



Digital infrastructure can significantly boost job creation, but it requires enabling policies and complementary investments in skills and physical infrastructure.

EMERGING MARKET INSIGHTS

Published by IFC's Economics
and Market Research
Department

Wired for Work: *How Digital Infrastructure is Powering Job Creation in Emerging Economies*

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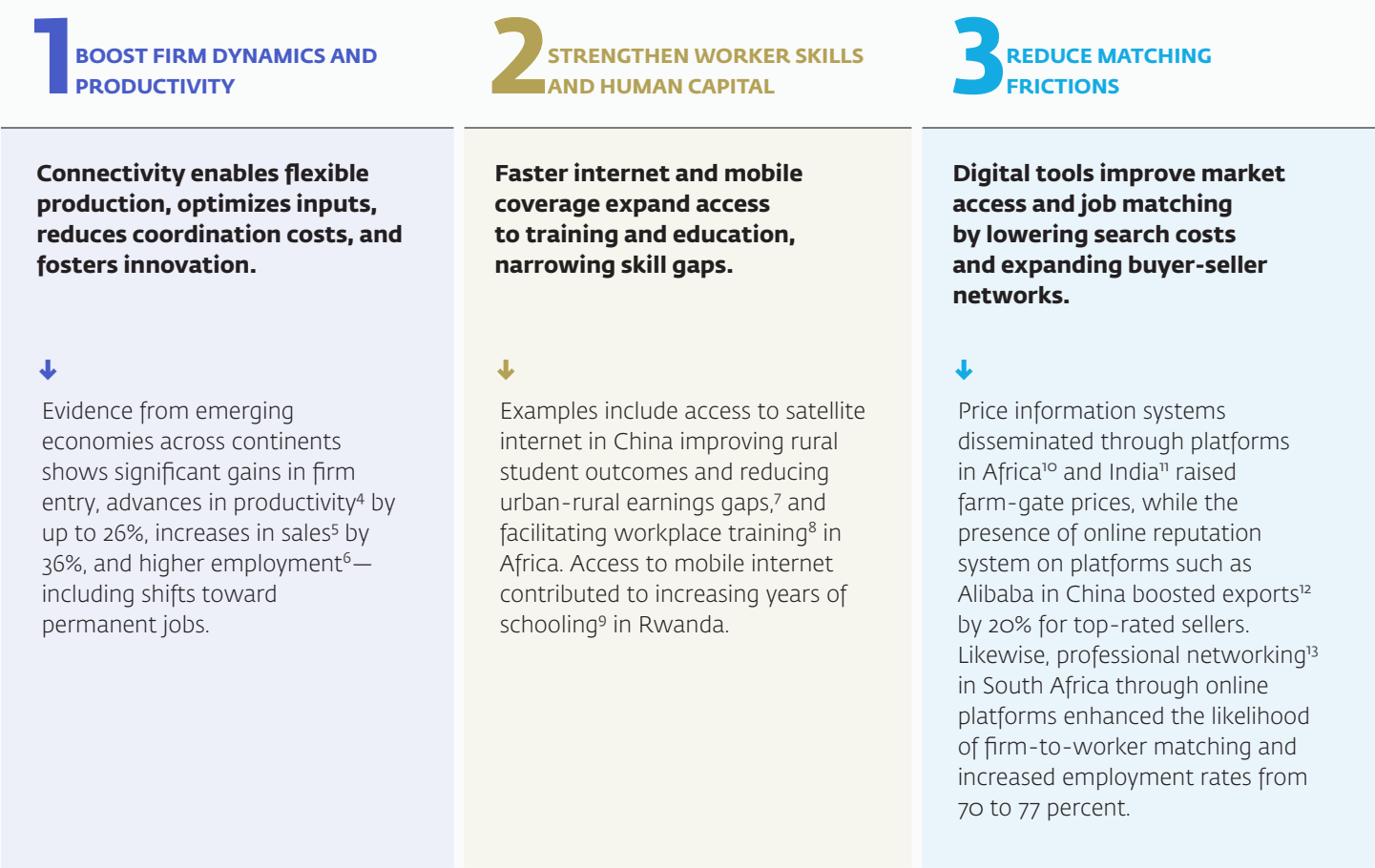
From mobile towers connecting remote villages to data centers powering digital economies, digital infrastructure is reshaping how firms, sectors, and countries operate. These investments are not just a symbol of modernization—they are catalysts for structural transformation and enable firms to create more jobs.¹

