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Information Technology and the Distribution of Inventive Activity

Chris Forman, Avi Goldfarb, and Shane Greenstein

6.1 Introduction

Vannevar Bush's publication *Science: The Endless Frontier* frames a range of questions about the localization of information, and about how the costs of knowledge transmission, dissemination, and collaboration increase in distance (Jaffe, Trajtenberg, and Henderson 1993; Glaeser, Kerr, and Ponzetto 2010; Delgado, Porter, and Stern 2010; Saxenian 1994; and others). Over the years this conceptualization has motivated a range of research questions about the collocation of inventive activity. The creation and maintenance of geographic clusters of invention, and their links to regional economic growth, have been an important part of innovation policy.

In the years since the publication of that book, several factors have potentially altered the importance of agglomeration for inventive activity. First, globalization and the vertical disintegration of supply chains—in which increasingly many different companies manufacture the components that make up a final product—has increased the premium on invention as a source of regional competitiveness, thereby reinforcing preexisting differences in

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the geographic distribution of invention. Second, declines in communications costs—engendered by the widespread diffusion of the Internet—have substantially reduced the cost of certain kinds of communication, leading to changes in the geographic distribution of innovation and invention (Agrawal and Goldfarb 2008; Forman and van Zeebroeck 2012). These two changes push in opposite directions.

In this chapter, we ask whether invention, as measured in patent data, has become more geographically concentrated between the early 1990s and the early twenty-first century. We address this topic in order to explore the overall net effect of the two forces pushing for or against geographic agglomeration of invention. We also explore the potential role of Internet technology in explaining this pattern. Either an increase or decrease in the geographic concentration of invention is possible. By increase in concentration, we mean that the places that served as the location for the majority of the inventions in the past serve as a source for an even greater share in the future. The places rich with inventions become richer. By decrease, we mean the opposite, that the places that are not rich with invention become richer.

This chapter builds on our research agenda examining how the diffusion of the Internet altered the geographic concentration of activity (Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012). The approach of this study resembles our approach in Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein (2012), which examined how geographic variation in business Internet adoption shaped US wage growth over the late 1990s. This chapter examines a different outcome, and hence, a different question, namely, whether those counties that were leading innovators (as measured by patents) between 1990 and 1995 increased or decreased their relative rate of patenting between 2000 and 2005. Then we explore how Internet adoption correlates with this change, and whether it increases or decreases the rate of concentration in patenting.

We undertake this exercise with the view that economic theory does not give clear guidance to the expected result. There are good reasons to expect the Internet to have increased the geographic concentration of invention or to have decreased it.

On the side of increasing concentration: the literature on the economics of information technology (IT) often finds a localization of the adoption of IT (Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein [2008] and Forman and Goldfarb [2006] reviews the literature). The effective use of advanced Internet technology draws on frontier IT skills that are found disproportionately in urban areas, and it builds on existing links between business use of IT, support services, and specialized labor markets in urban areas. Furthermore, while the Internet reduces communication costs for both local and distant communication, most communication and most social contacts are local (Wellman 2001; Hampton and Wellman 2002). Much of the literature on Internet adoption and usage, including much of our own prior work, shows a high geographic concentration of economic activity in the areas where the Internet is most

frequently adopted (Blum and Goldfarb 2006; Sinai and Waldfogel 2004; Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2005; Kolko 2002; Glaeser and Ponzetto 2007; Arora and Forman 2007; Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2012; Agrawal, Catalini, and Goldfarb 2011; and others).

On the side of decreasing concentration: the Internet is a communications technology, and it can allow people in isolated areas to plug in to the rest of the economy. Communications scholars and others have long argued that the Internet might overcome geographic barriers to economic (and political) activities. Cairncross (1997) and Friedman (2005) provide popular summaries of these ideas, emphasizing the “death of distance” and the “flat world.” Moreover, in the specific context of knowledge production and invention, the Internet can reduce collaboration costs and, potentially, the importance of collocation in inventive activity. The empirical literature also has some findings suggesting that the Internet might increase cross-institutional and cross-regional collaboration over time (Jones, Wuchty, and Uzzi 2008; Agrawal and Goldfarb 2008; Ding et al. 2010). The setting most closely resembling the one we study in this chapter (Forman and van Zeebroeck 2012) also shows that Internet adoption leads to increased distant collaboration for patents issued to researchers in a given multiestablishment firm.

Our findings generally favor the view that the Internet worked against the concentration of invention. Studying the growth rate of patenting across counties, we show this in several steps. First, we show that invention became more geographically concentrated over this period, suggesting a general trend toward increasing concentration of invention. Specifically, our raw data suggest that patenting grew 27 percent during this period. For the top quartile of patenting counties from 1990–95, patenting grew 50 percent. For those below the median, patenting did not grow at all. We highlight differences between our setting and findings and a line of research that has found convergence in economic growth rates across countries and geographic regions (e.g., Barro and Sala-i-Martin 1991; Magrini 2004; Delgado, Porter, and Stern 2010, 2012). While differences between our results and this research line may reflect differences in our measure of local economic activity (patents vs. economic output or wage growth), we also show that our findings are driven in particular by substantial increases in the concentration of patenting at the very top of the distribution.

We next demonstrate how county-level growth in patenting is shaped by business Internet adoption and the prior concentration of patents. While the geographic concentration of patenting increased over the time period we study, the Internet appears to have mitigated, rather than exacerbated, that trend. In particular, the overall concentration of invention rose but, among counties that were leading Internet adopters, we see little change in the concentration of invention. Furthermore, our results suggest that this relationship is strongest for long-distance collaboration. Although it is important to recognize that we cannot rule out the possibility that an omitted factor caused both

Internet adoption and growth in patenting in the set of Internet-adopting counties with that were behind in patenting in the early 1990s, our results are more consistent with the Internet reducing the geographic concentration of invention than with the Internet increasing that concentration.

To summarize, our chapter provides evidence about the net effects of opposing factors that have influenced the concentration of inventive activity since the publication of Bush's book. We highlight the effects of the Internet. Recent literature has shown that scientific collaboration across institutions has increased over time and that IT is partly responsible. We contribute the first direct evidence that the diffusion of the Internet is correlated with a reduction in the geographic concentration of inventive activity, suggesting that the diffusion of the Internet has the potential to weaken the long-standing importance of the geographic localization of innovative activity. Our results also raise intriguing questions about whether the Internet's impact on the geographic concentration of invention is distinct from its impact on the geographic concentration of other economic activity, such as wages, business adoption of IT, hospital productivity, and so on. That is, the Internet may be a force for weakening the links between the geography of inventive activity and the geography of other economic activity.

