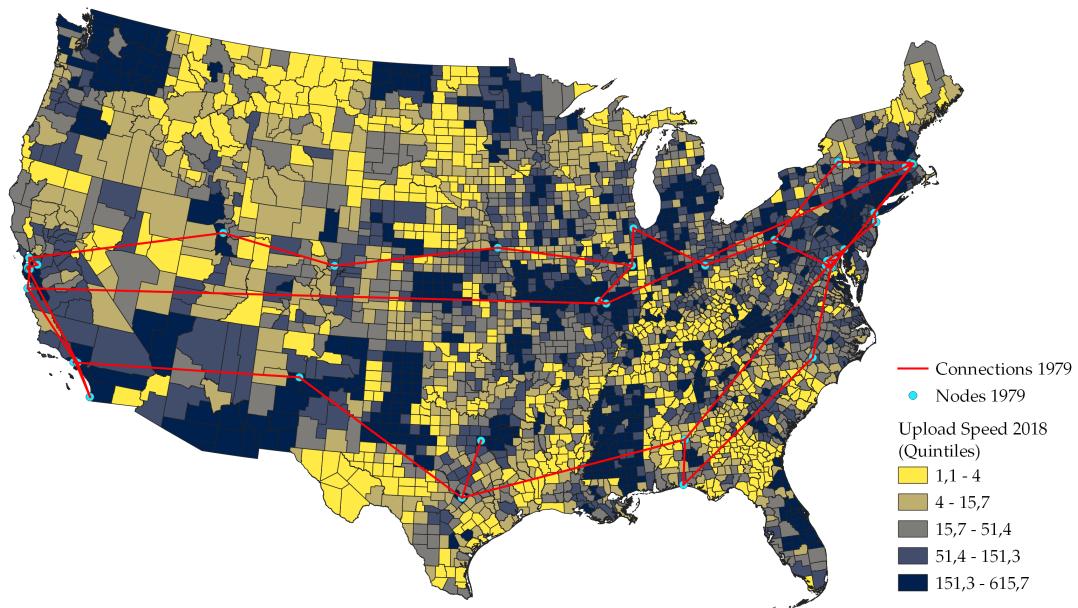
⁸First, speed increased exponentially since the 2000s. Connections used in the 1990s were based on dial-up with download and upload speeds of at most 56 kbps. The average speeds in US counties in 2018 are between 2 and 671.1 Mbps for download, and between 1.1 and 615.7 mpbs for upload. If we consider the lower bounds, speeds are 17 to 35 times faster in 2018 relative to dial-up technology. Second, social media and better search engines changed markets (Dietzel, 2016; Beracha and Wintoki, 2013; Ford et al., 2005b; Oestmann and Bennöhr, 2015), Amazon transformed retail (Cavallo, 2018), and video modified working patterns (Dingel and Neiman, 2020).

Figure 1: ARPANET Connections in 1979 and 2018 Internet Speeds

Panel A: Download Internet speeds offered to businesses



Panel B: Upload Internet speeds offered to businesses



Note: these figures show the mean download and upload speeds offered by Internet service providers to businesses in every U.S. continental county (i.e., different from the Internet service offered to households). Blue counties belong to the top quintile, while yellow counties are in the lowest quintile. The figures also display the ARPANET nodes and lines (which represent the connections between nodes) for April 1979. Source: FCC and [Cerf and Khan \(1990\)](#).

U.S. as Figure 1 shows.

Origin of ARPANET. ARPANET was a research project financed and developed by DARPA, a research office of the DoD. DARPA's objective was to create a network that connected military computers. Two factors drove the financing of the project. First, the DoD had a strong interest in financing research after the Soviet Union launched its first satellite, the Sputnik. Second, the DoD wanted to lower administrative costs by allowing its computers to share data. In the early 1960s, the DoD had thousands of computers operating autonomously without any connection, which generated large costs since all data files and software had to be reprogrammed in every device. In addition, military personnel had to be trained to use devices from different manufacturers. These costs doubled the DoD's budget for software creation and maintenance (DARPA, 1981).

DARPA hired a reputable computer science researcher to build a computer network: Dr. J.C.R. Licklider. He proposed a novel idea at the time: use of computers to improve human communication (Licklider and Taylor, 1968). In the 1960s, computing firms and most U.S. academics focused on improving the speed of computers to complete tasks, a concept known as batch processing (Hardy, 1980). This situation incentivized Dr. Licklider to shift all research computer research contracts away from private companies and towards academic departments interested mainly in computer network research. Thus, DARPA established DoD contracting relationships with some computer research departments at U.S. universities. Consequently, commercial interests played no role in the design and development of ARPANET (DARPA, 1981).

The main idea behind ARPANET and the Internet was to connect independent local networks (DARPA, 1981; Leiner et al., 1997): if one local network was lost, the system continued working. ARPANET demanded novel technological resources: a specific software to define a protocol (set of rules for data transmission) and equipment to guarantee the stability and delay of a network (the time for a signal to traverse a network). During the late 1960s, prior to the first ARPANET connection in 1969, DARPA researchers focused on solving these technical issues. Notably, the existing telephone infrastructure was insufficient for ARPANET.⁹ The first four ARPANET nodes were connected in 1969. These nodes were research centers with DoD contracts and were chosen due to specific technical expertise.¹⁰ The network was declared fully operational in 1971. Figure A-1 presents the original description of the network as described by Vint Cerf and Bob Kahn (two ARPANET researchers that are part of the list of the *fathers of the Internet*) in 1969.

In the 1970s, ARPANET required DoD's resources and well-coordinated frontier engineering ex-

⁹In 1966-1967, an MIT laboratory and the military contractor SDC in Santa Monica, CA, connected two computers using the existing telephone circuit technology. The experiment proved that existing telephone infrastructure was insufficient to establish a good quality network (Hauben et al., 1998; Leiner et al., 1997).

¹⁰These four nodes correspond to the University of California—Los Angeles, University of California—Santa Barbara, Stanford Research Institute, and the University of Utah.

pertise (DARPA, 1981; Hauben et al., 1998; Leiner et al., 1997). Academic researchers solved novel engineering issues frequently. Researchers working on ARPANET collaborated intensively even if they belonged to different universities and their engineering documentation was open (Leiner et al., 1997).¹¹ Thus, the location of ARPANET nodes also depended on the work style of computer science departments: uncooperative computer science departments were less likely to be a part of ARPANET.

To summarize, three factors influenced the location of ARPANET nodes. First, in the 1970s only universities with DoD contracts were connected to ARPANET (Abbate, 2000). Second, universities with a research agenda focusing on networks were more likely to participate in ARPANET, while computer science departments that focused on batch processing—predominant across U.S. universities—were unlikely to participate in the network (Hauben et al., 1998). Third, collaborative computer science departments were more likely to join the project. Thus, we conclude that the location of ARPANET nodes in the 1970s was driven by factors unique to national defense and computer science departments (DARPA, 1981).

From ARPANET to NSFNET. In the early 1980s, only nodes related to national defense computing research or operations were connected to the Internet. The situation was different in the late 1980s: the backbone was transferred from military to civilian control, and Internet users included universities, private companies and federal agencies (Abbate, 2000). Five events influenced this change. First, DoD created a separate military computing network in 1983, MILNET. Afterward, ARPANET did not transmit military data, although some military research centers were connected to the network for scientific purposes. Second, NSF founded NSFNET, a national network of regional academic networks. Third, DARPA and NSF collaborated to connect ARPANET and NSFNET. Fourth, NSF encouraged NSFNET regional networks to provide Internet service to commercial companies. Fifth, ARPANET transferred the role as backbone of Internet to NSFNET in 1988, and was decommissioned in 1990 (Abbate, 2000; Leiner et al., 1997).

During the 1980s ARPANET opened its network to more academic centers.¹² DARPA wanted more academics to use the technology, and transferred the backbone responsibilities to another group (DARPA, 1981). In 1981, a consortium of universities requested a grant from the NSF to create CSNET, an academic network implemented between 1981 and 1984. In 1981, DARPA signed a cooperative agreement with CSNET to share ARPANET's infrastructure (McKenzie and Walden, 1991; Leiner et al., 1997). To connect to CSNET, NSF agreed to provide resources, but

¹¹ARPANET's technical notes about engineering network design were key for the network's success. The notes were open to the public even if the DoD financed the network (Leiner et al., 1997; Hauben et al., 1998). Collaboration and open documentation helped ARPANET researchers to develop fast solutions for engineering issues.

¹²The Internet is *de facto* a network of local networks. It is divided in three tiers. The upper tier is considered a backbone because it reaches all local networks.

each university or research center would independently manage their internal network.

In 1985 NSF started building NSFNET, a national network that connected regional networks created by universities¹³. NSFNET was built onto the CSNET infrastructure. The new network created a two-tier system: NSFNET regional networks, and a national backbone network connecting them. The construction of NSFNET took three years (Abbate, 2000). In 1986, NSF and DARPA made an agreement to guarantee that ARPANET and the regional NSF networks had interoperability (Leiner et al., 1997). Later, in 1987, the NSF reached an agreement to use ARPANET resources to connect regional networks, in exchange for sharing ARPANET's operating costs (Abbate, 2000). The NSFNET national network started functions in 1988.

Determinants of the location of NSFNET. The NSFNET regional networks (nodes) were subject to commercial interests due to the incentives imposed by the NSF during its creation. First, the regional networks had to be financially autonomous within three years of receiving funding. Second, NSF encouraged regional networks to find commercial clients (Leiner et al., 1997). Although Federal law prohibited commercial companies to use the NSF national backbone (U.S. Congress, 1992), private companies could connect to regional networks (Leiner et al., 1997; McKenzie and Walden, 1991). This scheme was implemented as the NSF had the objective that private firms would create national networks (Leiner et al., 1997). Although commercial networks emerged, no national private backbone appeared until the privatization of NSFNET in 1995.

The NSF financing scheme implied that only universities (or groups of institutions) would create a regional network or node in a region if they had economies of scale. A university could reach economies of scale if it had productive firms nearby, the institution was large, or the college had other institutions nearby. Such factors are plausibly correlated with the productivity of regions. Thus, the presence of NSFNET nodes and local productivity could be correlated.

NSFNET as Internet backbone and its privatization. In the late 1980s, the growth of Internet users made ARPANET physical infrastructure obsolete as Internet backbone. Thus, DARPA planned the decommissioning of the network and NSFNET overtook ARPANET as the Internet backbone (McKenzie and Walden, 1991; Abbate, 2000). The protocol designed by Vint Cerf and Robert Kahn for ARPANET made the transition smooth (TCP/IP). Between 1988 and 1989, DARPA sites transferred their host connections from ARPANET to NSFNET, and in February 1990 ARPANET was officially decommissioned (Abbate, 2000). Independent commercial networks began to grow in the 1980s and 1990s due to the NSFNET regional network' services provided to

¹³The regional networks were BARRNET for the San Francisco Area, MIDNET in the Midwest, WESNET in the Rocky Mountain region, USAN for those research centers connected to the National Center for Atmospheric Research, NORTHWESTNET in the Northwest, NYSERNET in the New York state area, SESQUINET in Texas, SURANET in the Southeast. NSFNET also connected large computer centers in San Diego, University of Illinois, and Pittsburgh.

private firms ([Abbate, 2000](#)). In 1995, the NSF transferred the NSF national backbone to private companies. [Harris and Gerich \(1996\)](#) documents the technical details of this transition.

The history of Internet allows us to reach three conclusions, which will be helpful for our empirical strategy. First, ARPANET was not influenced by commercial interests, rather by military ones. Second, the location of nodes was driven by DoD contracts, and the research agenda and work philosophies of computer science departments in the 1960s and 1970s. Third, NSFNET regional networks were influenced by commercial interests. Thus, NSFNET nodes are likely to be correlated with local productivity, while ARPANET nodes and the lines connecting them are not.

3 Data

Our data comes from four main sources: the US Census Bureau, the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA), the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), and historical maps created by the DARPA office at the DoD. In this subsection we describe in more detail each of these data sources. Afterward, we show some descriptive statistics for the main variables of interest.

Internet data. To capture current the quality of the Internet offered to businesses, we use data from the FCC for 2014 and 2018.¹⁴ These data come from FCC's Form 477, which must be filled by all broadband providers twice a year to report the list of census blocks in which they offer a particular technology ([Federal Communications Commission, 2019](#)). Therefore, the data contain for each census block, a list of all Internet providers, together with the offered technology of transmission to firms (e.g., cable model, xDSL, fiber, fixed wireless, etc.), the maximum advertised download and upload speeds/bandwidth (for consumers) and the maximum contractual download and upload speeds/bandwidth (for businesses) for each technology.¹⁵ From these data, we keep only those providers and technologies offered to businesses, which we use to compute the mean and the median download and upload speeds for each county.

Current Economic Activity. We use employment counts and aggregate payroll by county and sector from the Census Bureau's 2014 and 2018 County Business Patterns (CBP). The CBP includes

¹⁴We use this period for three reasons. First, the FCC started publishing these data in December 2014, hence we cannot obtain Internet speed measures at the county level from the FCC before this year. Second, when we downloaded the data on early September, 2022, some Internet technologies were missing in the 2019 FCC files. Our hypotheses are that there were either changes in their methodology or pending updates in the data. Since we did not find any documented reason for these missing data, we do not use data from 2019. Third, we avoid using data for 2020 as the COVID-19 pandemic substantially altered the demand and supply of Internet due to the boom of working from home. In addition, the local economic structure was also impacted by the pandemic, since some services sector were negatively impacted and manufacturing industries experienced a boom in 2020-2021, while the opposite occurred in 2021-2022. Thus, we chose 2018 as our base year.

¹⁵Download speed corresponds to the speed used to download data from a server to a computer in the form of text, files, audio, images, videos, etc. On the other hand, upload speed refers to how fast can information be sent (in the form of text, audio, images, etc.) from a computer to another device connected to the Internet.

the number of establishments and employment for every county during the second week of March, as well as the annual payroll. We compute the average wage within counties as the ratio between annual payroll and total employment. The CBP data also contain information by NAICS (North America Industry Classification System) sector, up to 6-digits. However, due to confidentiality restrictions, a data point is only published if it contains at least three establishments. Thus, to minimize the number of missing values arising from these restrictions, we use sectoral data at the 2- and 3-digit NAICS code.¹⁶ For each sector, we compute the share of employment and payroll in each sector within each county. Such shares represent a proxy that measures the level of industrial specialization or composition of the county. We complement these data with information on each county's GDP in 2018 (total and by 2-digit NAICS code) from the BEA.

ARPANET. For our instrumental variable, we digitized images of decommissioned DoD documents that contained ARPANET maps. In 1990, Vint Cerf and Robert Kahn (Internet pioneers) collected these maps and published them in the Journal of the Association for Computing Machinery ([Cerf and Khan, 1990](#)), and are only available in the physical version of the journal. These maps include the abbreviated name and the location of the nodes, and the lines connecting them, which represent the infrastructure connecting ARPANET nodes. As the name of the nodes is not available in the journal (only their abbreviation), we used DoD historical reports and other historical sources to find the exact address of some of the nodes ([Network Information Center, SRI International, 1978; DARPA, 1981; Hauben et al., 1998](#)). We also talked with Vint Cerf and Bob Kahn, who shared their knowledge about the ARPANET network, including the names and location of those nodes whose information was not in historical government reports. Figure 2 shows the original and the digitized maps for 1979. Using the exact location of the nodes and their connecting lines, we compute the minimum distance between each county's centroid and one of the lines, together with an indicator variable that equals 1 if a county contains a node (and 0 otherwise), and another that equals 1 if a line is routed through it.