Digital infrastructure contributes to job creation directly, indirectly, and through induced effects. The sector directly employs workers, but its impact is amplified in indirect activities, such as Intelsat-Coca-Cola Wi-Fi kiosks² in Africa, which empower local entrepreneurs, provide utility services, and foster self-employment. Likewise, app-based platforms lower barriers for small businesses and drive entry of new types of activities and jobs. The effects do not stop here. The induced effects of digital infrastructure on jobs emerge as digital technologies further penetrate sectors such as healthcare, education, and financial services. For example, technology-enabled training programs can scale firm upgrading and contribute to their ability to create jobs, as documented in a recent Emerging Market Insights note.³

FIGURE 1

Labor market outcomes

Digital technologies reshape labor markets through three broad mechanisms:

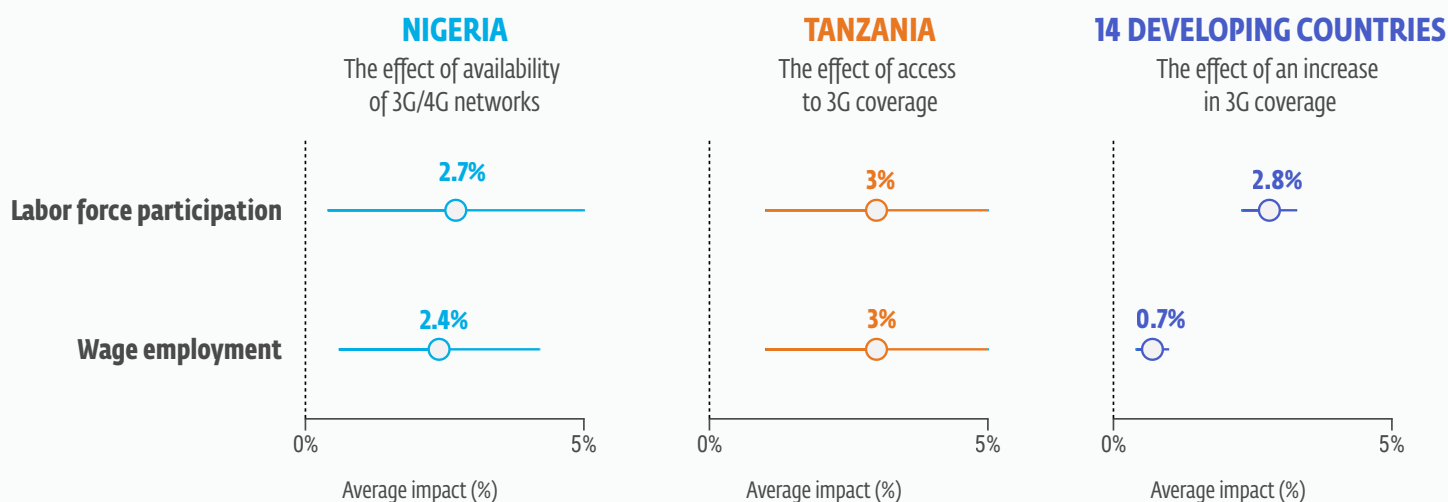


Analyzing quantity-based measures, expansion of broadband, and mobile internet is associated with significant increases in employment and labor force participation. Submarine cable connections¹⁴ in nine Sub-Saharan African countries, for example, increased employment by 13 percent¹⁵ over three years, while mobile coverage in rural South Africa raised employment by 15 percentage points¹⁶ over five years.

When analyzing quality-based measures, digital infrastructure is correlated with greater incidence of job formality, higher wages, and productivity. It can trigger a move away from agriculture toward wage, nonfarm self-employment, and greater participation in higher-earning sectors.