6.2 Data

We use a variety of data sources to examine how adoption of advanced internet among firms will affect local inventive activity. We match data on IT investment from the Harte-Hanks Market Intelligence computer intelligence database with patent data from the United States Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) between 1990 and 2005. We further combine this with data from the US decennial census. Our sample construction is shaped by key features of our data and the setting. First, we expect a significant lag between the time when IT investments are made and when they influence the creation of new invention. Second, there is significant year-to-year variability in patent output at the county level and particularly at the industry-county level. Third, as with our prior work, we exploit the historical circumstances that led to the deployment of the Internet. Instead of creating a gradual deployment and adoption, circumstances created a rather abrupt change in a short time span, leading to a period “before the Internet diffused” and a period “after the Internet diffused.” As a result, in our core analyses our base period and reference period both include six years—that is, we look at the difference in patent output between 1990 and 1995 (before the diffusion of the Internet) and 2000 and 2005 (after its diffusion).¹

1. We have experimented with alternative specifications for the base and reference years. Our results are robust to these changes, though we do sometimes lose significance for some results in some years.

6.2.1 Patent Data

Our data on local inventive output are measured using patent data from the USPTO. We use application rather than grant date to measure the timing of inventive activity because the application-to-grant delay varies over time, and because the application date is closer to the time when the invention occurred.²

To measure the effect that Internet adoption will have on local inventive activity, we match patents to counties using inventor locations.³ For patents with multiple inventors that reside in multiple counties, we allocate patents to all of the counties where inventors reside. We use county as the unit of observation rather than metropolitan statistical areas (MSA) to facilitate comparison with prior work that has studied the implications of Internet investment on local economic outcomes (Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2012). Our procedure will accurately assign patent output to the correct county to the extent that inventors work where they reside, but may make some errors in assignment when inventors commute between counties.⁴

In our analyses we use a combination of raw patent counts and five-year citation-weighted patents as our measure of inventive output. As is well known, not all inventions meet the US Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) criteria for patentability (Jaffe and Trajtenberg 2002). Further, inventors must make an explicit decision to patent an invention rather than relying on some other method to appropriate the value of their invention. There will be incremental inventive activity that is not patented and therefore is not reflected in patent statistics (e.g., Cohen, Nelson, and Walsh 2000). However, so long as the propensity of firms in a location to patent does not vary significantly over time in a way that is correlated with Internet adoption, this should not bias our estimates of the key parameters of interest. It is also well known that patent values are very skewed. Weighting by citations is one way to address this problem; citation-weighted patents have been shown to be correlated with a firm's stock market value above and beyond the information provided by patent counts (Hall, Jaffe, and Trajtenberg 2005).

Our baseline analyses explore whether Internet adoption is associated with changes in the growth of total patents and citation-weighted patents

2. See, for example, Griliches (1990).

3. Specifically, we match the city and state of the inventor location to zip codes, and then match the zip codes to counties.

4. We also believe that using inventor locations, which is often the location of their residence, is superior to the alternative of using the location of the assignee, which is the location of a firm or corporate building in the vast majority of patents. The latter does not necessarily correspond with the location of the invention, particularly in corporations that assign all patents to headquarters, irrespective of their origins.

over time. However, we also explore how our results vary by county-industry group. To do this, we utilize the 2011 USPTO concordance between patent classes and North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) manufacturing industries.⁵ In these analyses, our unit of analysis is county-industry-year rather than county-year. To facilitate comparisons between our county and county-industry analyses, all of our patents have a primary class that can be mapped to NAICS using the 2011 concordance. Thus, our measures of patent growth will miss some inventive activity that cannot be used downstream in manufacturing.

We perform several additional analyses over different subsets of the patent data. First, we reestimate our models over the set of patents with more than one inventor. We label these as collaborative patents. Second, we define distant collaborative patents as ones in which there exists a pair of inventors for whom the distance between the centroids of the inventors' home counties are greater than fifty miles apart.

We further explore differences based upon the type of institution to which the patent is assigned. We identify educational institutions based upon a search of key phrases in the assignee name field of the patent.⁶ We further use the assignee role field in the patents to identify whether the patent is from a US private company or corporation or a US government agency.⁷ Last, we examine how our results vary by technological field, using the Hall, Jaffe, and Trajtenberg (2001) technology categories.

A primary question in this chapter is whether Internet investments by firms contribute to changes in the distribution of inventive activity. In particular, our interest is in exploring whether Internet investments have contributed to more or less concentration in outcomes. To facilitate this, we construct measures of the total number of patents in the county between 1990 and 1995 to measure concentration in innovative activity prior to the diffusion of the Internet.

5. For more details on the correspondence, see http://www.uspto.gov/web/offices/ac/ido/oeip/taf/data/naics_conc/2011/read_me.txt. To perform the correspondence, we use the primary USPTO class in the patent document. In cases where a given USPTO class is related to several industries, we weight the patent equally across the industries to which it is related.

6. Specifically, we define educational institutions as those that have any of the following phrases in the assignee name (not case sensitive): "university"; "institute of technology"; "college"; "school of medicine"; "school of mines"; "school of engineering"; and some permutations on these phrases. Further, we identified several specific research active institutions for which these key words were not accurate predictors of educational status. As a result, we also added the following phrases: "georgia tech"; "cornell research foundation"; "wisconsin alumni"; "board of regents for education"; "oregon graduate center"; "iowa state research foundation"; and "board of governors for higher education, state of rhode island"

7. We also explored whether our results differed for private firms who were small (below 500 employees) and large using the small entity status field on USPTO data on maintenance fee payments. We found that many of our main results were qualitatively similar for small and larger entities, though the economic magnitudes were somewhat weaker among small firms.

6.2.2 Information Technology Data

As mentioned above, our IT data come from the Harte-Hanks Market Intelligence computer intelligence database (hereafter CI database).⁸ The database contains rich establishment- and firm-level data including the number of employees, the number of personal computers and servers, and adoption of Internet applications. Harte-Hanks collects these data to resell to the marketing divisions of technology companies. Interview teams survey establishments throughout the calendar year; our sample contains the most current information as of December 2000.

Harte-Hanks tracks over 300,000 establishments in the United States. We exclude government, military, and nonprofit establishments because the availability of advanced Internet for these establishments and the relationship between advanced Internet adoption and patent output may be different than for private firms. Our sample contains nonfarm business establishments with over 100 employees and includes a total of 86,879 establishments. Prior work has demonstrated that these data are among the best establishment-level data about the use of IT in the United States, and include half of all establishments with 100 or more employees in the United States (Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2005). While our sample includes only relatively large establishments, this is not a significant problem because very few small establishments adopted advanced Internet technology during this time.

The construction of our measure of advanced Internet is identical to that used in our previous study of the effects of advanced Internet adoption on local wage growth (Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2012). It includes those facets of Internet technology that became available after 1995 in a variety of different uses and applications. The raw data in the CI database include at least twenty different specific applications, from basic Internet access to software for Internet-enabled enterprise resource planning (ERP) business applications.