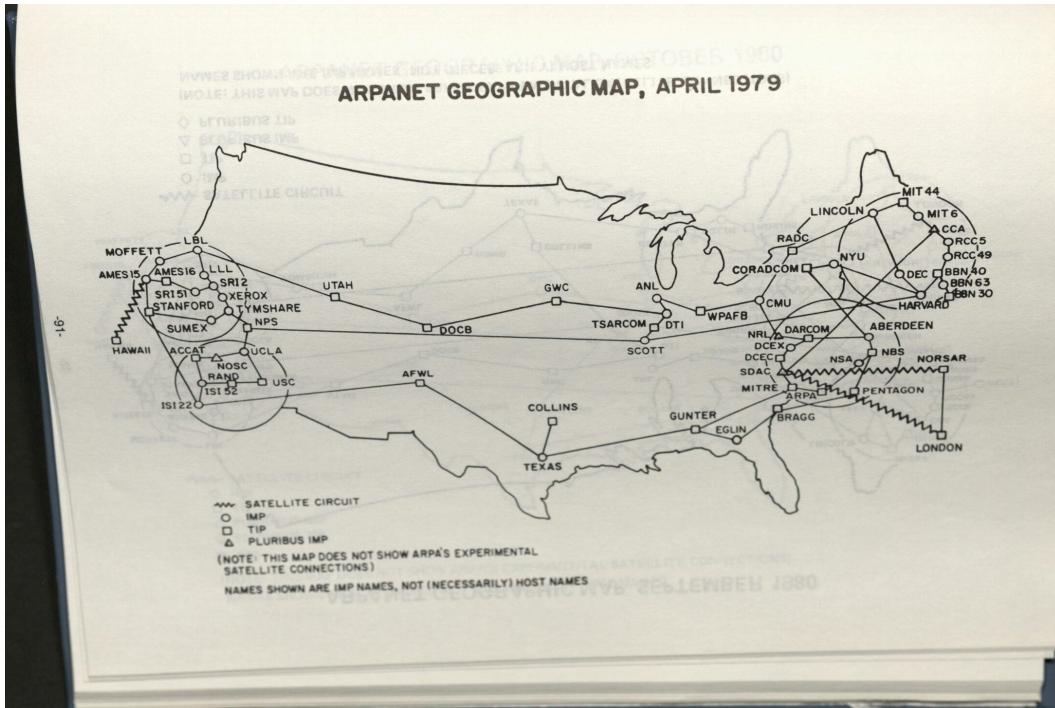
Other variables. We also gather different geographic and economic characteristics of each county. First, we include dummy variables for counties on the Canadian or Mexican border, or along a coast (oceanic or Great Lakes). Second, we compute the average elevation in each county, its land and water area, as measures of physical geography affecting the structure of ARPANET and modern Internet provision. Third, we compute a measure of market access as the distance of each county to the centroid of the nearest Metropolitan Statistical Area as in [Michaels \(2008\)](#). Finally, we compute population density in 2018 and population growth between 2014 and 2018, similar to the growth rates computed above. These variables are our control variables.

Descriptive statistics. In Table 1, we present the average and median values for some of the

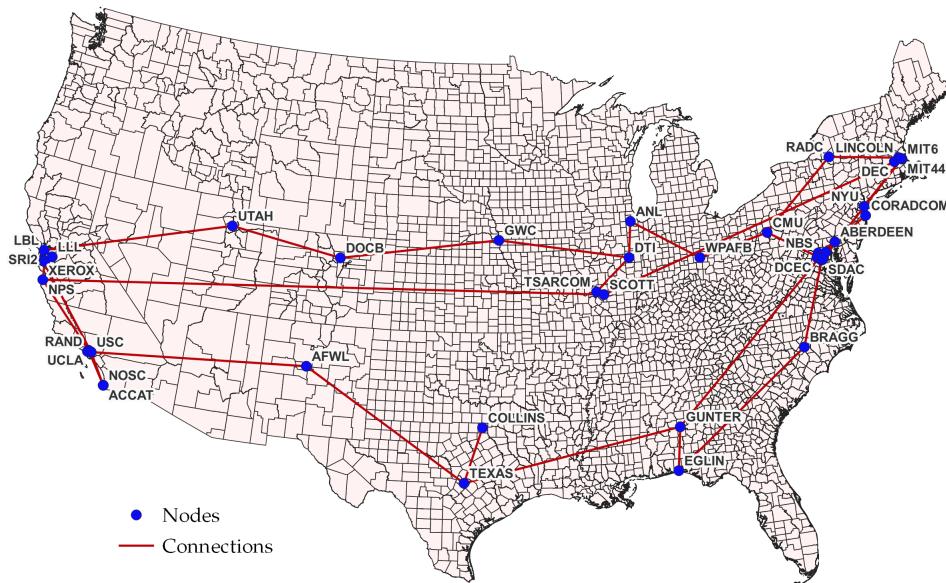
¹⁶The full list of 2-digit NAICS sector is included in Table A-1 in the Appendix.

Figure 2: Structure of ARPANET as of 1979

Panel A: Original Map



Panel B: Digitized Map



Note: Panel A displays a scanned image of the ARPA network as of April 1979. The map was created by Vint Cerf and Bob Khan, Internet pioneers. Panel B displays our digitized version of the same map. Source. [Cerf and Khan \(1990\)](#)

variables of interest. Regarding local sectoral structure, around half of employment and total payroll in the average county is generated in the *Other services* category, which includes *Wholesale and Retail Trade, Administration and Support, Construction, Accommodation and Food Services*, and similar. A third of the counties' employment on average is in *High-skilled services*, which includes *Information Services, Management, Professional Services, Educational Services*, and similar. *Manufacturing* accounts for approximately 15% of the employment on average. For all variables, the mean and the median share of sectoral employment are quite similar. Figures A-3 and A-4 show the spatial distribution of these sectoral shares across the U.S. For the case of Internet quality provision, the average download and upload speeds offered to firms in an US county are 97 and 86 megabits per second (Mbps), respectively. Finally, in 1979 only 1% of counties had an ARPANET node, while 14% had a line going through; and the average county was 192km away from a line.

4 Empirical Model and Identification

In this section we discuss the empirical framework we use to estimate the effects of quality of Internet provision on current local economic structure. Moreover, we examine the use of ARPANET lines as an instrumental variable, and we asses the assumptions we need to interpret our results as causal. To measure the effects of Internet quality on modern county short-run economic growth and local structural transformation outcomes, we estimate the following model:

$$Y_c = \alpha + \beta \log(\text{InternetQuality}_c) + X'_c \Theta + \epsilon_c \quad (1)$$

where Y_c is a local economic outcome in county c in 2018, such as the 4-year growth rate of real GDP or employment, or the share of employment in a particular sector in 2018. We use these two years due to the FCC data issues highlighted in the previous section. Moreover, InternetQuality_c is a measure of Internet speed offered to businesses (average download or upload speeds) in county c in 2014 (for growth regressions) or in 2018 (for levels); and X'_c is a group of geographical and economic characteristics; ϵ_c considers the unobserved factors that impact local economic outcomes, such as productivity in county c .¹⁷ In all our specifications, we exclude from our sample any county that had at least one ARPANET node.

The group of control variables includes several geographic characteristics, including dummy variables that equal one if the county lies along the Canadian or Mexican border since the local economy in such counties depends on the Canadian or Mexican economy (Hanson, 1996), a dummy variable that equals one if the county lies along the coast of an ocean or a Great Lake, average slope and

¹⁷In all the estimations we use Spatial Heteroskedasticity and Autocorrelation Consistent (SHAC) standard errors as proposed by Conley (1999) with a ratio of 28.55km, which correspond to the ratio of a circle that would cover the surface of the median metropolitan statistical area in the U.S.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Category	Average across Counties	Mean	Median
Current Economic Activity	Share agriculture & mining employees	0.02	0.00
	Share manufacturing employees	0.15	0.12
	Share high-skilled services employees	0.30	0.29
	Share other services employees	0.53	0.52
	Share agriculture & mining payroll	0.04	0.00
	Share manufacturing payroll	0.19	0.16
	Share high-skilled services payroll	0.33	0.32
	Share other services payroll	0.44	0.42
	Total GDP (millions)	109.7	106.2
	Total Employment	40,116	6,557
Internet Speeds	Total Payroll (millions)	2,178	248
	Average Wage (thousands)	39.72	37.83
	Growth GDP (4 year)	4.64%	3.95%
	Growth Employment (4 year)	2.99%	3.04%
	Growth Payroll (4 year)	7.54%	7.70%
	Growth Wage (4 year)	4.30%	4.22%
	Mean download speed offered to firms in 2019 (Mbps)	96.44	38.87
	Mean upload speed offered to firms in 2019 (Mbps)	85.92	27.86
ARPANET	Mean download speed offered to firms in 2014 (Mbps)	49.72	21.53
	Mean upload speed offered to firms in 2014 (Mbps)	36.73	6.13
	Distance to ARPANET lines in 1979 (km)	191.82	119.57
	Had node in 1979	0.01	0.00
	Had connection line in 1979	0.14	0.00

Notes: This table shows the mean and the median of our variables of interest averaging across all counties in continental US. Variables regarding current economic activity and Internet speeds correspond to 2018. Speeds are measured in Megabits per second (Mbps). High-skilled services include information; finance and insurance; real estate services; professional, scientific and technical services; management of companies and enterprises; educational services; and health care and social assistance. Other services include utilities; construction; wholesale trade; retail trade; transportation and warehousing; administrative and support and waste management and remediation services; arts, entertainment and recreation; accommodation and food services; and other services. GDP growth corresponds to the 4 year growth of the "Real GDP in chained Dollars" series from the BEA. Payroll and wage growth correspond to the 4 year growth of these variables as given by the 2014 and the 2018 County Business Patterns; the 2014 series were deflated using the national CPI from March 2014.

elevation, and total land and water area. We also include the nearest distance from the county to a metropolitan statistical area as a measure of market access as in [Michaels \(2008\)](#), population density as a measure of agglomeration economies, and the 4-year population growth rate. Our main parameter of interest is β , which identifies the semi-elasticity of a local economic outcome with respect to the quality of Internet provision across U.S. counties.

The estimation of equation (1) does not yield causal estimates due to the endogeneity between the variables of interest. For instance, counties with higher productivity or better amenities might grow faster and have a larger share of GDP coming from high-skilled services as these counties can attract more productive service establishments and workers. Hence, the willingness to pay for better Internet in these counties is higher, and ISPs will provide better Internet. Thus, $\hat{\beta}$ would be upward biased. On the other hand, counties with better environmental aesthetic amenities (e.g., rivers, mountains, lakes) might attract more high-skilled workers, which would generate incentives for ISPs to provide high speed Internet. At the same time such amenities could make it more difficult to build physical telecommunications infrastructure, thus lowering the quality of local Internet provision. In this case, $\hat{\beta}$ would be downward biased.

To recover the causal estimate, we follow an instrumental variable approach using the spatial structure of ARPANET in 1979 (years before the Internet had commercial viability) as the source of exogenous variation.¹⁸ As we document in Section 2, the decisions about the location of the nodes, and thus the spatial structure of ARPANET, were determined by whether (i) the researchers in academic institutions were contractors for the DoD through its ARPA agency in the 1960s; (ii) the research agenda of the institution was more focused on networks, instead of batch-processing, which was the main paradigm at the time; and (iii) the work style of the computer science departments was of a collaborative nature.

Hence, due to historical reasons, it is unlikely that the nodes of ARPANET were selected only in counties with the highest productivity levels. Moreover, the presence of a university does not guarantee high levels of productivity. For example, Rust Belt cities that experienced major losses in amenities and productivity have universities e.g., Detroit, Flint, Camden, Youngstown, Toledo, or Dayton. Moreover, we select the status of the network in 1979, when ARPANET only connected DoD contractors and it was still under military management ([Abbate, 2000](#)). This selection guarantees that the structure of ARPANET was more closely related to the research interests of the DoD and the work styles and research agendas of academic departments with which it had contracting relationships. In addition, to avoid remaining concerns, we exclude from our main estimations those counties that had an ARPANET node in 1979. Exploiting the spatial structure

¹⁸The first private Internet Service Provider, The World, appeared in the 1989.

of ARPANET, our first stage is defined by

$$\log(\text{InternetQuality}_c) = a + b \cdot \text{ARPANET}_c + X'_c \Gamma + \nu_c \quad (2)$$

where ARPANET_c denotes the log of the minimum distance between county's c centroid and an ARPANET connection line, which were presented in Figure 2. Since government reports and maps do not contain information on the exact location of the physical infrastructure used to connect the nodes, straight lines that mimic the maps of ARPANET (e.g., Figure 2) are our proxy for such physical infrastructure. Given that ARPANET had specific network requirements (reliability and delay) to guarantee interconnection quality between computers, the physical infrastructure connecting the nodes must have been of the highest quality at the time. We estimate different specifications of equation (2) using other instruments, including a dummy variable that equals 1 if a connection line crossed county c , and distance categories to the closest line.

Our identification strategy has a similar logic as Duranton et al. (2014) and Duranton (2015), who use historical routes in the U.S. and Colombia as instruments for the location of modern roads. Due to infrastructure cost reasons, it is easier to build contemporary highways following historical paths. Similarly, it's easier to build the modern Internet backbone on historical ARPANET infrastructure (Abbate, 2000; Leiner et al., 1997; McKenzie and Walden, 1991) because a physical Internet backbone requires underground optic fiber. In addition, it is cheaper for ISPs to provide high-quality Internet to counties near the modern backbone in the same way that it is cheaper for a construction company to physically connect a county closer to the Interstate Highway System. Since counties closer to ARPANET lines—representing the old Internet backbone—are more likely to be closer to the modern Internet backbone, ISPs are more likely to offer higher Internet speeds in such counties.

A potential concern about our instrumental variable is that the ARPANET connecting lines are located along other types of infrastructure, such as highways or railways. Therefore, we would not be capturing the effect of ARPANET but of these ways. In Figure A-5 we present the maps of the ARPANET network in 1979, together with the primary US roads and the railroad infrastructure in 2019. As the figure shows, there seems to be no correlation between these types of infrastructure.

Our strategy also has similarities to Forman et al. (2012), who use the presence of ARPANET nodes in a county as an instrument for Internet investment by businesses, and to Jiang (2022), who uses the location of NSFNET nodes in a DiD framework. Using only the location of the nodes produces a weak instrument since nodes are scarce (less than 1% of counties had a node). Instead, we use the connection between the nodes as an instrument for the average reported Internet speeds of providers to the FCC within a county, which arguably produces a stronger instrument. We do not consider

NSFNET nodes, since historical evidence suggests they could be endogenous in a cross-sectional empirical framework that considers geographical areas as the unit of observation.¹⁹ Therefore, we use the ARPANET historical documentation maps from 1979 for our empirical strategy.

We choose 1979, a year when ARPANET had no connections neither shared resources with NSFNET or its predecessor, (Abbate, 2000; McKenzie and Walden, 1991). We consider that our instrumental variable is relevant since ARPANET is the first precursor of the Internet. The main backbone of the Internet relied on ARPANET nodes and lines from the 1970s and 1980s (Leiner et al., 1997). It is likely that modern backbones took advantage of existing underground infrastructure, in the same logic as the path dependence of roads as in Duranton et al. (2014) and Duranton (2015).