Our measure of advanced Internet adoption involves investment in frontier technologies, often with significant adaptation costs. As we have done in our prior work, we use substantial investments in e-commerce or e-business to identify advanced Internet investment. Specifically, we looked for evidence of investment in two or more of the following Internet-based applications: ERP, customer service, education, extranet, publications, purchasing, and technical support. Not all of these applications are directly involved in the production of new inventions, however all support intra- or interestab-

8. This section draws heavily from Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein (2012). Data from Harte-Hanks Market Intelligence have been used in a variety of previous studies (including our own) studying the adoption of IT (Bresnahan and Greenstein 1997; Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2005), the productivity of IT investments (Bresnahan, Brynjolfsson, and Hitt 2002; Brynjolfsson and Hitt 2003; Bloom, Sadun, and Van Reenen 2012), and the effects of IT investments on local wage growth (Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2012).

lishment communication and coordination, and often involve significant changes to business processes. Our measure of advanced Internet investment should be viewed as a proxy for a firm's propensity to invest in frontier IT that facilitates communication and collaboration, rather than a direct measure of IT investments that are used as part of the production process in science. As a result, it is possible this will generate some attenuation bias in our estimates.⁹

We aggregate our establishment-level indicators of advanced Internet investment to the county to obtain location-level measures of the extent of advanced Internet investment. Because the distribution of establishments over industries may be different in our sample of firms from that of the population, as we have done in prior work we weight the number of establishments in our database using the number of establishments by two-digit NAICS industry in the Census Bureau's 1999 County Business Patterns data.

This measure has several attractive properties.¹⁰ For one, industry-level measures of this variable correlate with Bureau of Economic Analysis measures of industry-level differences in IT investments. The measure also highlights significant regional differences in advanced Internet use (Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2005). Advanced Internet adoption is high in locations that include Internet-intensive and IT-intensive industries, such as the San Francisco Bay Area, Seattle, Denver, and Houston. In such regions, advanced Internet adoption is high even for establishments that are not producing in traditionally IT-intensive industries.

As noted above, variance in our IT measure will come from differences in adoption rates among large nonfarm business establishments at the county level. Because we do not directly measure the IT investment behavior of public and educational institutions, our analyses of the effects of IT investment on patenting behavior in these institutions must be treated with some caution.

6.2.3 Controls

We combine these IT and patent data with additional county-level information from a variety of sources. First, we use information from the 1990 US Census on population, median income, and percentage of population with a university education, high school education, below the poverty line, African American, and above sixty-four years old. We further use the 2000 US Census to control for changes in factors such as population and change in percent African American, university education, high school education, and over sixty-four years old. We obtain county-level information on additional factors that will influence the propensity of a county to innovate such

9. Unfortunately, the CI database collects little information on applications that directly facilitate knowledge sharing or knowledge management. See Forman and van Zeebroeck (2012) for further details.

10. Here we summarize some highlights. For further details, see Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein (2012).

as enrollment in Carnegie tier 1 research universities in 1990, the fraction of students enrolled in engineering programs, and the 1990 percentage of the county's workforce in professional occupations.¹¹ To control for differences in growth rates based on the scale of economic activity, we also include controls for employment, establishments, and weekly wages in the county from 1999 County Business Patterns data.

Table 6.1 provides the descriptive statistics. While our census data include the population and demographic data of over 3,100 counties, as in our prior work we drop several hundred counties for which we have no IT data. Generally, these are very low population counties with few firms and patents. There are 2,734 counties for which we have IT data. There are also some counties that we drop from our analysis because there are no patents in either the 1990–1995 or 2000–2005 period, though results are robust to assuming that these are zero growth counties. If there are no patents in both periods, we set growth in patenting to zero. Across our different dependent variables we have between 2,519 and 2,854 observations. As a result, we have between 2,235 and 2,833 observations in our combined IT and patent data set.

The top part of table 6.1 shows the average percent change in our dependent variable across different categories. The average percent change is decreasing for some variables. Because these variables are the average of the percent changes across counties, this does not mean that total patenting in the United States for that category is decreasing. Some counties in our data have a large percent change but, due to their small size, do not have a large impact on the total amount of patenting.

6.3 Empirical Strategy and Results

Our empirical analysis proceeds in four steps. First, we establish the relationship between patent levels in the 1990–1995 period and growth in patenting between 1990–1995 and 2000–2005. We show an increased concentration in patenting. Second, we show that there is no significant relationship between advanced Internet adoption by firms and growth in patenting. Third, we show that the relationship between prior patent levels and growth in patenting is weaker for counties with high levels of Internet adoption. Fourth, we demonstrate that the effect of Internet on weakening the trend to increased geographic concentration of patenting is driven by changes in distant collaborative patents and private firms.

6.3.1 Increased Concentration of Patenting

Figure 6.1 shows a Lorenz curve for patenting by county comparing 1990–1995 to 2000–2005. The size of the area under the forty-five degree

11. Downes and Greenstein (2007) showed that these three help explain the availability of Internet service providers.

Table 6.1 Summary statistics (county-level data)

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	Min.	Max.	No. obs.
Dependent variables					
Growth in patenting	0.2655	0.7319	-2.4849	3.6376	2,807
Growth in citation-weighted patenting	-0.1126	0.9946	-4.804	4.9200	2,714
Growth in collaborative patenting	-0.1814	0.7166	-2.9444	3.4553	2,792
Growth in citation-weighted collaborative patenting	-0.5320	1.0105	-4.8040	4.3407	2,705
Growth in distant collaborative patenting	-0.5559	0.7558	-3.7612	2.8332	2,840
Growth in citation-weighted distant collaborative patenting	-0.7729	1.0616	-5.7004	3.6109	2,793
Growth in nondistant, collaborative patenting	0.4442	0.6072	-2.5649	3.4553	2,631
Growth in citation-weighted, nondistant collaborative patenting	0.3449	0.8391	-3.4965	4.3758	2,519
Growth in noncollaborative patenting	0.4843	0.3386	-1.6094	2.4849	2,709
Growth in citation-weighted, noncollaborative patenting	0.4820	0.5041	-2.9957	3.3202	2,598
Growth in patenting by educational institutions	0.1082	0.4243	-2.1972	2.7726	2,631
Growth in citation-weighted patenting by educ. institutions	-0.0236	0.5276	-4.0775	4.2341	2,719
Growth in patenting by private firms	0.3789	0.7717	-2.4849	3.7136	2,644
Growth in citation-weighted patenting by private firms	0.0175	1.0018	-4.2485	4.7095	2,604
Growth in patenting by government institutions	-0.0117	0.3170	-3.1499	2.3979	2,793
Growth in citation-weighted patenting by govt. institutions	-0.0681	0.4791	-5.3083	3.4340	2,854
Core covariates					
Advanced Internet	0.0888	0.1329	0	1	2,734
Patenting 1990–1995	7786.7	46,544	0	1808028	3,131
Citation-weighted patenting 1990–1995	24,998	184,073	0	7905438	3,131

Controls						
Log employment	8.8320	1.6851	2.77259	15.051	3,125	
Log establs.	6.4598	1.4594	1.94591	12.742	3,125	
Log weekly wages	6.2084	0.2267	5.32301	7.335	3,125	
Log pop.	10.137	1.3681	4.67283	15.997	3,122	
Percent black	0.0859	0.1434	0	0.8624	3,122	
Percent university education	0.1356	0.0659	0.03692	0.5366	3,122	
Percent high school education	0.6979	0.1039	0.31682	0.9620	3,122	
Percent below poverty line	0.1667	0.0794	0	0.6312	3,122	
Median HH income	23978	6599.6	8595	59284	3,122	
Carnegie tier 1 enrollment	0.0073	0.0651	0	2.6154	3,124	
Fraction in engineering	0.0009	0.0055	0	0.1125	3,124	
Fraction professional	0.3522	0.0659	0.16019	0.6744	3,124	
Percent > 64 years old	0.1486	0.0442	0.0087	0.3409	3,122	
Change population	0.0959	0.1337	-0.5506	1.0683	3,122	
Change % black	0.0014	0.0175	-0.0994	0.2724	3,122	
Change % univ. educ.	-0.0265	0.0210	-0.1461	0.0748	3,122	
Change % high school educ.	-0.1873	0.0523	-0.3237	-0.0260	3,122	
Change % > 64 years old	-0.0011	0.0145	-0.0919	0.0851	3,122	

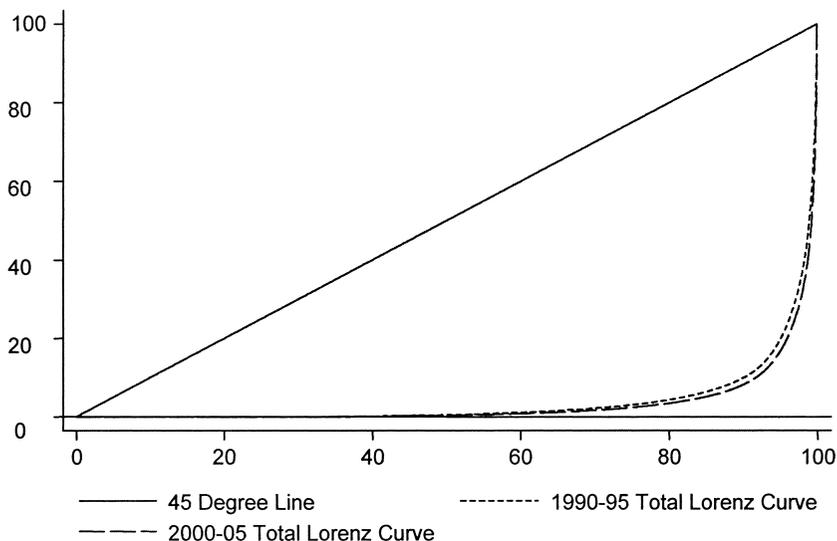


Fig. 6.1 Lorenz curves for concentration of patenting, 1990–1995 versus 2000–2005

line measures the degree of inequality across counties in their patenting behavior. As the curve moves away from the forty-five degree line, it suggests that the geographic concentration of patenting rises in general. Thus, the curve suggests that patenting was somewhat more geographically concentrated in the 2000–2005 period than in the 1990–1995 period.

Table 6.2 shows that the increase in concentration is influenced by a substantial increase in concentration at the very top of the distribution, with the top 0.1 percent of counties (i.e., the top three counties) showing a particularly large increase in the share of patents. That finding suggests that we should make inferences with some caution, as this finding depends on the performance in a very small number of locations. We can have more confidence in the inference since, as noted above, other evidence points in a similar direction. Overall patenting grew 27 percent during this time period. This suggests that patenting increased in the top 30th percentile of the distribution of patenting. It stayed roughly the same between the 30th–70th percentiles, and fell for the remainder of counties.

In table 6.3, we show the related result that those counties that had a large number of patents in the 1990–1995 period had a relatively large increase in their level of patenting. In particular, column (1) contains the following regression:

$$(1) \quad \text{Log}(\text{Patents}_{i,2005}) - \text{Log}(\text{Patents}_{i,1995}) = \alpha + \gamma X_i + \beta_1 \text{Patents}_{i,1995} + \varepsilon_i$$

where $\text{Patents}_{i,1995}$ and $\text{Patents}_{i,2005}$ are the number of cumulative patents in county i from 1990–1995 and 2000–2005, X_i is a vector of controls including

Table 6.2 Concentration of overall patenting by decile and over time

	Share patenting 1990–1995 (%)	Share patenting 2000–2005 (%)
Top 0.1% of counties	8.51	12.16
Top 1% of counties	36.23	42.34
Top 5% of counties	73.32	76.39
0–10th percentile of counties	85.55	87.88
10th–20th percentile of counties	8.14	7.02
20th–30th percentile of counties	3.59	3.02
30th–40th percentile of counties	1.06	0.79
40th–50th percentile of counties	0.76	0.64
50th–60th percentile of counties	0.43	0.33
60th–70th percentile of counties	0.26	0.19
70th–80th percentile of counties	0.15	0.09
80th–90th percentile of counties	0.06	0.04
90th–100th percentile of counties	0	0

county-level business and demographic data (as listed in table 6.1), and ε_i is a normal i.i.d. error. The positive and significant coefficient in the first row shows that those counties with higher levels of patenting from 1990–1995 had higher rates of patent growth.

The remaining columns of the table show robustness to various alternative specifications. Column (2) weights the patents by citations over five years. Columns (3) and (4) use only collaborative patents to define the dependent variable.¹²

Columns (5) through (8) show robustness to switching the unit of observation to the industry-county. This enables the analysis to account for differences across industries where agglomeration takes place. The industry-level data is challenging to work with as there are many zeros. Therefore, the simple logged difference growth equation cannot be used as it will lead to many missing observations. In addition, the data are highly skewed, with a long positive tail and a fatter-than-normal negative tail in the difference. Instead of the logged difference, we use an ordered probit, splitting the dependent variable into nine groups: $(\infty, -5)$, $[-5, -2)$, $[-2, -1)$, $[-1, 0)$, 0 , $(0, 1]$, $(1, 2]$, $(2, 5]$, $(5, \infty)$. The results show that this alternative specification does not yield qualitatively different results: those counties that were leading in patenting from 1990–1995 had relatively rapid growth in patenting.

The controls also yield some interesting, though perhaps unsurprising, correlations. The level of education, and changes in the level of education,

12. We maintain total patents 1990–95 as the key covariate as we believe the key measure is the rate of overall patenting in the preperiod. That said, results are robust to using collaborative patents as the key covariate.