As Figure 1 shows, the data supports the relevance of our instrument. Counties crossed by ARPANET lines seem to have better Internet quality as of 2018, both download and upload speeds. We formally test the relevance of our instrument estimating different specifications of equation (2) using OLS. In particular, Table 2 validates the previous results, even after including the vector of control variables. Notice that those counties that had an ARPANET node in 1979 have Internet speeds that on average double those in counties without a node (Panel A); however, less than 1% of counties had a node, which would render a weak instrument as in Forman et al. (2012). Similarly, counties that had an ARPANET connection line in 1979 have download and upload speeds that are 27% and 38% higher in 2018, respectively, relative to counties without a line (Panel B). Notably, counties farther away from a 1979 ARPANET line have lower Internet speeds (Panel C). In particular, a 10% increase in distance is correlated with speeds between that are between 1.3% and 1.8% lower. This negative relationship with distance holds if we consider distance categories instead of a continuous measure (Panel D). These results support the relevance of our instrumental variable.²⁰

The structure of ARPANET as an instrumental variable satisfies the exclusion restriction. In other words, ARPANET impacts the local economic structure in U.S. counties exclusively through modern Internet speeds. Based on the history of the network, it is unlikely that the nodes chosen by the DoD through contractor processes, academic research agendas (interested in network research or not), and research work styles in the 1960s (collaborative or uncooperative) are related to productivity or amenities in counties today. Moreover, the presence of a university does not guarantee

¹⁹NSF encouraged local NSFNET regional networks to provide service to private companies. Due to increasing returns to scale only some universities created NSFNET regional networks. Most likely, the ones where there was an abundance of private companies that needed advanced telecommunications services in the 1980s, which would threaten causal identification in county level cross-sectional regressions. Nonetheless, NSFNET nodes can be used as IV for firm level outcomes like the ones in Jiang (2022).

²⁰These results are robust if we use the 1988 structure of ARPANET instead of the 1979 structure, or if we use Internet speeds in 2014 instead of speeds in 2018. Both sets of results are presented in Table A-2 and Table A-3, respectively.

Table 2: **OLS Estimates.** The Impact of ARPANET on Current Internet Speeds Offered to Businesses

Panel A: County has a node	Mean download speed		Mean upload speed	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Had node in 1979	1.314*** (0.154)	0.900*** (0.183)	1.605*** (0.166)	1.083*** (0.196)
Constant	3.599*** (0.039)	3.881*** (1.315)	3.236*** (0.046)	3.593** (1.478)
Panel B: County has a line	Mean download speed		Mean upload speed	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Had connection line in 1979	0.352*** (0.079)	0.271*** (0.078)	0.468*** (0.090)	0.380*** (0.089)
Constant	3.551*** (0.041)	3.504** (1.362)	3.174*** (0.048)	3.127** (1.532)
Panel C: Distance to a line	Mean download speed		Mean upload speed	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance to Line in 1979	-0.168*** (0.026)	-0.132*** (0.026)	-0.213*** (0.029)	-0.184*** (0.030)
Constant	5.540*** (0.299)	3.590*** (1.388)	5.691*** (0.344)	3.247** (1.564)
Panel D: Distance to a line (Categories)	Mean download speed		Mean upload speed	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Has a line	0.638*** (0.108)	0.543*** (0.108)	0.812*** (0.122)	0.743*** (0.121)
No line and $dist \in (0km, 73.4km]$	0.604*** (0.106)	0.544*** (0.110)	0.733*** (0.121)	0.717*** (0.123)
No line and $dist \in (73.4km, 151.5km]$	0.386*** (0.103)	0.358*** (0.104)	0.484*** (0.117)	0.498*** (0.117)
No line and $dist \in (151.5km, 290.8km]$	0.152 (0.103)	0.157 (0.102)	0.159 (0.118)	0.202* (0.116)
Constant	3.266*** (0.076)	1.448 (1.388)	2.830*** (0.084)	0.385 (1.540)
Observations	3,077	3,072	3,077	3,072
Controls		X		X

Notes: This table shows the impact of ARPANET in 1979 structure on modern Internet speed offered to businesses by county. We display the impact on the mean download and the mean upload speeds. The dependent variables are: a dummy variable that equals 1 if a county has a node (Panel A); a dummy variable that equals 1 if a county has a connection line (Panel B); the log of the distance between the county's centroid and a connection line (Panel C); and distance quartiles from a connection line (Panel D), where counties between 290.8km and 1,118km belong to the omitted category. Panels B, C and D do not include counties with a node in 1979 (32) and the number of observations correspond to these panels. Controls include geographic and economic characteristics. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

high levels of productivity and amenities (e.g., Detroit, MI, Camden, NJ). The agendas and collaboration style of computer science departments depend on their internal dynamics, and their contracting relationships depend on professional networks. Moreover, national defense computing research locations were decided purely based on the interests of DARPA and the DoD. Lastly, to guarantee that the exclusion restriction is satisfied, we drop from our samples any counties with ARPANET nodes.

Our instrumental variable is unlikely to be correlated with omitted variables that influence local economic structure; that is, it satisfies the exogeneity assumption. Using ARPANET lines connecting the nodes, instead of the nodes themselves supports this assumption. Even if there are remaining concerns that the ARPANET nodes are located in counties with high amenities or productivity, the lines that connect them are likely to be exogenous to such unobserved factors. For example, an ARPANET line connects the Argonne National Laboratory in Argonne, IL, to the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Green County, OH. Such line passes over several Indiana counties, including Wabash County. Even under the strong assumption that military nodes in Argonne, IL, or Green County, OH, were selected due to high productivity of the counties, the line passing over Wabash County, IN, is exogenous to the productivity of these counties with nodes. The lines themselves predict the location of the ARPANET backbone, which itself predicts the geographical layout of the equipment that forms the modern Internet backbone. In Table A-4, we show that even though the location of the nodes in 1979 is strongly correlated with the share of employment in high-skilled and business services in the 1970s, whether a county is crossed by a connection line is not correlated by such shares.

Our last concern for identification is whether our strategy satisfies the Stable Unit Treatment Value Assumption (SUTVA). In our case, SUTVA implies that potential outcomes for a given county respond only to its own Internet quality and are unrelated to the treatment status of other counties. Due to engineering related reasons, the local provision of Internet does not directly influence another county's provision because ISPs are in charge of the last mile and can differentiate the Internet service quality at granular levels.²¹ Such targeting capacity by ISPs dissipates concerns about SUTVA violations.

²¹The provision of Internet has some similarities to electricity or water, cases in which the provider decides the quality of the service in the last mile, hence the quality of the service provision can be targeted (counties, neighborhoods, blocks, buildings, etc.). For example, quality can vary across tracts within the same city or even across neighborhoods within the same county. Some illustrative cases are Detroit (Wayne County) today or Chattanooga (Hamilton County) in the past, cities where national commercial ISPs did not provide high-speed Internet in specific neighborhoods, even though the rest of the city had access to broadband services. The importance of the last mile has been documented in detail by journalists, economists and non-profits (Lobo et al., 2008; Peñarroyo et al., 2022; Thornton and Mars, 2022).

5 Results

In this section, we present the main results of the paper. In particular, we show the impact that better provision of Internet has on local economic activity. Moreover, we show its impacts on local structural transformation. Finally, we present the results regarding the three main proposed mechanisms behind such impact.

5.1 Internet quality and local economic growth in the short-run

To study the effect of better provision of Internet on local economic growth, we start by estimating equation (1) using as dependent variables the 4-year growth rate of the county's real GDP, total annual payroll, total employment and average wages, defined as the ratio of the two previous variables. We estimate such equations using two-stage least squares (2SLS). For our first stage we estimate equation (2) using the (log) distance between a country's centroid and an ARPANET connection line in 1979. In Table 3 we present the results of such estimation, using the (log) mean download speed offered to businesses in 2018 in Panel A and the (log) mean upload speed offered to businesses in 2018 in Panel B. We report two types of standard errors: robust, and spatial heteroskedasticity and autocorrelation consistent standard errors (Conley, 1999), together with the first-stage Kleibergen-Paap F-test for weak instruments (Kleibergen and Paap, 2006).

We highlight three results from Table 3. First, better Internet has a slight positive effect on economic growth as shown in column 1. In particular, doubling Internet speeds can lead to an increase of 2.1 to 3.7 percentage points (pp) in the 4-year GDP growth rate, which is a relevant magnitude if we consider that the interquartile range (IQR) for this rate is 14.8 percentage points. Although robust to different specifications, it is worth noticing that this estimate is somewhat imprecise. Second, notice in column 3 that there is a positive and significant effect on short-run employment growth: doubling the quality of Internet increases the 4-year employment growth by 2.8 to 4.9 pp, which has an IQR of 12.5. That is, faster Internet leads to job growth and employment reallocation towards those regions with better access to it.

Third, since there is not a change in the growth rate of total payroll (column 2), results from column 4 suggest that faster Internet leads to a reduction in the growth rate of wages—though, not necessarily a decrease in wage levels. In particular, doubling the speed of Internet decreases the growth rate of wages by 1.6 to 2.8 percentage points. In principle, these results seem to differ from in Forman et al. (2012), who find a null impact of better Internet on average wages. We do not consider both set of results to contradict each other as they analyze the effects of firms' investment on Internet shapes county labor markets in levels during the five year period when the adoption of the technology was in its initial stages. Differently, we evaluate quality of Internet provision on growth rates 20 years after, in a period when the technology was already widely adopted. The

Table 3: **2SLS Estimates.** Effect of Better Internet Speed Offered to Businesses on Local Economic Aggregates

<i>Panel A: Download Speed</i>		Growth rate of			
	GDP	Annual Payroll	Employment	Average Wage	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Log(Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.037* (0.021) [0.022]	0.024 (0.018) [0.019]	0.049*** (0.016) [0.017]	-0.028** (0.011) [0.012]	
Constant	0.074 (0.174) [0.182]	0.211 (0.131) [0.142]	0.281*** (0.096) [0.111]	-0.052 (0.081) [0.084]	
FS F-Test	44.446	46.000	45.192	45.192	
<i>Panel B: Upload Speed</i>		Growth rate of			
	GDP	Annual Payroll	Employment	Average Wage	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Log(Mean Upload Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.021* (0.012) [0.012]	0.013 (0.010) [0.011]	0.028*** (0.009) [0.009]	-0.016** (0.006) [0.007]	
Constant	0.166 (0.169) [0.176]	0.271** (0.125) [0.139]	0.404*** (0.090) [0.106]	-0.123 (0.076) [0.079]	
FS F-Test	56.421	58.614	57.594	57.594	
Observations	3,022	3,047	3,037	3,037	
Controls	X	X	X	X	

Notes: This table shows the results of regression of different local economic outcomes on current Internet offered to businesses (both mean download and upload speeds). We use as an instrument the county centroid's distance to an ARPANET connection line in 1979. We include geographic and economic controls in our first stage. Average wages are measure as the ratio between total payroll and total employment. Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. The FS F-Test corresponds to the Kleibergen & Paap F-test for weak instruments. Robust standard errors are in parentheses and SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in brackets, with p-values * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The radius for SHAC errors is set at 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution.

short-run impacts on wage growth might occur if better Internet led to a positive labor supply shock in a county in this period in the absence of a shift in labor demand.

Moreover, the first stage KP F-statistic for weak instruments shows a value of around 45 in Panel A and around 58 in Panel B. Thus, the distance to an ARPANET line in 1979 is not a weak instrument for current Internet speeds. Moreover, our results are robust to specifications where we (i) further restrict the spatial correlation patterns of the error term (Table A-5); (ii) use the 1988 ARPANET structure as our instrumental variable (Table A-6); (iii) include all counties in the

continental US (Table A-7); (iv) exclude 6 Metropolitan Areas with a large concentration of nodes (Table A-8);²² (v) use median download speed as a measure for Internet quality (Table A-7).

Finally, we estimate equation (1) using OLS to grasp the direction of the original bias. As can be seen in Table A-9, coefficients from the OLS estimation are negative and some of them significantly different from zero; that is, they are lower than those in Table 3. This comparison suggests that ignoring the endogeneity problem of these regressions would lead to downward biased estimators, as hypothesized in Section 4. In the following section, we discuss how the quality of communication infrastructure can also affect local structural transformation and the distribution of economic activity across US counties.

5.2 Internet quality and local structural transformation

We want to understand if and how a better provision of communications infrastructure alters the sectoral economic structure of counties; that is, if it leads to local structural transformation. Since research has already shown that better communication infrastructure can lead to a better transmission of ideas (Carlino et al., 2007), it would be natural to conclude that better communication infrastructure favors local activity in sectors where ideas are key for the growth of the sector.

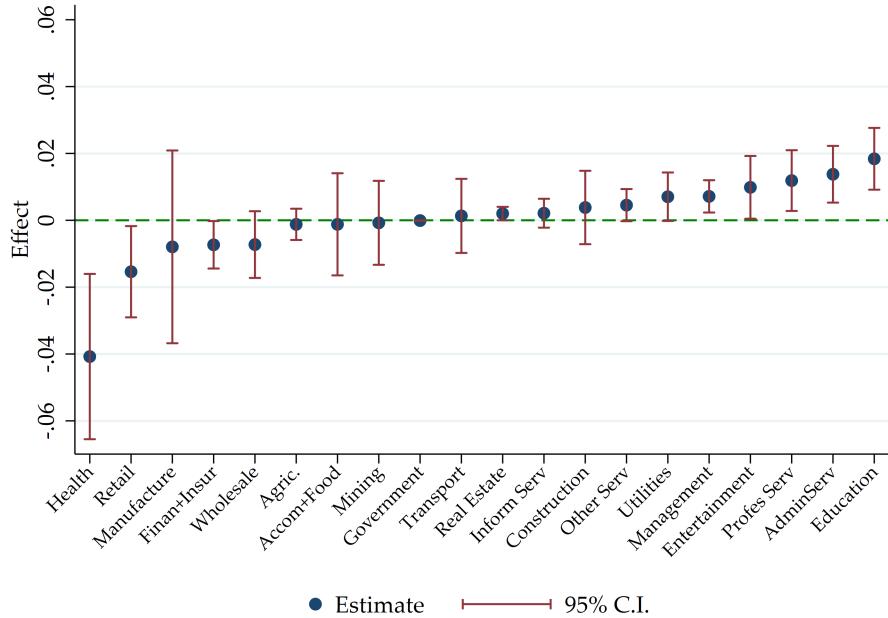
To explore local structural transformation, we estimate equation (1) using as dependent variable the share of employment and the share of GDP in each sector within a county in 2018, the quality of Internet in 2018 as our variable of interest, and the (log) distance to an ARPANET connection line in 1979 as its instrument. We start by analyzing these shares at the 2-digit NAICS sector. We present the results of these regressions in Figure 3, where we show the point estimates and their 95% confidence intervals. The horizontal axis of this figure presents the 2-digit NAICS sector codes sorted by the size of the point estimate; the full name of each sector can be found in Table A-1.