Table 6.3 Patenting grew fastest in counties that patented more in 1990

	County-level data				County industry-level data			
	All patents		Collaborative patents		All patents		Collaborative patents	
	Patents (1)	Citation- weighted patents (2)	Patents (3)	Citation- weighted patents (4)	Patents (5)	Citation- weighted patents (6)	Patents (7)	Citation- weighted patents (8)
Patenting 1990–1995 (000s)	0.00064 (0.00021)***	0.00091 (0.00040)**	0.00021 (0.00013)*	0.00020 (0.00011)*	10.5638 (2.1771)***	0.3966 (0.0901)***	5.6169 (1.0899)***	0.1929 (0.0389)***
Log emp.	-0.0182 (0.0536)	-0.1345 (0.0521)***	-0.2357 (0.0732)***	-0.1127 (0.0730)	0.0459 (0.0281)	0.0648 (0.0226)***	0.0439 (0.0264)*	0.0711 (0.0239)***
Log estabs.	-0.0724 (0.0695)	-0.1576 (0.0676)**	-0.0083 (0.0889)	0.0665 (0.0923)	-0.0644 (0.0358)*	-0.0196 (0.0299)	-0.0924 (0.0358)***	-0.0436 (0.0328)
Log weekly wages	0.1504 (0.1062)	0.3106 (0.1023)***	0.2475 (0.1309)*	0.1349 (0.1333)	0.0272 (0.0552)	-0.0525 (0.0431)	0.0552 (0.0513)	-0.0668 (0.0467)
Log pop.	0.1118 (0.0528)**	0.2342 (0.0543)***	0.1219 (0.0718)*	-0.1095 (0.0718)	0.1065 (0.0275)***	-0.0850 (0.0217)***	0.0846 (0.0260)***	-0.1292 (0.0233)***
Percent black	-0.0194 (0.1269)	-0.0819 (0.1152)	-0.1195 (0.1574)	0.1466 (0.1682)	-0.1213 (0.0462)***	0.0204 (0.0392)	-0.1416 (0.0470)***	0.0165 (0.0404)
Percent university education	2.9157 (0.6190)***	3.7058 (0.6191)***	3.4233 (0.8475)***	0.9879 (0.8314)	1.1924 (0.3207)***	-0.1891 (0.2774)	1.2201 (0.3177)***	-0.1427 (0.3008)
Percent high school education	1.8525 (0.4937)***	0.5213 (0.4775)	0.3910 (0.6372)	0.6376 (0.6723)	0.4444 (0.2166)**	0.4339 (0.1844)**	0.4234 (0.2071)**	0.5101 (0.1892)***
Percent below poverty line	-0.2586 (0.4012)	-0.5166 (0.4008)	-0.0220 (0.5239)	0.9880 (0.5431)*	-0.4910 (0.2290)**	-0.3886 (0.1897)**	-0.5436 (0.2277)**	-0.4562 (0.1892)**
Median HH income (000s)	-0.0038 (0.0045)	0.0052 (0.0050)	0.0977 (0.0061)	0.0089 (0.0062)	-0.0010 (0.0044)	-0.0010 (0.0034)***	-0.0055 (0.0043)	-0.0134 (0.0035)***

Carnegie tier 1 enrollment	-0.2523 (0.2225)	-0.1234 (0.2636)	-0.0473 (0.2320)	-0.0056 (0.2473)	0.0040 (0.19017)	0.0068 (0.0938)	0.0059 (0.1824)	0.0128 (0.1040)
Fraction in engineering	3.4605 (1.7789)*	4.1533 (2.0558)**	1.9239 (2.9139)	2.2435 (2.5279)	6.1849 (1.5281)***	1.2883 (1.5782)	5.8570 (1.5666)***	0.6267 (1.9420)
Fraction professional	-1.1209 (0.3978)***	-0.0977 (0.3751)	0.0366 (0.5148)	0.6745 (0.5234)	0.6215 (0.1813)***	0.0974 (0.1584)	0.7066 (0.1780)***	-0.0646 (0.1666)
Percent > 64 years old	0.4407 (0.4674)	0.0530 (0.4743)	-0.5205 (0.6453)	0.5431 (0.6480)	-0.4569 (0.2635)*	-0.6054 (0.2378)**	-0.7806 (0.2563)***	-1.0565 (0.2189)***
Change population	1.0615 (0.1244)***	0.7838 (0.1262)***	0.3383 (0.1770)*	0.2912 (0.1772)	0.6106 (0.0662)***	0.4974 (0.0591)***	0.6854 (0.0663)***	0.5021 (0.0593)***
Change % black	-1.7615 (0.7871)**	-1.3385 (0.7412)*	-0.8581 (0.9339)	-0.3806 (1.1084)	-0.3419 (0.4043)	-0.5315 (0.3192)*	-0.3086 (0.3864)	-0.5910 (0.3423)*
Change % univ. educ.	6.1112 (1.2503)***	7.7036 (1.2419)***	7.0145 (1.6676)***	4.5995 (1.6587)***	4.5567 (0.5824)***	2.2008 (0.5230)***	4.2466 (0.5965)***	1.9685 (0.5358)***
Change % high school educ.	2.7721 (0.9188)***	1.6390 (0.8710)*	1.9857 (1.1579)*	0.7946 (1.2148)	0.5027 (0.3481)	0.2296 (0.3049)	0.5669 (0.3428)*	0.4838 (0.3161)
Change % > 64 years old	-2.5195 (1.2037)**	-4.2944 (1.1384)***	-4.1308 (1.4394)***	-3.9618 (1.5700)**	-1.4758 (0.5091)***	-0.1890 (0.4513)	-1.4842 (0.4906)***	-0.4454 (0.4550)
Constant	-1.8417 (0.7104)***	-2.6327 (0.6845)***	-1.3764 (0.8983)	-0.7248 (0.8975)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Observations	2,793	2,700	2,809	2,750	80,892	80,892	80,892	80,892
R-squared	0.10	0.04	0.10	0.06	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Log likelihood	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	-121,013	-117,261	-115,144	-112,603

Note: Columns (1)–(4) are ordinary least squares regressions with county as the unit of observation. Columns (5)–(8) are ordered probit regressions with county industry as the unit of observation and include industry fixed effects. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

***Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

are strongly and positively correlated with growth in patenting. In addition, the fraction of the local students in engineering is highly correlated with growth in patenting. An increased population is associated with increased growth in patenting while an increased elderly population is associated with decreased growth in patenting.