Results from Panel A in Figure 3 show that faster Internet download speeds have a positive impact in the employment shares of five 2-digit sectors: (i) *Educational Services*; (ii) *Administrative, Support, Waste Management, and Remediation Services*; (iii) *Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services*; (iv) *Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation*; and (v) *Management of Companies and Enterprises*. In addition, it also has a small but significant positive effect on *Real Estate and Rental and Leasing*, and *Utilities*. Notice that these positive effects are concentrated in the sectors denominated *Skilled-Scalable Services* by Eckert et al. (2020), or *Prime Services* by Ahlfeldt et al. (2020). As discussed in these papers, such services are intensive in high-skilled workers and information services, and have been responsible for the relatively faster growth of larger cities in the past two

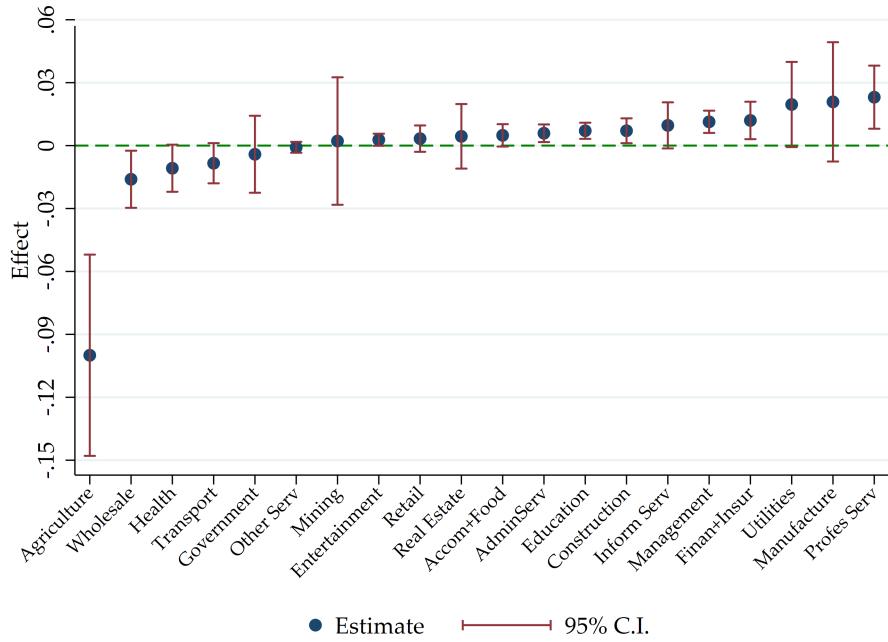
²²From this specification, we exclude the following metropolitan areas: Boston-Cambridge-Newton, Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, New York-Newark-Jersey City, San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, and Washington-Arlington-Alexandria.

Figure 3: Internet and Local Structural Transformation

(a) Employment Shares



(b) GDP Shares



Note: these figures show the 2SLS estimates that measure the causal impact of better Internet provision (measured as faster download speeds offered by Internet providers to businesses) on the share of employment or GDP on 2-digit NAICS sectors. We use as instrumental variable the distance to an ARPANET line in 1979, together with geographic and economic characteristics. The horizontal axis shows the sectors sorted by the size of the estimate. The full sector names are shown in Table A-1.

decades.

On the other hand, faster download speeds affects negatively employment shares in three aggregate sectors: (i) *Health Care and Social Assistance*; (ii) *Retail Trade*; and (iii) *Finance and Insurance*. These effects are statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. Notice that these three sectors can be found in almost every town and city across the U.S., which could suggest that regions with worse quality of Internet might have only service firms to serve the local market (e.g., physician practice, social assistance offices, physical bank, retail store). It is possible that in rural and low-populated counties establishments such as retail stores, physician practices and government social assistance offices might be major employers. Hence, the arrival of firms that use ICT are more likely to impact the share of employment of such sectors. Moreover, we find heterogeneous impacts of better Internet on *Healthcare and Social Assistance* and *Finance and Insurance* when we consider the 3-digit NAICS sub-sectors in these groups of industries (see table 5 for more details). In addition, the effect on *Manufacturing* (31) also appears to have a negative point estimate, but it is quite imprecisely estimated, which could be explained by the heterogeneous effects of Internet quality on different manufacturing sub-sectors. This sectoral ranking is robust to using (i) payroll shares instead of employment shares as our dependent variable (Figure A-6); (ii) upload speeds as the measure of Internet quality (Figure A-7); or (iii) the 1988 ARPANET structure for our IV strategy (Figure A-8).

For more specific magnitudes, consider the point estimate for *Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services* ($\hat{\beta} = 0.012$), and the median county, which has an average download speed of 39 Mbps and 2.6% of employment in this sector. Our estimates suggest that, if this county improves its Internet quality to 135 Mbps (a 350%, equivalent to the county in the 75th percentile), this county could see an increase in the relative importance of this sector of 4.2 pp, going from 2.6% to 6.8% of the total county level employment. Contrarily, consider the point estimate for *Retail Trade* ($\hat{\beta} = -0.015$). If this same median county experiences that 350% in download speeds, it could see a reduction in the relative importance of retail employment of 5.3pp, going from 15.4pp to 10.1pp.

In Panel B from Figure 3, we present the results of the same estimations but using sectoral GDP shares as the main dependent variables. In this case, the positive effects for high-skilled services hold: four of the five services in this category are in the top 6 of the sectors positively affected by better Internet quality, including *Finance and Insurance*. However, we would like to note two important differences compared to the previous figure. First, manufacturing appears to be positively affected in this case, but its confidence intervals remain quite broad and the effects are not significant. Second, there is a sizeable negative effect of Internet quality on the relative importance of Agriculture. We also observe negative impacts on *Wholesale Trade; Health Care and Social Assistance*; and *Transportation and Warehousing*.

To disentangle the impacts of better Internet provision on sectoral outcomes at the county level, we re-estimated the model using employment shares for each one of the the 92 NAICS sectors at the 3-digit level. Given the large dimensionality of these results, we report them separately for Agriculture, Mining and Manufacturing sub-sectors in Table 4, and for all Services sub-sectors in Table 5. Moreover, we categorize all 3-digit sectors depending on whether their point estimate is significant at the 95% confidence level, positive or negative. We display the table with the estimates and the standard errors for each sub-sector in the online appendix.²³

With respect to manufacturing, we highlight two findings. First, only *Wood Product Manufacturing* is negatively and significantly affected by higher Internet quality. On the other hand, only four sub-sectors are positively impacted. In particular, the following manufacturing 3-digit NAICS sub-sectors are positively impacted by better download speeds: *Textile Mills*; *Fabricated Metal Product Manufacturing*; *Electrical Equipment, Appliance, and Component Manufacturing*; and *Miscellaneous Manufacturing*. These impacts could be explained by the fact that better communication technologies benefits industries with just-in-time manufacturing. Differently, none of the agricultural or mining 3-digit NAICS sub-sectors are positively affected by better Internet. In particular, the effect on all of them is null, except for activities belonging to *Oil and Gas Extraction* which requires good quality communications, particularly for drilling activities.

For the case of services, our findings show interesting patterns. First within information services, the most favoured sub-sectors are the ones related to Internet and communication: *Telecommunications*, and *Internet service providers*, *Web search data processing services*. Second, the disaggregated impacts on *Finance and Insurance* and *Healthcare and Social Assistance* are illustrative of the local structural change generated by the Internet. At the aggregate level we found evidence that better Internet quality has a negative impact on these two sectors, as shown in Figure 3.

However, when we consider 3-digit NAICS sub-sectors, we find that the reduction in the employment share of *Finance and Insurance* is driven by *Credit Intermediation and Related Activities*, which experiences a significant negative impact. This sub-sector includes commercial banking and all its branches located across all the country, from the largest cities to the most rural towns. Differently, the impact of better Internet provision on *Securities, Commodity Contracts, and Other Financial Investments* is positive and statistically significant. This sub-sector includes trading and other high-tech finance activities. Similarly, the negative impact of faster Internet on *Healthcare and Social Assistance* comes from the impacts on *Social Assistance* and *Ambulatory Healthcare Services*. These results contrast with the null impacts on *Nursing and Residential Care Facilities*, and the positive and significant impacts on *Hospitals*.

²³The sub-sectors Crop Production (111), Animal Production (112), Rail Transportation (482), Postal Service (491), Internet Publishing and Broadcasting (516), and Private Households (814) are not included in the CBP.

Table 4: **Direction of 2SLS Estimates.** Impact of Internet Speed Offered to Businesses on Agriculture and Manufacturing Subsectors

Positive Impacts (95%)	Zero or Statistically Insignificant Impacts	Negative Impacts (95%)
313 - Textile Mills	113 Forestry & Logging	211 - Oil & Gas Extraction
332 - Fabricated Metal Product Manufacturing	114 - Fishing, Hunting, Trapping	321 - Wood Product Manufact.
335 - Electrical Equipment, Appliance, & Component Manufact.	115 - Support Activities for Agriculture & Forestry	
339 - Miscellaneous Manufacturing	212 - Mining (except Oil & Gas) 213 - Support Act. for Mining 221 - Utilities 236 - Construction of Buildings 237 - Heavy & Civil Engineering Construction 238 - Specialty Trade Contractors 311 - Food Manufacturing 312 - Beverage & Tobacco Product Manufacturing 314 - Textile Product Mills 315 - Apparel Manufacturing 316 - Leather & Allied Product Manufacturing 322 - Paper Manufacturing 323 - Printing & Related Support Activities 324 - Petroleum & Coal Products Manufacturing 325 - Chemical Manufacturing 326 - Plastics & Rubber Products Manufacturing 327 - Nonmetallic Mineral Product Manufacturing 331 - Primary Metal Manufact. 333 - Machinery Manufacturing 334 - Computer & Electronic Product Manufacturing 336 - Transportation Equipment Manufacturing 337 - Furniture & Related Product Manufacturing	

Notes: We classify the NAICS 3-digit sub-sectors according to 2SLS estimates. The estimates are obtained by a regression of the share of employment in each sector on the quality of Internet provision (measured as higher download speeds offered by Internet providers to businesses). The IV is the distance of a county to an ARPANET line in 1979. We include geographic economic characteristics in the first stage. The classification depends on whether the 2SLS estimate was significant at the 95% confidence level. Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. Exact estimates are provided on request.

Table 5: **Direction of 2SLS Estimates.** Impact of Internet Speed on Services Subsectors

Positive Impacts (95%)	Zero or Statistically Insignificant Impacts	Negative Impacts (95%)
425 - Wholesale Electronic Markets & Agents & Brokers	423 - Merchant Wholesalers, Durable Goods	424 - Merchant Wholesalers, Non-durable Goods
442 - Furniture & Home Furnishings Stores	441 - Motor Vehicle & Parts Dealers	447 - Gasoline Stations
448 - Clothing & Clothing Accessories Stores	443 - Electronics & Appliances Stores	484 - Truck Transportation
451 - Sporting Goods, Hobby, Book, & Music Stores	444 - Building Material & Garden Equipment & Supplies Dealers	522 - Credit Intermediation & Related Activities
485 - Transit & Ground Passenger Transportation	445 - Food & Beverage Stores	621 - Ambulatory Health Care Services
493 - Warehousing & Storage	446 - Health & Personal Care St.	624 - Social Assistance
517 - Telecommunications	452 - General Merchandise Stores	722 - Food & Drinking Services
518 - ISPs, Web Search Portals, and Data Processing Services	453 - Miscellaneous Store Retailers	
519 - Other Information Services	454 - Nonstore Retailers	
523 - Securities, Commodity Contracts & Other Financial Invest.	481 - Air Transportation	
532 - Rental & Leasing Services	483 - Water Transportation	
551 - Management of Companies & Enterprises	486 - Pipeline Transportation	
561 - Administrative & Support Services	487 - Scenic & Sightseeing Transportation	
611 - Educational Services	488 - Support Activities for Transportation	
622 - Hospitals	511 - Publishing (except Internet)	
711 - Performing Arts, Spectator Sports, & Related Industries	512 - Motion Picture & Sound Recording Industries	
812 - Personal & Laundry Services	515 - Broadcasting (exc. Internet)	
	521 - Monetary Authorities	
	524 - Insurance Carriers & Related Activities	
	525 - Funds, Trusts, & Other Financial Vehicles	
	531 - Real Estate	
	533 - Lessors of Nonfinancial Intangible Assets	
	541 - Professional, Scientific, & Technical Services	
	562 - Waste Management & Remediation Services	
	623 - Nursing & Residential Care Facilities	
	712 - Museums, Historical Sites, & Similar Institutions	
	713 - Amusement, Gambling, & Recreation Industries	
	721 - Accommodation	
	811 - Repair & Maintenance	
	813 - Religious, Grantmaking, Civic, Professional, & Similar	

Notes: We classify the NAICS 3-digit sub-sectors according to 2SLS estimates. The estimates are obtained by a regression of the share of employment in each sector on the quality of Internet provision (measured as higher download speeds offered by Internet providers to businesses). The IV is the distance of a county to an ARPANET line in 1979. We include geographic economic characteristics in the first stage. The classification depends on whether the 2SLS estimate was significant at the 95% confidence level. Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. Exact estimates are provided on request. 28

Third, within the 2-digit NAICS sector 56 that corresponds to *Administrative and Support and Waste Management and Remediation Services* the impacts are also heterogeneous across sub-sectors. While *Administrative and Support Services* is positively affected by higher Internet speeds, *Waste Management and Remediation Services* is not impacted. Fourth, we also find heterogeneity within the 2-digit NAICS sub-sectors *Retail Trade* and *Wholesale Trade*. Some sub-sectors, such as *Wholesale Electronic Markets, Agents & Brokers* or *Warehousing and Storage*, are positively affected by better Internet provision. Contrarily, sub-sectors like *Merchant wholesalers of non-durable goods, Gasoline stations, Truck transportation, and Food Services and Drinking Places*, face a negative impact.

5.3 Mechanism 1: Input-Output Linkages

We explore input-output linkages as a potential mechanism for the observed changes in structural transformation. Specifically, we consider the case of industries that purchase a significant amount of inputs from ICT-related sectors in the economy. If ISPs offer higher quality of Internet across counties, this can increase the quality of the services purchased from ICT-related inputs or it can reduce the input cost of such services. A relevant example for the case of quality is audiovisual communication. If firms can have access to higher quality of Internet, they are more likely to use Skype or Zoom for their business communications, which is an improvement in the quality of communication relative to mobile phone calls. An example for the case of inputs is data storage services. High-speed Internet allows firms to purchase relatively inexpensive cloud services, which are cheaper compared to purchasing servers and hiring computer technicians just to obtain data storage capacity. Hence, cloud services reduce the cost of data storage while also requiring high-quality of Internet.

We use the input-output accounts from the Bureau of Economic Analysis to quantify the dependence of every sector on Information and Communication Technologies. Specifically, we use the “Total Requirements Table” that shows the inputs that are required directly and indirectly to deliver a dollar of output to final uses. First, we select the 2-digit NAICS sectors *Broadcasting and Telecommunication* and *Information Services and Data Processing Services* as the main sectors representing ICT technologies. Second, we use the “Total Requirements Table” to rank sectors depending on their absolute dependence and relative dependence on ICT inputs.²⁴ Third, we rank sectors in quartiles depending on either absolute or relative dependence, with quartile 1 containing those sectors at the top quarter of the distribution. Once we obtained those rankings, we estimate the share of employment at the county level for sectors in the same quartile.

²⁴For absolute dependence, we use the coefficients from the total requirements table. For example to produce \$1 of *Computer and electronic products* we need \$0.0297021 of direct and indirect inputs from *Broadcasting and telecommunications*. This is absolute dependence. We also estimate the ratio of the value of inputs coming from ICT sectors with respect to the total value of inputs and we call this measure relative dependence.

Our findings show that the share of employment in those sectors with higher absolute or relative dependence on inputs related to ICT-sectors are more sensitive to improvements on Internet quality, as shown in Table 6. In fact, when we consider the absolute dependence on ICT-inputs, we observe a monotonic effect across quartiles, ranging from a null effect in quartile 4 to a beta of 0.047 in quartile 1. Following the same interpretation as in Section 5.2, this last coefficient represents an increase in 18 percentage points in the share of employment in sectors belonging to this category.

Our results are robust to using absolute or relative relevance, or download or upload speeds. They are also robust to using payroll shares instead of employment, as shown in Table A-10. Moreover, we use a different ranking based on tertiles or deciles, instead of quartiles, and the findings remain similar (Table A-11). Thus, we conclude that our results are driven by industry linkages between ICT-related sectors and industries that are dependent on them.

5.4 Mechanism 2: ICT Related Occupations

Local structural transformation could be driven by an inflow of workers in occupations that might benefit from the use of ICTs, as the Rybczynski theorem would predict. For instance, firms in sectors that benefit the most from higher Internet quality, such as business and administrative services, could decide to locate in places with a relatively higher abundance of workers in ICT-driven occupations, e.g., computer scientists and financial support workers. This force can create a virtuous cycle in which these growing sectors end up attracting more ICT-driven workers.

To test this hypothesis, we use data from the 2013-2017 5-year American Community Survey, containing the number of workers in different occupation categories for each county (Manson et al., 2022). For each location, we compute the total number and the share of workers in occupations that are more prone to using Internet. In particular, we include: management, business, and financial occupations, computer and mathematical occupations, architecture and engineering occupations, and office and administrative support occupations. Using these data, we estimate regressions equivalent to those in Section 5.2, that is, we regress the log (and the share) of workers in ICT-driven occupations on current Internet speeds offered to businesses, instrumented with the county's distance to an ARPANET connection line.

The results of these regressions suggest that better Internet provision in a county increases the number of workers in occupations that might benefit from the use of ICTs. In particular, estimates from Panel A in Table 7 imply that a 1% increase in download speeds lead to a 1.7% increase in the total number of workers in ICT-intensive occupations. These results also hold if, instead of occupations, we consider workers with an educational attainment higher than a bachelor's degree: a master's, a professional school or a doctorate degree. Results from Panel B suggest that a 1% increase in download speeds lead to a 2% increase in the number of workers with more than a

Table 6: **2SLS Estimates, Heterogeneity Analysis.** Impacts of Internet Speeds on Sectors due to Industry Linkages with ICT-related Industries - Dependent Variable: Log Employment

Panel A	Absolute relevance - download speed offered to businesses			
	Quartile 4	Quartile 3	Quartile 2	Quartile 1
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean download speed Offered to Businesses)	-0.004 (0.008)	0.013 (0.015)	-0.061** (0.025)	0.047** (0.020)
Constant	-0.036 (0.064)	0.037 (0.102)	1.265*** (0.274)	-0.110 (0.145)
Panel B	Absolute relevance - upload speed offered to businesses			
	Quartile 4	Quartile 3	Quartile 2	Quartile 1
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean upload speed Offered to Businesses)	-0.003 (0.006)	0.009 (0.010)	-0.044** (0.017)	0.034** (0.014)
Constant	-0.041 (0.060)	0.054 (0.093)	1.187*** (0.257)	-0.049 (0.143)
Panel C	Relative relevance - download speed offered to businesses			
	Quartile 4	Quartile 3	Quartile 2	Quartile 1
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean download speed Offered to Businesses)	0.002 (0.009)	-0.031 (0.020)	-0.026 (0.019)	0.050** (0.022)
Constant	0.049 (0.071)	0.259 (0.175)	0.890*** (0.177)	-0.041 (0.168)
Panel D	Relative relevance - upload speed offered to businesses			
	Quartile 4	Quartile 3	Quartile 2	Quartile 1
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean upload speed Offered to Businesses)	0.002 (0.007)	-0.022 (0.014)	-0.019 (0.014)	0.036** (0.016)
Constant	0.052 (0.066)	0.220 (0.170)	0.856*** (0.167)	0.023 (0.166)
Observations	3,054	3,054	3,054	3,054
Controls	X	X	X	X

Notes: Quartile 1 are sectors with high dependence on ICT inputs. Quartile 4 are sectors with low dependence. This table shows the results of estimating a regression of employment shares within different sectoral categories on the quality of internet offered to businesses in 2018 (either the average download or upload speed), instrumented with the distance of a county centroid to an ARPANET line in 1979. We include geographic and economic controls in the first stage. Sectoral categories are due to industry linkages. We split the sectors in quartiles defined by rankings built using the absolute or relative dependence of a 2-digit NAICS sector on ICT-related inputs. We compute such quartiles using input-output tables from the BEA. Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are reported in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

bachelor's degree. Better Internet also increases the relative importance of both types of workers, as can be shown in column (1) of both panels. Table A-12 shows that these results are robust when we use upload speeds to measure the quality of Internet provision.

Table 7: **2SLS Estimates.** The Impact of Internet on the prevalence of ICT-intensive workers

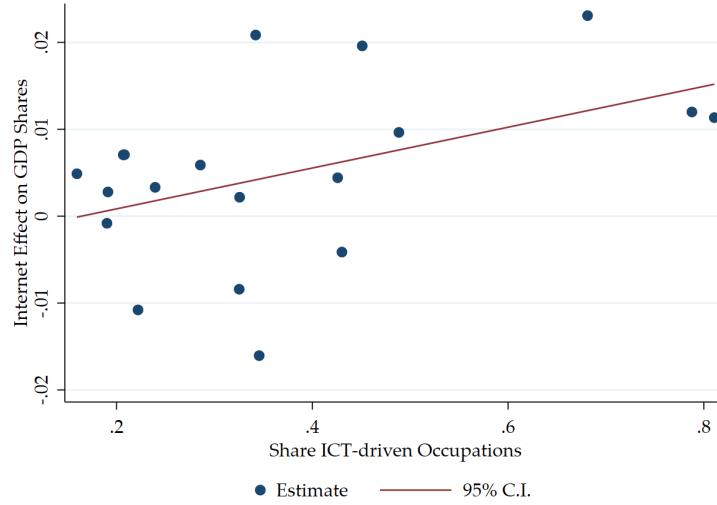
<i>Panel A:</i> Workers in ICT related occupations		
	Share (1)	Logs (2)
Log (Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.013* (0.007)	1.664*** (0.312)
Constant	0.119** (0.053)	-1.623 (2.339)
<i>Panel B:</i> Workers with more than a Bachelor's Degree		
	Share (1)	Logs (2)
Log (Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.034*** (0.007)	1.977*** (0.372)
Constant	0.176*** (0.057)	-0.604 (2.760)
Observations	3,072	3,071
Controls	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of regressions studying the impact of mean download speeds on the prevalence of ICT-intensive (Panel A) or high-skilled workers (Panel B), both using shares and logs. We use as instrumental variable the distance of a country centroid to an ARPANET connection line in 1979. We include geographic and economic controls in the first stage. Data for the dependent variables comes from the NHCIS 2013-2017 5-year ACS (NHCIS code: AH04 and AH3S). Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are reported in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

These results are consistent with the Rybczynski theorem from the HOV model: higher endowments of one factor lead to a more than proportional expansion of the output in the sector that uses such factor intensively, and a decline in the output of the other sector. In our case, since higher quality of Internet increases the number of workers who use ICTs more frequently, the sectors that expand are those who hire these workers more intensively. To support our argument, in Figure 4 we show the correlation between the size of the estimates that measure the impacts of better Internet speeds on GDP sectoral shares and the share of ICT-related occupations for 2-digits NAICS sector. This correlation is positive, hence sectors that employ more ICT-related workers see a larger expansion of their output share.

We also test for the presence of capital-skill complementarities, for the particular case of computer equipment. We estimate correlations at the county level between a proxy of county's use of computer equipment and its share of ICT-related workers, and average Internet speeds offered to business.

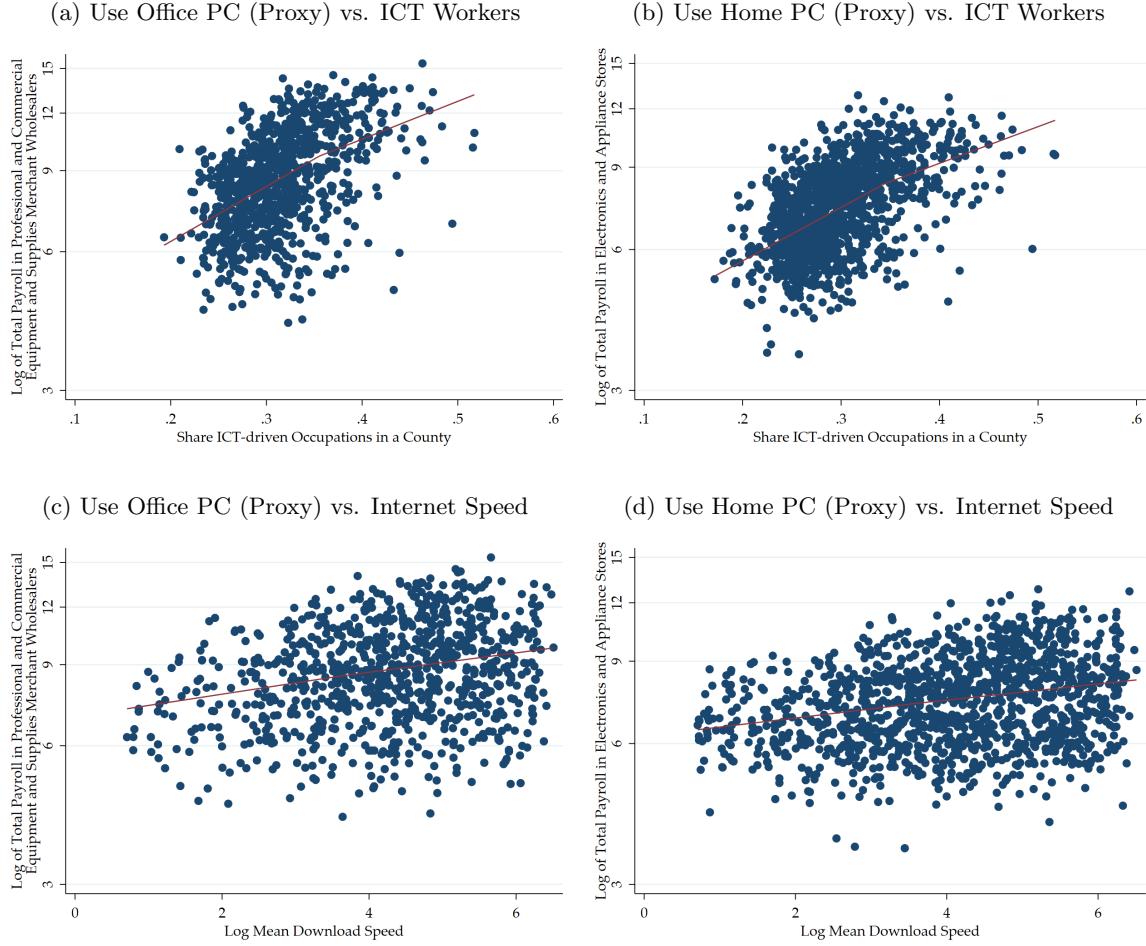
Figure 4: Estimates of the Impact of Faster Internet on Sectoral Economic Activity vs. Share of ICT-Related Occupations



Note: this figure shows the correlation between the 2SLS estimates that measure the causal impact of better Internet provision (i.e., faster download speeds offered by ISPs to businesses) on the share of GDP on 2-digit NAICS sectors (from Figure 3) and the share of workers in ICT-related occupations for each sector: management, business, and financial occupations, computer and mathematical occupations, architecture and engineering occupations, and office and administrative support occupations. The figure excludes the estimates for agriculture.

Since we do not have data on the sales or use of computers per county, we use the CBP's total payroll in two 4-digit sectors—*Electronics and Appliance Stores* and *Professional and Commercial Equipment and Supplies Merchant Wholesalers*—as proxies for the use or sales of home and office computers, respectively. We show the results of these correlations in Figure 5. In the top panel, we observe that counties with a larger share of workers in ICT-driven occupations have more activity in those sectors related to the retail and wholesale of computers and electronic equipment. Similarly, the bottom panel shows that Internet speeds in a county are positively correlated with the size of these sub-sectors. These results point to presence of capital-skill complementarity in counties with better communications infrastructure.

Figure 5: Use of PC in a County (Proxy), Workers in ICT-driven Occupations and Internet Speeds



Note: These figures show the correlation between the use of personal computers, the share of workers in ICT-related occupations in a county, and Internet quality (measured as the mean download speed offered by ISPs to firms). We use as proxy for “Use of Office PC” in a county the total payroll of the sub-sector *Electronics and Appliance Stores* (NAICS code 4232), and for “Use of Home PC” in a county the total payroll of the sub-sector *Professional and Commercial Equipment and Supplies Merchant Wholesalers* (NAICS code 4431). Due to confidentiality restrictions, the CBP data only reports this information for 893 counties for sector with NAICS code 4234, and for 1322 counties for the sector with NAICS code 4431.

5.5 Mechanism 3: Quality of Internet and Inequality

Our previous findings show that better Internet rises the share of high-skilled workers in a county. If the demand for these types of workers is increasing, it is possible that Internet speeds could affect local inequality through a relative increase in the wages of high-skilled workers. To formally test this hypothesis, we retrieve data from the 5-year 2015-2019 ACS on the median yearly earnings by educational attainment at the county level ([Manson et al., 2022](#)). Using these data, we compute its

average for workers in 3 distinct categories: individuals with less than a bachelor's degree,²⁵ with a bachelor's degree, or with a graduate or a professional degree. Afterward, we estimate the same regression as in Table 7, but using the log of earnings as the main dependent variable.

Results from Table 8 show that better quality of Internet leads to an increase in the earnings of workers with at least a bachelor's degree: a 1% increase in the quality of Internet increases median earnings by between 0.11% to 0.17%. On the other hand, better Internet seems to have a small but not significant effect on the earnings of those individuals with less than a bachelor's degree. Thus, our results show that the reduction in communication costs—induced by better Internet provision—leads to a rise in local inequality.

Table 8: 2SLS Estimates. The Impact of Internet Speed Offered to Businesses on the Earnings of Workers by Educational Attainment

	Earnings of Workers with		
	Less than Bachelor's (1)	Bachelor's (2)	Graduate or Professional (3)
Log (Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.031 (0.020)	0.157*** (0.035)	0.165*** (0.038)
Constant	9.622*** (0.199)	10.285*** (0.271)	10.733*** (0.268)
Panel B			
	Earnings of Workers with		
	Less than Bachelor's (1)	Bachelor's (2)	Graduate or Professional (3)
Log (Mean Upload Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.022 (0.014)	0.112*** (0.022)	0.116*** (0.023)
Constant	9.661*** (0.188)	10.492*** (0.230)	10.919*** (0.229)
Observations	3,071	3,048	3,001
Controls	X	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of regressions studying the impact of internet speeds on the earnings of workers by educational attainment. Internet speeds are measured with mean download speeds (Panel A) or mean upload speeds (Panel B) offered by Internet service providers to businesses in the county. The instrument is the county centroid's distance to an ARPANET connection line in 1979. We include geographic and economic controls in the first stage. Data for the dependent variables comes from the NHGIS 2015-2019 5-year ACS (NHGIS code: AMFR). Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are reported in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

²⁵This category includes individuals with less than or with a high school degree (including equivalencies), some college, or an associate's degree.