To summarize, these results suggest that regions where patenting had previously been concentrated experienced the greatest increase in patent growth between the early 1990s and early in the first decade of the twenty-first century. That is interesting because these findings differ qualitatively from findings on the literature on regional growth and convergence (e.g., Barro and Sala-i-Martin 1991; Magrini 2004; Delgado, Porter, and Stern 2010, 2012), which have documented evidence of convergence in aggregate growth rates across countries and regions in a range of settings. There may be several reasons for this difference in findings. Our focus is on growth in patenting rather than growth in economic output or wages. Further and related, our results are particularly influenced by increases in the concentration of inventive activity at the very top of the patenting distribution, a result that may have no analog for other measures of economic activity, such as wage growth. In addition, recent work has found that the presence of clusters of related industries may have a significant impact on growth in employment and patenting (Delgado, Porter, and Stern 2010, 2012). These clusters may have been particularly influential in influencing the top tail of the distribution of inventive activity over our sample. We stress these different effects, because it highlights the open question motivating our study. There are different mechanisms at work, and they push in different directions, and it is important to know whether they operate to the same degree and direction on all economic activity.

6.3.2 Business Adoption of the Internet and Growth in Patenting

Before assessing whether the Internet might enhance or reduce the rate of concentration in patenting, it is important to establish the baseline relationship between Internet adoption and growth in patenting. Table 6.4 shows that there is no significant correlation between Internet adoption and growth in patenting overall and a weakly significant correlation for collaborative patents. Column (1) shows the results of the following regression:

$$(2) \text{Log}(\text{Patents}_{i,2005}) - \text{Log}(\text{Patents}_{i,2000}) = \alpha + \gamma X_i + \beta_2 \text{AdvancedInternet}_i + \varepsilon_i,$$

where $\text{AdvancedInternet}_i$ measures the extent of advanced Internet investment by businesses in county i in 2000. Columns (2) through (8) mirror the columns in table 6.3, and while the coefficients are positive, there is no significance in any of the noncollaborative patent specifications. In this table, and in all remaining tables, we do not report the coefficients on the controls because they are not the focus on the analysis and the signs and significance are similar to those found in table 6.3.

Table 6.4 Internet adoption is not significantly correlated with growth in patenting

	County-level data				County industry-level data			
	All patents		Collaborative patents		All patents		Collaborative patents	
	Patents (1)	Citation- weighted patents (2)	Patents (3)	Citation- weighted patents (4)	Patents (5)	Citation- weighted patents (6)	Patents (7)	Citation- weighted patents (8)
Advanced Internet	0.1722 (0.1371)	0.2649 (0.1328)**	0.1637 (0.2178)	0.3260 (0.2108)	0.0565 (0.0378)	0.0508 (0.0344)	0.0726 (0.0409)*	0.0702 (0.0364)*
Observations	2,540	2,510	2,441	2,409	72,576	72,576	72,576	72,576
R-squared	0.10	0.12	0.05	0.05	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Log Likelihood	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	-115,059	-110,747	-109,970	-106,638

Note: Columns (1)–(4) are ordinary least squares regressions with county as the unit of observation. Columns (5)–(8) are ordered probit regressions with county industry as the unit of observation and include industry fixed effects. All regressions include the same set of controls as table 6.3. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

***Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

6.3.3 Business Adoption of the Internet and the Concentration of Patenting

Table 6.5 examines whether Internet adoption increases or reduces the rate of concentration in patenting. Column (1) shows the results of the following regression:

$$(3) \quad \text{Log}(\text{Patents}_{i,2005}) - \text{Log}(\text{Patents}_{i,1995}) = \alpha + \gamma X_i + \beta_1 \text{Patents}_{i,1995} \\ + \beta_2 \text{AdvancedInternet}_i \\ + \beta_3 \text{Patents}_{i,1995} \text{AdvancedInternet}_i + \varepsilon_i$$

The core coefficient of interest is β_3 , the interaction between preperiod patenting and Internet adoption. The result suggests that Internet adoption is correlated with a reduction in the growth in concentration of patenting (as measured by the correlation between growth in patenting and patenting in the preperiod). The quantitative importance is not apparent from the coefficient, so we separately calculate the implied marginal effect. It suggests that an increase in advanced Internet by one standard deviation reduces the increase in concentration by 57 percent, which is quite substantial. In other words, among counties that were leaders in Internet adoption, the rate of patent growth between the early 1990s and early in the twenty-first century is only weakly correlated with the level of patenting in the 1990 to 1995 period.

Put another way, for a county in the 25th percentile of Internet adoption, moving from the 25th percentile in patenting to the 90th percentile in patenting in the early 1990s yields an implied increase in the growth of patenting of 5.4 percent. For a county in the 75th percentile of Internet adoption, the same move yields an implied increase in patenting of 2.3 percent. For a county in the 90th percentile of Internet adoption, the same move yields an implied increase in patenting of just 0.4 percent.¹³ Thus, Internet adoption is correlated with a reduction in this divergence: high Internet adopting locations that were not leaders in patenting did not fall behind.

As in tables 6.2 and 6.3, the alternative specifications in columns (2) through (8) are broadly consistent with column (1). The qualitative results are similar if patents are weighted by five-year citation rates, if only collaborative patents are used, and if the unit of observation is the county-industry.

One potential concern with this analysis is that $\text{AdvancedInternet}_i$ and $\text{Patents}_{i,1995}$ are highly correlated and therefore the interaction term captures an unusual part of the distribution. Figure 6.2 addresses this concern. It presents a scatter plot of $\text{AdvancedInternet}_i$ on the horizontal axis and $\text{Patents}_{i,1995}$ on the vertical axis. Figure 6.2 shows that, while $\text{AdvancedInternet}_i$ and $\text{Patents}_{i,1995}$ are indeed highly correlated, there is plenty of variation.

13. The increase estimated from the regression is substantially smaller than might be suggested by the descriptive statistics presented in the introduction because the regressions include controls for county-level demographics that are highly correlated with growth in patenting, such as education and population growth.

Table 6.5 Internet adoption mutes the correlation between prior patents and growth in patenting

	County-level data				County industry-level data			
	All patents		Collaborative patents		All patents		Collaborative patents	
	Patents (1)	Citation- weighted patents (2)	Patents (3)	Citation- weighted patents (4)	Patents (5)	Citation- weighted patents (6)	Patents (7)	Citation- weighted patents (8)
Advanced Internet	0.1852 (0.1376)	0.2883 (0.1331)**	0.1907 (0.2190)	0.3466 (0.2117)	0.1273 (0.0373)***	0.0726 (0.0354)**	0.1457 (0.0392)***	0.0947 (0.0375)**
Patenting 1990–1995 (000s)	0.0037 (0.00081)***	0.0058 (0.0011)***	0.0021 (0.0005)***	0.0018 (0.00044)***	16.410 (2.871)**	1.6063 (0.2629)***	20.5669 (3.4910)***	1.6495 (0.2575)***
Patenting 1990–1995 (000s) x advanced Internet	-0.0160 (0.0039)***	-0.0271 (0.0051)***	-0.0101 (0.0023)***	-0.0086 (0.0021)***	-70.815 (14.826)**	-7.4655 (1.3657)***	-74.7057 (17.1913)***	-7.7062 (1.3039)***
Observations	2,540	2,448	2,509	2,409	72,576	72,576	72,576	72,576
R-squared	0.10	0.04	0.07	0.05	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Log Likelihood	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	-113,555	-110,289	-108,544	-106,469