6 Conclusions

Higher quality communication infrastructure can have major impacts on local economic outcomes. Differently from other types of infrastructure, better communications infrastructure can increase the transmission speed of ideas between individuals at relatively low costs. Moreover, the reduction in trade costs derived from better communications infrastructure is different compared to the decrease in trade costs caused by roads or railroads. Although, research has also shown that improvements in communications access can lead to more innovation and entrepreneurship, larger firms, higher housing prices and higher trade flows. However, their effects on local economies and local structural transformation had remained understudied.

In this paper, we document how differences in the quality of communication infrastructure influence the structural transformation of local economies, their short-run economic growth, and their wage inequality. In particular, we use economic and Internet provision data for all counties in the United States for 2018, to explore the relationship between better Internet offered to firms, local economic growth and sectoral employment shares. For identification, we use the distance from each county to one of the lines connecting ARPANET nodes, a network that was the precursor of the Internet and later became the backbone of Internet in its initial stage. These connection lines represent the actual telecommunications equipment installed to connect the old network nodes. We obtain such information from historical government reports documenting the early history of Internet. We combine these historical data with different geographic and economic characteristics.

Our estimates suggest that if a county improves its Internet quality, its short-run GDP and employment growth increases. Moreover, better Internet favours employment in high-skilled services, such as, management, information, professional services and educational services. Nonetheless, better Internet also leads to a decrease in other sectors, such as, retail, food services, health services, and financial services. Even though the negative effect on the financial or the health services might seem puzzling, they appear natural when we explore a more disaggregated sectoral structure. Specifically, better Internet reduces the county share of employment in *Credit Intermediation and Related Activities*, which mostly includes physical banks, while it increases employment in sub-sectors related with high-tech finance, but increases in those subsectors related with high-tech financial products. Similarly, faster Internet reduces the local share of employment in social assistance and ambulatory healthcare services, but increases the employment shares of *Hospitals*.

Three mechanisms explain our results. First, we find that industry linkages account for some of the observed changes in local structural transformation. Specifically, we show that faster Internet favours sectors that purchase a higher amount of inputs from ICT-related industries. Second, we find that better Internet induces local sorting of high-skilled workers and workers in ICT-driven

occupations towards better connected regions. Thus, our results are consistent with the Rybczynski theorem from the Heckscher-Ohlin-Vanek model. Third, we show that reduction in communication costs induced by better provision of Internet increase local wage inequality. That is, subsidies to improve the quality of Internet may favor high-skilled workers.

Our results have implications for public expenditures on infrastructure, as they suggest that Internet quality explains regional inequality patterns. Advanced and middle-income economies have spent public resources on regional Internet subsidies like Canada ([Government of Canada, 2019](#)), the United States ([The White House, 2022](#)), Germany ([European Commission, 2022](#)), United Kingdom ([Hutton, 2022](#)), Colombia ([Gobierno de Colombia, 2022](#)) or Brazil ([Governo Federal do Brasil, 2020](#)). The motivation behind these policies has been to reduce the technology education gap and bring more development to the farther away regions. Nevertheless, such subsidies might lead to unintended consequences regarding local industry structure and wage inequality.

Two issues are beyond the scope of this paper as they would require a different econometric model and data. First, our empirical strategy does not allow us to study whether Internet improvements are zero sum. That is, whether counties with faster Internet are becoming more intensive in high-skilled services at the expense of other counties. Such question would require a dynamic panel data and an exogenous rollout of high quality Internet services. Second, our paper does not explain whether the local structural transformation in counties occurs due to the expansion of existing businesses or changes in the location decisions of firms . Although previous evidence shows that the availability of Internet (extensive margin) can change the spatial location of multi-establishment firms, for this question we would need a panel data containing both firm location and firm hiring across multiple years. From our point of view, both topics require further research.

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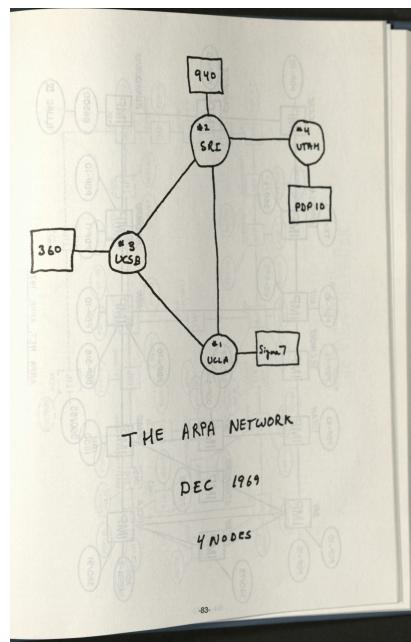
Quality of Communications Infrastructure Provision and Local Structural Transformation

Camilo Acosta, Universidad EAFIT
Luis Baldomero-Quintana, William & Mary

Appendix (for online publication)

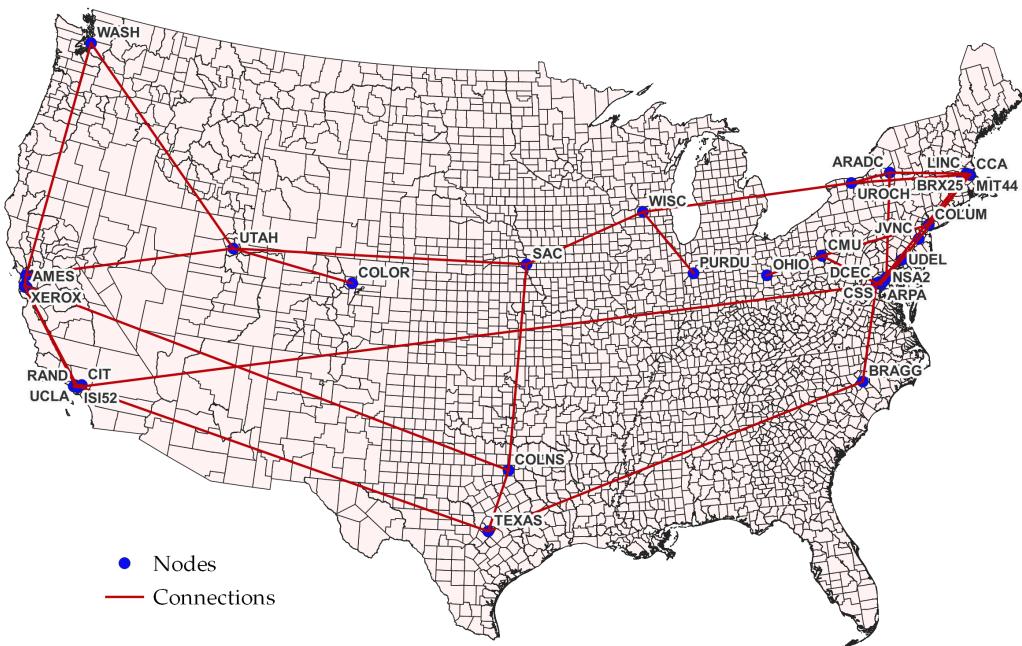
A1 Extra Figures and Tables

Figure A-1: Original description of ARPANET nodes in December 1969



Source: Cerf and Khan (1990)

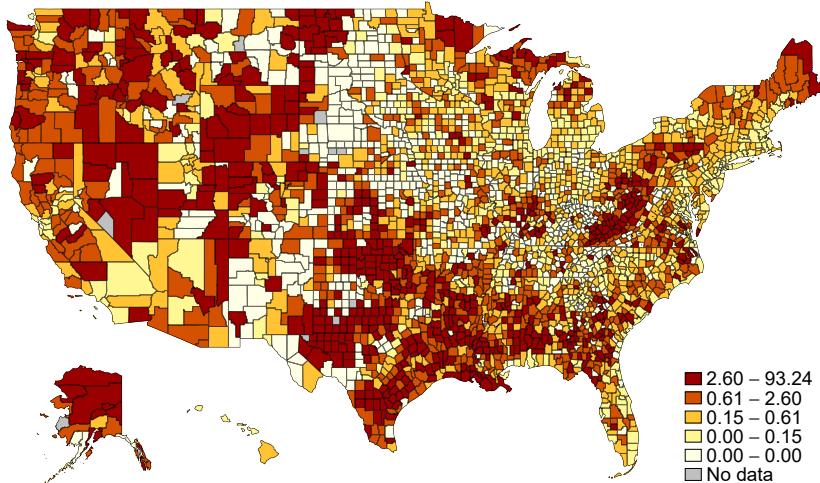
Figure A-2: ARPANET - 1988, Digitized Map



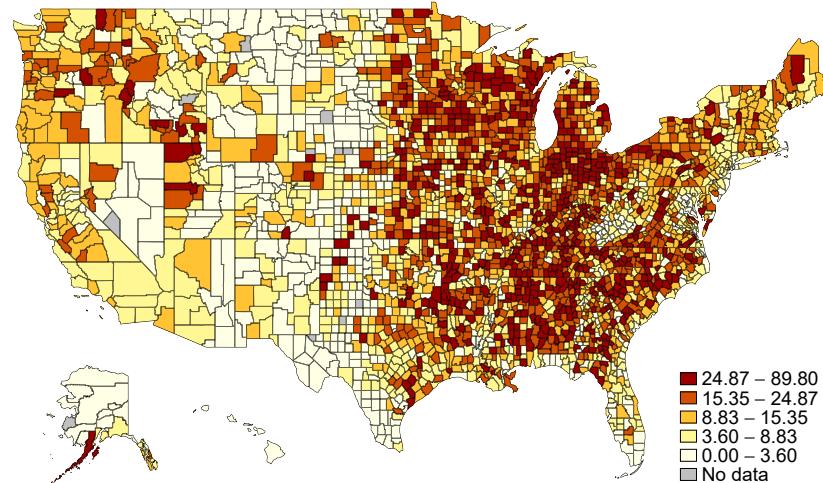
Note: this figure shows a digitized map of the ARPA network as of April 1988 extracted from Cerf and Khan (1990).

Figure A-3: Employment Shares by Aggregate Sectors

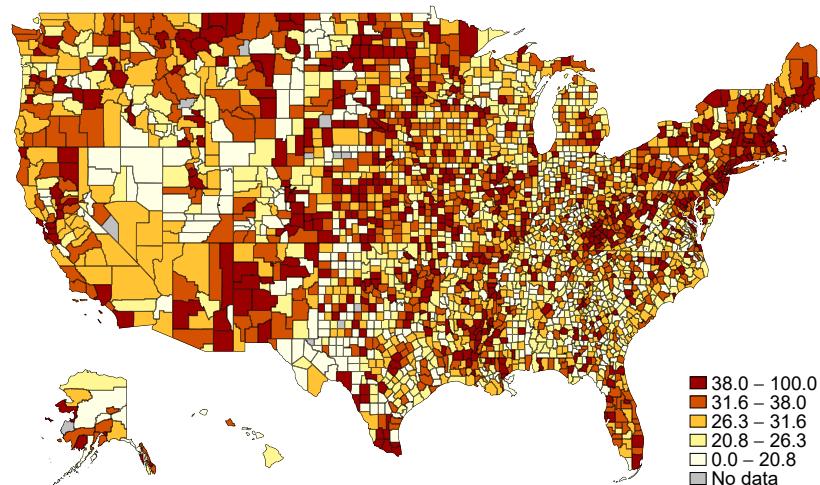
(a) Agriculture and Mining



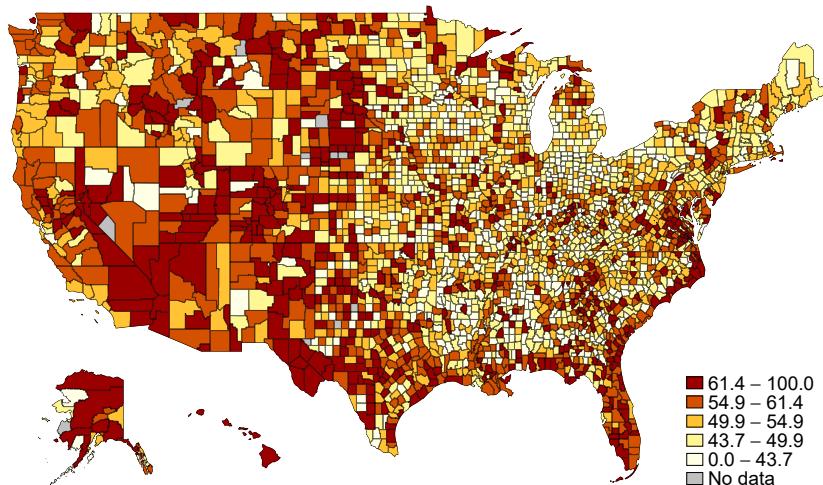
(b) Manufacturing



(c) High Skilled Services

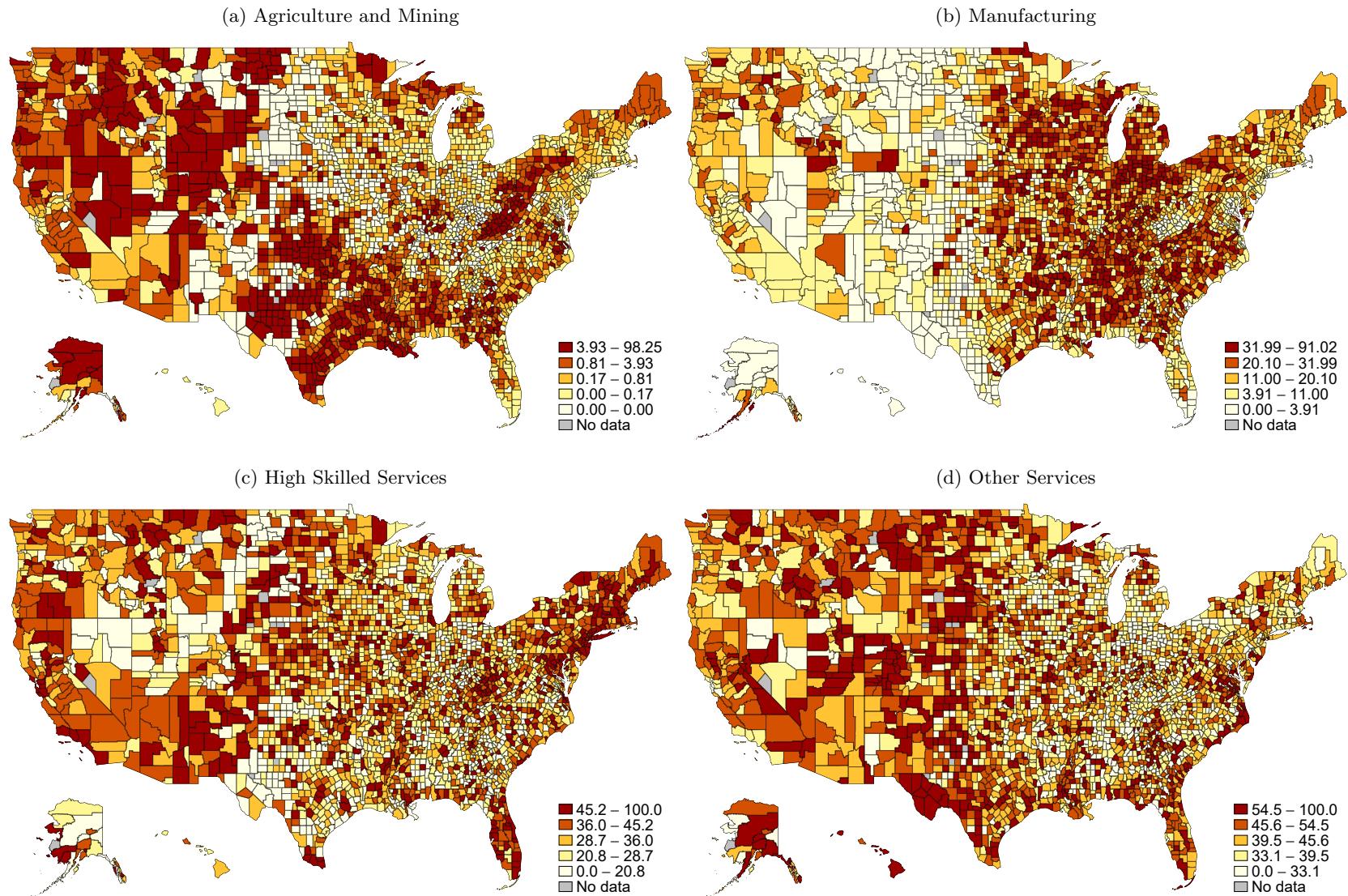


(d) Other Services



Note: these maps show the shares of employment in each county by quintiles using data from the 2018 County Business Patterns.