Note: Columns (1)–(4) are ordinary least squares regressions with county as the unit of observation. Columns (5)–(8) are ordered probit regressions with county industry as the unit of observation and include industry fixed effects. All regressions include the same set of controls as table 6.2. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

***Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

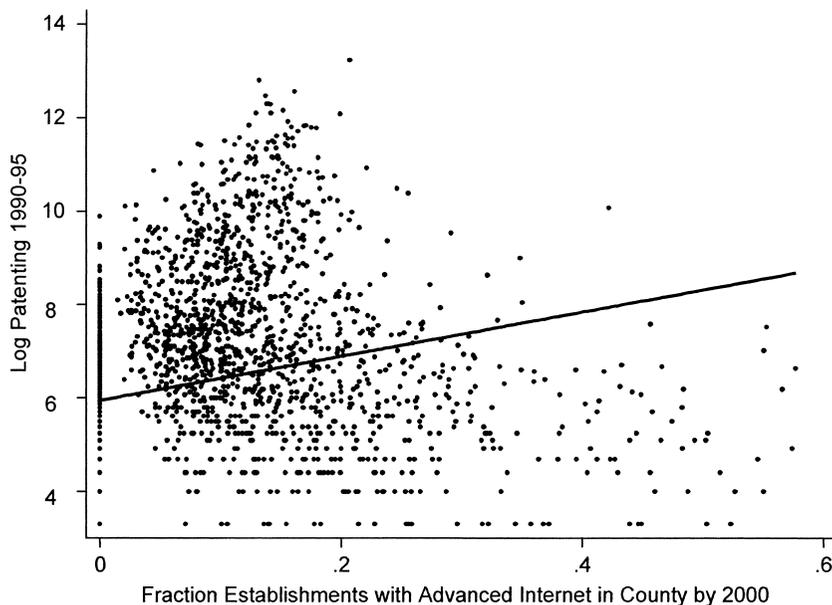


Fig. 6.2 Internet adoption and patenting (1990–1995)

There are many locations with high levels of $\text{AdvancedInternet}_i$ and low levels of $\text{Patents}_{i,9095}$ and there are many with low levels of $\text{AdvancedInternet}_i$ and high levels of $\text{Patents}_{i,9095}$.

Broadly, table 6.5 is suggestive that Internet overcomes isolation in invention, though we need to be cautious as it also could be an omitted variable driving both increased invention and increased Internet. Next, we provide some suggestive evidence that the Internet facilitated communication by inventors, providing some support for a causal interpretation of table 6.5.

6.3.4 Collaboration, Firm Type, and Local Growth in Patenting

Table 6.6 reproduces the first four columns of table 6.5, but with alternative dependent variables. Instead of measuring patents and collaborative patents, column (1) looks at the growth in the number of distant collaborators, as defined in section 6.2.1. Column (2) looks at the growth in the number of collaborative patents by county in which none of the collaborators are distant from each other. Column (3) looks at noncollaborative patents. Columns (4) through (6) show the same analysis, but with citation-weighted patents.

In our previous results we documented that advanced Internet adoption was associated with decreasing concentration in innovative activity. One possible explanation for this result is that advanced Internet adoption made innovative activity in less innovative places relatively more attractive through

Table 6.6 Comparing patents with distant collaborators, patents with nondistant collaborators, and noncollaborative patents

	Patents			Citation-weighted patents		
	Patents with distant collaborators (1)	Patents with nondistant collaborators (2)	Noncollaborative patents (3)	Patents with distant collaborators (4)	Patents with nondistant collaborators (5)	Noncollaborative patents (6)
Advanced Internet	0.0827 (0.1262)	0.1697 (0.0766)**	-0.0737 (0.0560)	0.0370 (0.1816)	0.1741 (0.1165)	0.0330 (0.0969)
Patenting 1990–1995 (000s)	0.0047 (0.00096)***	0.0016 (0.0008)**	-0.0016 (0.0004)***	0.0021 (0.00052)***	0.0003 (0.0002)	-0.0004 (0.0001)***
Patenting 1990–1995 (000s) x advanced Internet	-0.0216 (0.0046)***	-0.0076 (0.0037)**	0.0084 (0.0020)***	-0.0099 (0.0025)**	-0.0014 (0.0011)	0.0020 (0.0006)***
Observations	2,498	2,370	2,469	2,445	2,339	2,334
R-squared	0.13	0.09	0.04	0.14	0.17	0.05

Note: Ordinary least squares regressions with county as the unit of observation. Distant is defined as more than fifty miles apart. Regressions include the same controls as in table 6.3. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

***Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

a decline in the costs of collaboration. Another possibility is that the Internet increased the productivity of innovative activity in less innovative regions relative to more innovative ones by, for example, more easily accessing labor, consultants, or ideas developed elsewhere. While we are unable to identify between these hypotheses, we view the results of table 6.6 as suggestive that advanced Internet adoption reduced the extent of geographic concentration for inventions developed through distant collaborations more than other types of inventions.

In particular, the Internet is primarily a communications technology that reduces the cost of both distant and local communication, but the impact of patenting by firms is largest for distant collaborations (Forman and van Zeebroeck 2012). As in table 6.5, columns (1) and (4) (row 3) of table 6.6 show that, for counties with low rates of advanced Internet adoption, leading counties in the preperiod increased distant collaborations much faster than other counties. For counties with high rates of advanced Internet adoption, leading counties in the preperiod did not increase distant collaborations much faster.

In contrast, for nondistant collaborations (columns [2] and [5], row 3) and for noncollaborative patents (columns [3] and [6], row 3) we see no difference between counties with high and low rates of advanced Internet adoption, leading counties in the preperiod, and the increase in patenting. Thus, the correlation in table 5 between patenting in the preperiod, advanced Internet, and patent growth does not hold for noncollaborative patents and short-distance collaborative patents, even though it holds for long-distance collaborative patents.

Because the role of the Internet is likely to facilitate distant collaboration, and because prior work suggested that the Internet increased distant patenting between firms (Forman and van Zeebroeck 2012), this suggests that the results of table 6.5 may suggest a causal relationship rather than only a spurious relationship measuring counties that were becoming more innovative overall (and therefore becoming more innovative in terms of both patenting and internet adoption).

Table 6.7 separates patents assigned to US-based private firms, patents assigned to educational institutions, and patents assigned to governments. Consistent with the suggested mechanism, and consistent with the fact that our data on advanced Internet represents US-based private firms and not educational institutions or government, our results are strongest for US-based private firms.

We have conducted a number of additional robustness checks on our main results. While not shown here to save space, qualitative results are robust to several alternative specifications including slightly different years, dropping controls, assigning a value of 1 to counties with zero patents in a given period to avoid dropping missing values, and to using alternative threshold choices for the ordered probit in the results at the industry-county level.

Table 6.7 Results by type of patenting institution

	Private firms			Educational institutions			Government institutions					
	Patents (1)	Citation- weighted patents (2)	Patents (3)	Citation- weighted patents (4)	Patents (5)	Citation- weighted patents (6)	Patents (7)	Citation- weighted patents (8)	Patents (9)	Citation- weighted patents (10)	Patents (11)	Citation- weighted patents (12)
Patenting 1990– 1995 (000s)	0.00026 (0.00013)**	0.00012 (0.00006)**	0.0016 (0.00080)**	0.0013 (0.00035)**	-0.00013 (0.00013)	0.00005 (0.00005)	0.0011 (0.00096)	0.00083 (0.00043)*	-0.00074 (0.00019)**	-0.00025 (0.00011)**	-0.0016 (0.0014)	-0.0012 (0.00045)**
Advanced Internet			0.4061 (0.1612)**	0.3349 (0.2280)			-0.0261 (0.0306)	0.0110 (0.0385)			-0.0488 (0.0232)**	-0.0537 (0.0300)*
patenting 1990– 1995 (000s) x advanced Internet			-0.0066 (0.0039)*	-0.0062 (0.0017)**			-0.0069 (0.0052)	-0.0041 (0.0021)*			0.0048 (0.0069)	0.0053 (0.0022)**
Observations	2,631	2,591	2,356	2,302	2,610	2,699	2,235	2,325	2,773	2,833	2,399	2,457
R-squared	0.10	0.03	0.10	0.03	0.21	0.01	0.21	0.01	0.03	0.14	0.03	0.15

Note: Ordinary least squares regressions with county as the unit of observation. Regressions include the same controls as in table 6.3. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

**Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

6.3.5 Differences in Concentration of Patenting across Technology Categories

Table 6.8 shows the results by technology category. We use the six broad technology categories defined by Hall, Jaffe, and Trajtenberg (2001). We find that the results are broadly robust across categories with the exception of computers and communication, which does not display increase concentration in patenting activity over time. While this finding merits additional investigation, it is interesting to note the recent findings by Ozcan and Greenstein (2013) of decreasing concentration of inventive activity among firms in this technology category. We see increased geographic concentration in patenting across all other technological categories, including chemical, drugs and medical; electrical and electronic; and mechanical. We see that the interaction of Internet is associated with reduced geographic concentration for these categories, too. This is particularly interesting in light of the findings for electrical and electronic industries, the area closest to computing and communications. This suggests no simple explanation will suffice, not one that stresses simple differences between hardware and software or upstream and downstream industries. This is another important question for future work.

Conclusion

We have explored the geographic concentration of invention. We first find evidence that suggests that the geographic concentration of patenting increased from 1990–1995 to 2000–2005. Overall patenting grew 27 percent, but patenting in the top quartile of counties grew 50 percent. While this result seems to contrast with work in the convergence literature, we emphasize the use of different methods and the importance of the very top of the patenting distribution in our findings. Then we showed that advanced Internet adoption by businesses works against the general increase in the geographic concentration of patenting, leading to different experiences across the regions of the United States. We find that the correlation is strong for distant collaborations and disappears for nearby collaborations and for noncollaborative patents, which suggests that the Internet's availability and growth drove at least part of the overall reduction in the growth in concentration of invention.

As noted above, our analysis helps us understand the net impact of two fundamental changes in the years since the publication of Vannevar Bush's *Science: The Endless Frontier*: (a) globalization and its implications for innovation and invention as a source of regional competitiveness, and (b) the impact of the Internet and associated reductions in communication and coordination costs. Our results suggest that while the net effect of these changes on the concentration of innovation is positive, Internet technology has played a role in mitigating this effect.

Our analysis contains a number of limitations that limit the generalizability of our findings. First, we study one type of invention and patenting

Table 6.8 Robustness to HJT categories

Category	Computers and communications											
	Chemical	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Advanced Internet patenting 1990–1995 (000s)	0.0232 (0.0254)	-0.1428 (0.3589)	-0.5575 (0.3445)	0.0727 (0.1829)	0.2155 (0.1829)	0.3049 (0.0952)***	0.5562 (0.1244)***	0.2757 (0.0665)***	0.1577 (0.1650)			
Patenting 1990–1995 (000s) x advanced Internet	0.1462 (0.0611)**	-0.0058 (0.0106)	0.3618 (0.1246)***	0.0727 (0.0398)*	0.3049 (0.0952)***	0.5562 (0.1244)***	0.2757 (0.0665)***	0.1577 (0.1650)				
	-1.2146 (1.4579)	0.2635 (0.3876)	-1.2419 (0.6356)*			-2.5902 (0.5999)***	-4.2682 (2.2643)*					
Observations	1,414	1,065	1,063	1,303	1,290	1,970	1,921	2,183	2,114			
R-squared	0.06	0.07	0.14	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	

Note: Ordinary least squares regressions with county as the unit of observation. Regressions include the same controls as in table 6.3. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

***Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

in a particular time period. The Internet might have increased patenting but not invention, for example, by simplifying the process of applying for a patent through Internet lawyers rather than causing any increase in invention *per se*. Hence, our results beg questions about whether other measures of invention—for example, nonpatented inventions, new product development, entrepreneurial founding in technologically intensive markets—follow a similar pattern.

In addition, and as mentioned, our findings are consistent with two different explanations. First, it could be the causal explanation, perhaps by allowing relatively isolated inventors to collaborate with inventors located elsewhere. Second, it could be driven by an omitted variable that caused both increased patenting and Internet adoption. For example, for counties that were not leaders in patenting in the early 1990s, Internet adoption might be a symptom rather than a cause of increased attention to invention and a growth in the rate of Internet adoption by firms. While the results on distant collaboration versus noncollaborative patents are suggestive, they are not definitive. Hence, our findings beg questions about how to instrument for Internet adoption to identify truly exogenous variation across the United States.

Notwithstanding these limitations, our results here, combined with prior work on the impact of the Internet on the concentration of economic activity, suggest that the impact can depend on the particular activity and context being studied. It seems to lead to increased concentration in wages (Forman, Goldfarb, and Greenstein 2012) and hospital efficiency (Dranove et al. 2013), but a decreased concentration in retailing (Choi and Bell 2011), and, as suggested above, in patenting and invention. Those findings also raise intriguing questions about whether the Internet's impact on the geographic concentration of invention is distinct from its impact on the geographic concentration of other economic activity, such as wages, business adoption of IT, hospital productivity, and so on. If that is the case, then the Internet could act as a broad force for weakening the links between the geography of inventive activity and spatial patterns of downstream use of it. We speculate that such a broad trend, if sustained for a long time period, would manifest in numerous measurable economic activities. Hence, our findings also motivate questions comparing changes in the geographic concentration of different parts of the value chain over the very long run.

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