Figure A-4: Payroll Shares by Aggregate Sectors



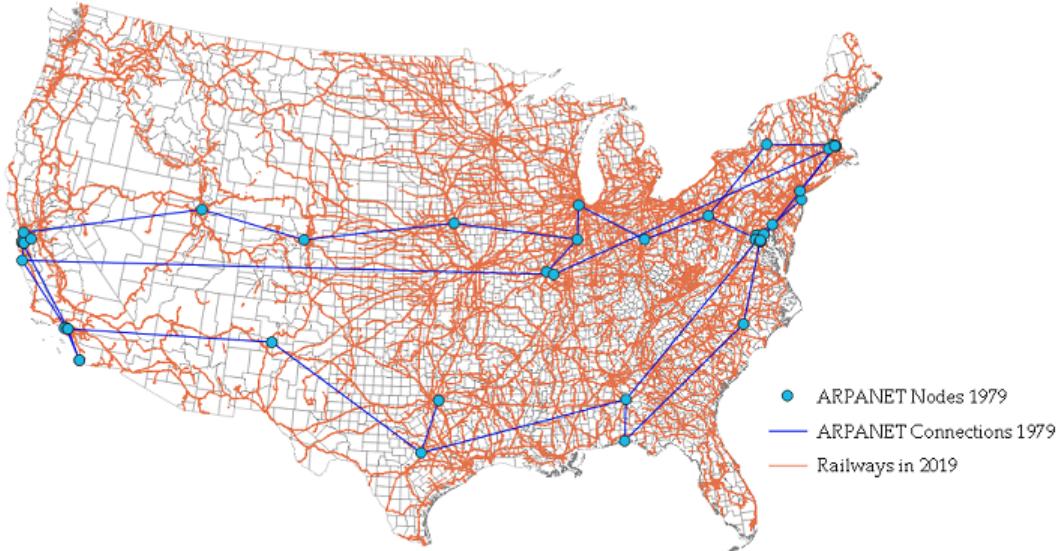
Note: these maps show the shares of aggregate payroll in each county by quintiles using data from the 2018 County Business Patterns.

Figure A-5: ARPANET Connections in 1979 and 2019 Transport Infrastructure

Panel A: Primary Roads in 2019 and ARPANET in 1979

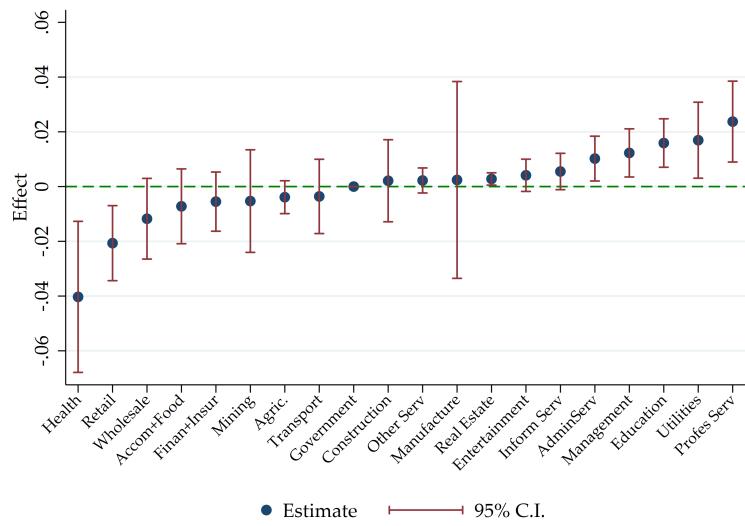


Panel B: Railways in 2019 and ARPANET in 1979



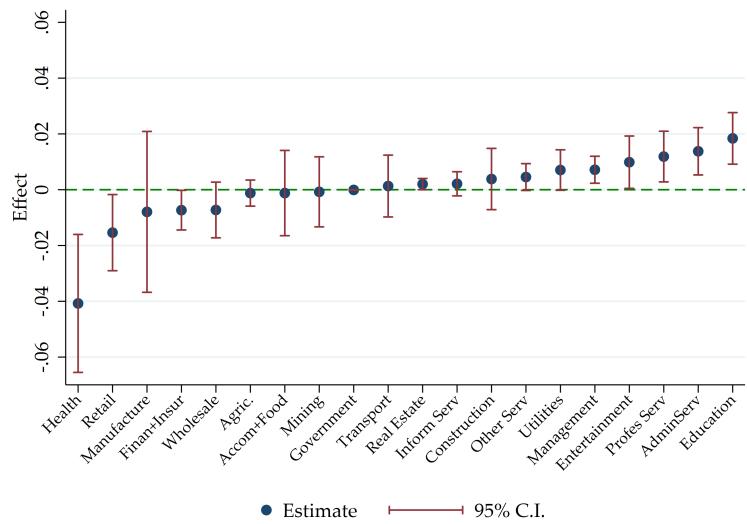
Note: these maps displays the digitized ARPANET structure in 1979 together with the US Primary Roads in 2019 (Panel A) or the Railways in 2019 (Panel B). Sources: [Cerf and Khan \(1990\)](#) and US Data Catalog.

Figure A-6: Internet and Local Structural Transformation - Impact of Download Speeds Offered to Businesses on Payroll Sectoral Shares



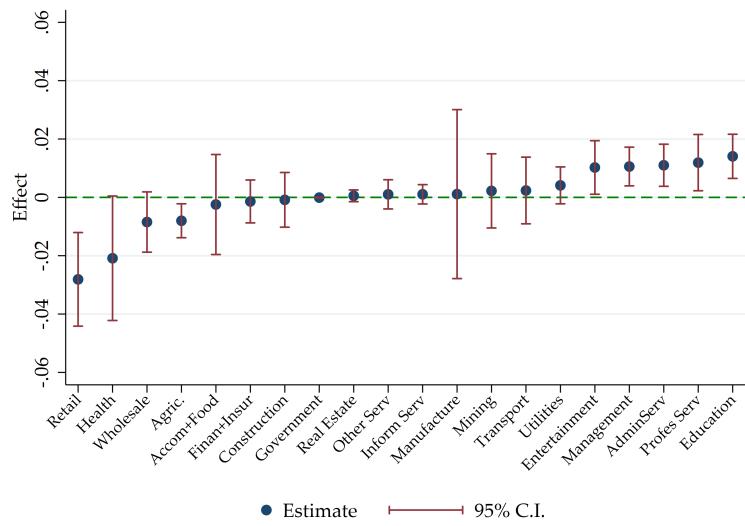
Note: this figure shows the causal effect of better Internet provision (measured as higher download speeds offered to businesses) on the share of payroll of 2-digit NAICS sectors, estimated using the distance to an ARPANET line in 1979 as an instrument, together with geographic and economic characteristics. The horizontal axis shows the sectors sorted by the size of the estimate. *Health* is the NAICS code 62 that includes both health and social assistance services. *Other Serv* is the NAICS code 81 and it considers services not classified in other 2-digit NAICS codes such as personal care, religious organizations, automotive and electronic repair, non-profits, funeral homes, etc. The full sector names are shown in Table A-1.

Figure A-7: Internet and Local Structural Transformation - Impact of Upload Speeds Offered to Businesses on Sectoral Employment Shares



Note: this figure shows the causal effect of better Internet provision (measured as higher upload speeds offered to businesses) on the share of employment of 2-digit NAICS sectors, estimated using the distance to an ARPANET line in 1979 as an instrument, together with geographic and economic characteristics. The horizontal axis shows the sectors sorted by the size of the estimate. *Health* is the NAICS code 62 that includes both health and social assistance services. *Other Serv* is the NAICS code 81 and it considers services not classified in other 2-digit NAICS codes such as personal care, religious organizations, automotive and electronic repair, non-profits, funeral homes, etc. The full sector names are shown in Table A-1.

Figure A-8: Internet and Local Structural Transformation - Impact of Internet Speed Offered to Businesses on Employment Shares - Alternative IV: ARPANET structure 1988



Note: this figure shows the causal effect of better Internet provision (measured as higher download speeds offered to businesses) on the share of employment of 2-digit NAICS sectors, estimated using the distance to an ARPANET line in 1988 as an instrument, together with geographic and economic characteristics. The horizontal axis shows the sectors sorted by the size of the estimate. *Health* is the NAICS code 62 that includes both health and social assistance services. *Other Serv* is the NAICS code 81 and it considers services not classified in other 2-digit NAICS codes such as personal care, religious organizations, automotive and electronic repair, non-profits, funeral homes, etc. The full sector names are shown in Table A-1.

Table A-1: List of NAICS 2-Digit Sectors

Sector	Description
11	Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting
21	Mining, Quarrying, and Oil and Gas Extraction
22	Utilities
23	Construction
31-33	Manufacturing
42	Wholesale Trade
44-45	Retail Trade
48-49	Transportation and Warehousing
51	Information
52	Finance and Insurance
53	Real Estate and Rental and Leasing
54	Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services
55	Management of Companies and Enterprises
56	Administrative and Support and Waste Management and Remediation Services
61	Educational Services
62	Health Care and Social Assistance
71	Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation
72	Accommodation and Food Services
81	Other Services (except Public Administration)

Notes: This table shows the codes and description for the 2-digit NAICS classification.

Table A-2: **OLS Estimates**. The Impact of ARPANET in 1988 on Modern Internet Speeds Offered to Businesses

Panel A: County has a node	Mean download speed		Mean upload speed	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Had node in 1988	1.434*** (0.161)	0.932*** (0.177)	1.738*** (0.171)	1.104*** (0.189)
Constant	3.600*** (0.039)	3.947*** (1.314)	3.238*** (0.046)	3.670** (1.478)
Panel B: County has a line		Mean download speed		Mean upload speed
		(1)	(2)	(3)
Had connection line in 1988	0.265*** (0.081)	0.205*** (0.079)	0.356*** (0.093)	0.280*** (0.090)
Constant	3.561*** (0.042)	3.571*** (1.351)	3.185*** (0.049)	3.229** (1.518)
Panel C: Distance to a line		Mean download speed		Mean upload speed
		(1)	(2)	(3)
Distance to Line in 1988	-0.161*** (0.026)	-0.123*** (0.026)	-0.219*** (0.030)	-0.182*** (0.030)
Constant	5.433*** (0.293)	4.302*** (1.369)	5.735*** (0.340)	4.326*** (1.526)
Panel D: Distance to a line (Categories)		Mean download speed		Mean upload speed
		(1)	(2)	(3)
Has a line	0.737*** (0.106)	0.673*** (0.105)	0.988*** (0.122)	0.937*** (0.120)
No line and $dist \in (0km, 72.2km]$	0.708*** (0.097)	0.646*** (0.098)	0.974*** (0.110)	0.942*** (0.110)
No line and $dist \in (72.2km, 131.3km]$	0.654*** (0.097)	0.647*** (0.097)	0.873*** (0.111)	0.903*** (0.111)
No line and $dist \in (131.3km, 224.7km]$	0.528*** (0.099)	0.561*** (0.097)	0.682*** (0.114)	0.754*** (0.112)
Constant	3.088*** (0.074)	1.641 (1.338)	2.553*** (0.086)	0.513 (1.504)
Observations	3,083	3,079	3,083	3,079
Controls		X		X

Notes: This table shows the impact of ARPANET in 1988 structure on today's internet, both the mean download and the mean upload speeds offered to businesses. The dependent variables are: a dummy variable that equals 1 if a county has a node (Panel A); a dummy variable that equals 1 if a county has a connection line (Panel B); the log of the distance between the country's centroid and a connection line (Panel C); and distance quartiles from a connection line (Panel D), where counties between 290.8km and 1,118km belong to the omitted category. Panels B, C and D do not include counties with a node in 1988 (26) and the number of observations correspond to these panels. Controls include geographic and economic characteristics. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A-3: **OLS Estimates**. The Impact of ARPANET on 2014 Internet Speeds Offered to Businesses

Panel A: County has a node	Mean download speed (1)	Mean download speed (2)	Mean upload speed (3)	Mean upload speed (4)
Had node in 1979	1.080*** (0.160)	0.737*** (0.155)	1.697*** (0.209)	1.194*** (0.204)
Constant	3.261*** (0.026)	3.115*** (0.793)	2.262*** (0.042)	1.026 (1.275)
Panel B: County has a line	Mean download speed (1)	Mean download speed (2)	Mean upload speed (3)	Mean upload speed (4)
Had connection line in 1979	0.295*** (0.058)	0.227*** (0.056)	0.515*** (0.088)	0.394*** (0.086)
Constant	3.221*** (0.027)	2.752*** (0.817)	2.193*** (0.044)	0.374 (1.290)
Panel C: Distance to a line	Mean download speed (1)	Mean download speed (2)	Mean upload speed (3)	Mean upload speed (4)
Distance to Line in 1979	-0.137*** (0.017)	-0.117*** (0.017)	-0.226*** (0.026)	-0.208*** (0.027)
Constant	4.844*** (0.196)	2.830*** (0.806)	4.865*** (0.302)	0.513 (1.270)
Panel D: Distance to a line (Categories)	Mean download speed (1)	Mean download speed (2)	Mean upload speed (3)	Mean upload speed (4)
Has a line	0.487*** (0.073)	0.435*** (0.070)	0.841*** (0.109)	0.786*** (0.109)
No line and $dist \in (0km, 73.4km]$	0.452*** (0.068)	0.427*** (0.068)	0.729*** (0.103)	0.759*** (0.106)
No line and $dist \in (73.4km, 151.5km]$	0.185*** (0.066)	0.201*** (0.066)	0.353*** (0.100)	0.432*** (0.102)
No line and $dist \in (151.5km, 290.8km]$	0.133** (0.064)	0.187*** (0.061)	0.219** (0.098)	0.347*** (0.095)
Constant	3.029*** (0.046)	1.211 (0.843)	1.867*** (0.069)	-2.475* (1.340)
Observations	3,077	3,072	3,077	3,072
Controls		X		X

Notes: This table shows the impact of ARPANET in 1979 structure on Internet speeds offered to businesses in 2014 by county. We display the impact on the mean download and the mean upload speeds. The dependent variables are: a dummy variable that equals 1 if a county has a node (Panel A); a dummy variable that equals 1 if a county has a connection line (Panel B); the log of the distance between the county's centroid and a connection line (Panel C); and distance quartiles from a connection line (Panel D), where counties between 290.8km and 1,118km belong to the omitted category. Panels B, C and D do not include counties with a node in 1979 (32) and the number of observations correspond to these panels. Controls include geographic and economic characteristics. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A-4: Correlation between 1979 ARPANET Structure and 1970 Employment Shares

	Node in 1979 (1)	Node in 1979 (2)	Connection line in 1979 (3)	Connection line in 1979 (4)
Share of high-skilled services in 1970	0.713*** (0.188)		0.568* (0.299)	
Share of business services in 1970		1.311*** (0.386)		0.488 (0.523)
Constant	-0.039 (0.131)	-0.016 (0.133)	-0.206 (0.247)	-0.222 (0.250)
Observations	3,097	3,097	3,065	3,065
Controls	X	X	X	X

Notes: This table shows the correlation between the location of ARPANET nodes and connection lines in 1979 with the shares of workers in high-skilled services or in business services, controlling for the vector of geographic and economic characteristics. Regressions from columns 3 and 4 do not include counties with nodes. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A-5: **2SLS Estimates**. Effect of Better Internet Speed Offered to Businesses on Local Economic Aggregates
Other Standard Errors

	<i>Panel A: SHAC p75</i>			
	GDP (1)	Annual Payroll (2)	Employment (3)	Average Wage (4)
Log(Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.037* (0.021) [0.022]	0.024 (0.018) [0.020]	0.049*** (0.016) [0.017]	-0.028** (0.011) [0.012]
Constant	0.074 (0.174) [0.184]	0.211 (0.131) [0.149]	0.281*** (0.096) [0.120]	-0.052 (0.081) [0.085]
FS F-Test	37.14	38.45	37.79	37.79
<i>Panel B: SHAC p90</i>	Growth rate of			
	GDP (1)	Annual Payroll (2)	Employment (3)	Average Wage (4)
Log(Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.037 (0.021) [0.023]	0.024 (0.018) [0.020]	0.049*** (0.016) [0.018]	-0.028** (0.011) [0.013]
Constant	0.074 (0.174) [0.189]	0.211 (0.131) [0.158]	0.281*** (0.096) [0.134]	-0.052 (0.081) [0.085]
FS F-Test	29.98	30.92	30.45	30.45
Observations	3,022	3,047	3,037	3,037
Controls	X	X	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of regression of different local economic outcomes on current Internet (both mean download and upload speeds offered to businesses). We use the county centroid's distance to an ARPANET connection line in 1979 as an instrument. We include geographic and economic controls in our first stage. Average wages are measure as the ratio between total payroll and total employment. Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. The FS F-Test corresponds to the Kleibergen & Paap F-test for weak instruments. Robust standard errors are in parentheses and SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in brackets, with p-values * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. In Panel A, the radius for SHAC errors is set at 41.61km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the 75th percentile of the distribution. In Panel B, the radius is 59.37km, corresponding to the 90th percentile.

Table A-6: **2SLS Estimates.** Effect of Better Internet Speeds Offered to Business on Local Economic Aggregates - Alternate IV: 1988 ARPANET Structure

	Growth rate of			
	GDP (1)	Annual Payroll (2)	Employment (3)	Average Wage (4)
Log(Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.088*** (0.024) [0.026]	0.026* (0.014) [0.015]	0.033*** (0.013) [0.013]	-0.010 (0.009) [0.009]
Constant	-0.032 (0.191) [0.204]	0.204 (0.128) [0.141]	0.321*** (0.091) [0.105]	-0.099 (0.076) [0.078]
F test	59.503	63.202	61.823	61.823
Panel B	Growth rate of			
	GDP (1)	Annual Payroll (2)	Employment (3)	Average Wage (4)
Log(Mean Upload Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.045*** (0.012) [0.013]	0.014* (0.007) [0.008]	0.017*** (0.006) [0.007]	-0.005 (0.005) [0.005]
Constant	0.182 (0.175) [0.184]	0.271** (0.125) [0.139]	0.405*** (0.086) [0.101]	-0.125* (0.074) [0.076]
F test	94.073	99.958	98.477	98.477
Observations	3,022	3,047	3,037	3,037
Controls	X	X	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of regression of different local economic outcomes on current internet (both mean download and upload speeds), using the county centroid's distance to an ARPANET connection line in 1988 as an instrument. We include geographic and economic controls in our first stage. Average wages are measure as the ratio between total payroll and total employment. Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. The FS F-Test corresponds to the Kleibergen & Paap F-test for weak instruments. Robust standard errors are in parentheses and SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in brackets, with p-values * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The radius for SHAC errors is set at 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution.

Table A-7: **2SLS Estimates**. Effect of Higher Internet Speed Offered to Businesses on Local Economic Aggregates

<i>Panel A: All Counties</i>	Growth rate of			
<i>Download Speed</i>	GDP (1)	Annual Payroll (2)	Employment (3)	Average Wage (4)
Log(Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.039** (0.019)	0.024 (0.016)	0.044*** (0.014)	-0.022** (0.010)
Constant	0.043 (0.177)	0.189 (0.137)	0.269** (0.105)	-0.065 (0.080)
FS F-Test	57.729	59.717	58.813	58.813
<i>Panel A: All Counties</i>	Growth rate of			
<i>Upload Speed</i>	GDP (1)	Annual Payroll (2)	Employment (3)	Average Wage (4)
Log(Mean Upload Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.022** (0.011)	0.014 (0.009)	0.025*** (0.008)	-0.013** (0.006)
Constant	0.138 (0.172)	0.250* (0.135)	0.380*** (0.101)	-0.120 (0.075)
FS F-Test	71.895	74.773	73.640	73.640
Observations	3,053	3,079	3,069	3,069
<i>Panel C: Base Sample</i>	Growth rate of			
<i>Median Speed</i>	GDP (1)	Annual Payroll (2)	Employment (3)	Average Wage (4)
Log(Median Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.160 (0.113)	0.102 (0.091)	0.209** (0.102)	-0.120* (0.063)
Constant	-0.319 (0.378)	-0.037 (0.297)	-0.234 (0.329)	0.243 (0.211)
FS F-Test	6.657	7.067	7.081	7.081
Observations	3,022	3,047	3,037	3,037
Controls	X	X	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of regression of different local economic outcomes on current Internet speeds offered to businesses, using the county centroid's distance to an ARPANET connection line in 1979 as an instrument. We include geographic and economic controls in the first stage. Average wages are measure as the ratio between total payroll and total employment. Regressions from Panel A and B include all counties in the US, even if they had a node in 1979. Regressions from Panel C use the baseline sample and the median download speed as a measure of internet speed. The FS F-Test corresponds to the Kleibergen & Paap F-test for weak instruments. Robust standard errors are in parentheses and SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in brackets, with p-values * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The radius for SHAC errors is set at 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution.

Table A-8: **2SLS Estimates**. Effect of Better Internet Speeds Offered to Businesses on Local Economic Aggregates

	<i>Panel A: Download Speed</i>			
	Growth rate of			
	GDP	Annual Payroll	Employment	Average Wage
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.047* (0.026)	0.043** (0.021)	0.065*** (0.019)	-0.026** (0.013)
Constant	0.128 (0.179)	0.368*** (0.133)	0.440*** (0.105)	-0.058 (0.082)
FS F-Test	34.936	38.724	37.960	37.960
<i>Panel B: Upload Speed</i>		Growth rate of		
	GDP	Annual Payroll	Employment	Average Wage
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean Upload Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.026* (0.014)	0.024** (0.012)	0.036*** (0.010)	-0.014** (0.007)
Constant	0.232 (0.184)	0.467*** (0.132)	0.591*** (0.103)	-0.118 (0.083)
FS F-Test	46.703	51.357	50.369	50.369
Observations	2,996	3,014	3,004	3,004
Controls	X	X	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of regression of different local economic outcomes on current internet (both mean download and upload speeds), using the county centroid's distance to an ARPANET connection line in 1979 as an instrument. We include geographic and economic controls in our first stage. Average wages are measure as the ratio between total payroll and total employment. Regressions do not include counties in six MSAs that have a relatively high concentration of nodes in 1979: Boston-Cambridge-Newton, Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, New York-Newark-Jersey City, San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, and Washington-Arlington-Alexandria. The FS F-Test corresponds to the Kleibergen & Paap F-test for weak instruments. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in parentheses, with p-values * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The radius for SHAC errors is set at 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution.

Table A-9: **OLS Estimates.** Effect of Better Internet Speeds Offered to Businesses on Local Economic Aggregates

	<i>Panel A: Download Speed</i>			
	GDP (1)	Annual Payroll (2)	Employment (3)	Average Wage (4)
Log(Mean Download Speed Offered to Businesses)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.006** (0.003)	-0.003* (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)
Constant	0.155 (0.173)	0.288** (0.136)	0.416*** (0.097)	-0.119 (0.075)
<i>Panel B: Upload Speed</i>				
	GDP (1)	Annual Payroll (2)	Employment (3)	Average Wage (4)
Log(Mean Upload Speed Offered to Businesses)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.003** (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)
Constant	0.150 (0.174)	0.274** (0.137)	0.408*** (0.097)	-0.125 (0.076)
Observations	3,022	3,047	3,037	3,037
Controls	X	X	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of regression of different local economic outcomes on current internet (both mean download and upload speeds), using OLS and controlling for geographic and economic characteristics. Average wages are measure as the ratio between total payroll and total employment. Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are in parentheses, with p-values * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The radius for SHAC errors is set at 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution.

Table A-10: **2SLS Estimates, Heterogeneity Analysis.** Importance of Internet within Sector (by Quartiles) - Dependent Variable: Log Annual Payroll

Panel A		Absolute relevance - download speed			
		Quartile 4	Quatrise 3	Quartile 2	Quartile 1
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean download speed Offered to Businesses)		-0.004 (0.011)	0.044* (0.023)	-0.114** (0.050)	0.036 (0.029)
Constant		-0.068 (0.091)	-0.023 (0.159)	1.101** (0.503)	-0.040 (0.203)
Panel B		Absolute relevance - upload speed			
		Quartile 4	Quatrise 3	Quartile 2	Quartile 1
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean upload speed Offered to Businesses)		-0.003 (0.008)	0.032** (0.016)	-0.081** (0.035)	0.025 (0.020)
Constant		-0.072 (0.086)	0.033 (0.141)	0.955* (0.510)	0.006 (0.204)
Panel C		Relative relevance - download speed			
		Quartile 4	Quatrise 3	Quartile 2	Quartile 1
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean download speed Offered to Businesses)		0.393 (0.494)	-0.082* (0.046)	-0.012 (0.026)	0.050 (0.033)
Constant		2.133 (4.592)	0.001 (0.404)	0.830*** (0.265)	0.067 (0.234)
Panel D		Relative relevance - upload speed			
		Quartile 4	Quatrise 3	Quartile 2	Quartile 1
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Mean upload speed Offered to Businesses)		0.280 (0.351)	-0.058* (0.032)	-0.008 (0.018)	0.035 (0.023)
Constant		2.637 (4.279)	-0.104 (0.428)	0.816*** (0.248)	0.131 (0.234)
Observations		3,054	3,054	3,054	3,054
Controls		X	X	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of estimating a regression of payroll shares within different sectoral categories on the quality of internet in 2018 (either the average download or upload speed), instrumented with the county centroid's distance to an ARPANET line in 1979. We include geographic and economic controls in the first stage. Sectoral categories are given by quartile aggregations given different rankings built using the absolute or relative dependence of a 2-digit NAICS sector on ICT-related inputs, which was computed using input-output tables from the BEA. Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are reported in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A-11: **2SLS Estimates, Heterogeneity Analysis.** Importance of Internet within Sector (other classifications) - Dependent Variable: Log Employment

Panel A	Absolute relevance - download speed (employment)					
	Tertile 3	Tertile 2	Tertile 1	Decile 10	Decile 5	Decile 1
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(4)
Log(Mean download speed Offered to Businesses)	-0.010 (0.010)	0.011 (0.021)	-0.003 (0.025)	0.005 (0.006)	0.003 (0.009)	0.071*** (0.017)
Constant	0.250*** (0.072)	0.222 (0.169)	0.753*** (0.218)	0.128** (0.053)	0.116 (0.072)	0.104 (0.113)

Panel B	Relative relevance - download speed (employment)					
	Tertile 3	Tertile 2	Tertile 1	Decile 10	Decile 5	Decile 1
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(4)
Log(Mean download speed Offered to Businesses)	-0.015 (0.011)	0.002 (0.020)	0.009 (0.025)	-0.000 (0.005)	-0.025 (0.019)	0.071*** (0.017)
Constant	0.025 (0.082)	0.407** (0.171)	0.724*** (0.211)	0.092** (0.042)	0.268 (0.171)	0.104 (0.113)

Panel C	Absolute relevance - download speed (annual payroll)					
	Tertile 3	Tertile 2	Tertile 1	Decile 10	Decile 5	Decile 1
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(4)
Log(Mean download speed Offered to Businesses)	-0.015 (0.013)	-0.012 (0.045)	0.003 (0.035)	0.008 (0.008)	0.017 (0.012)	0.073*** (0.018)
Constant	0.397*** (0.099)	-0.148 (0.385)	0.827*** (0.311)	0.175** (0.080)	0.141 (0.097)	0.140 (0.128)

Panel D	Relative relevance - download speed (annual payroll)					
	Tertile 3	Tertile 2	Tertile 1	Decile 10	Decile 5	Decile 1
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(4)
Log(Mean download speed Offered to Businesses)	-0.015 (0.015)	-0.029 (0.045)	0.007 (0.035)	0.001 (0.007)	-0.078* (0.045)	0.073*** (0.018)
Constant	-0.016 (0.110)	0.167 (0.392)	0.818*** (0.306)	0.106* (0.056)	0.090 (0.400)	0.141 (0.128)
Observations	3,054	3,054	3,054	3,054	3,054	3,054
Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of estimating a regression of employment shares within different sectoral categories on the quality of internet in 2018 (either the average download or upload speed offered to businesses). Our instrument is the county centroid's distance to an ARPANET line in 1979. We include geographic and economic controls in the first stage. Sectoral categories are given by deciles or tertiles aggregations given different rankings built using the absolute or relative dependence of a 2-digit NAICS sector on ICT-related inputs. Decile or tertile 1 is high dependence, decile 10 or tertile 3 is low dependence. We compute the absolute and relative dependence using input-output tables from the BEA. Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are reported in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A-12: **2SLS Estimates**. The Impact of Internet on the prevalence of ICT-intensive workers, Upload Speeds

<i>Panel A:</i> Workers in ICT related occupations		
	Share (1)	Logs (2)
Log (Mean Upload Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.009* (0.005)	1.195*** (0.185)
Constant	0.135** (0.053)	0.468 (1.816)

<i>Panel B:</i> Workers with more than a Bachelor's Degree		
	Share (1)	Logs (2)
Log (Mean Upload Speed Offered to Businesses)	0.024*** (0.005)	1.420*** (0.220)
Constant	0.218*** (0.052)	1.870 (2.128)
Observations	3,072	3,071
Controls	X	X

Notes: This table shows the results of regressions studying the impact of mean upload speeds on the prevalence of ICT-intensive (Panel A) or high-skilled workers (Panel B), both using shares and logs. We use as IV the county centroid's distance to an ARPANET connection line in 1979. We include geographic and economic controls in the first stage. Data for the dependent variables comes from the NHGIS 2013-2017 5-year ACS (NHGIS code: AH04 and AH3S). Regressions do not include counties with ARPANET nodes in 1979. SHAC adjusted standard errors (Conley, 1999) are reported in parenthesis, with a radius of 28.55km, corresponding to the radius of the metropolitan area in the median of the distribution. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$