FIGURE 2

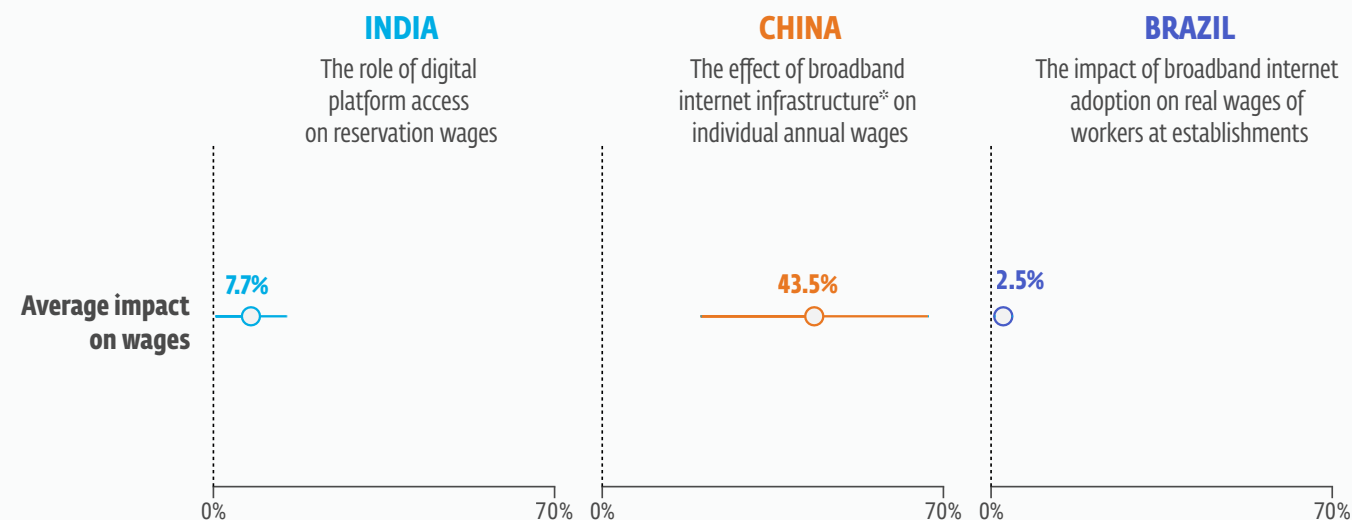
The impact of digital infrastructure on employment outcomes



NOTES: The line width represents 95 percent confidence band. Labor force participation is based on individual employment status, while wage employment is measured as the change in individual wage employment status. **SOURCES:** Nigeria: Bahia (2020),¹⁷ Tanzania: Bahia et al. (2023),¹⁸ 14 developing countries: Chiplunkar & Goldberg (2022).¹⁹

FIGURE 3

The impact of digital infrastructure on wages



* Using fixed-line teledensity as a proxy for internet infrastructure.

NOTE: The line width represents 95 percent confidence band.

SOURCES: India: Kelley et al. (2024),²⁰ China: Chen et al. (2019),²¹ Brazil: Poliquin (2021)²²

FIGURE 4

Access to digital infrastructure improves total jobs and job quality across a range of countries and settings

JOB QUANTITY-BASED MEASURES

Type of Digital Infrastructure	Labor Market Outcome
Faster internet (general)	Net positive job creation (Africa ²³)
High-speed broadband via submarine cables	↑ Employment (9 Sub-Saharan African countries ²⁴)
Mobile internet (3G or 4G coverage)	↑ Employment rate or share (14 developing countries, ²⁵ Ethiopia, ²⁶ Rwanda ²⁷) ↑ Workers joining the labor force (Tanzania, ²⁸ Nigeria ²⁹)
Mobile phone coverage	↑ Employment (rural South Africa ³⁰)
Mobile money agent rollout	Nonfarm self-employment rate nearly doubled (rural Uganda ³¹)

JOB QUALITY-BASED MEASURES

Type of Digital Infrastructure	Labor Market Outcome
Internet access (general)	↑ Permanent workers (39 developing countries ³²) ↓ Reliance on routine tasks (Brazil ³³)
Faster internet or ultrafast internet	↑ Wages and firm productivity (China ³⁴)
Broadband expansion or rollout	↑ Wages by 2.2% (Brazil ³⁵)
3G mobile broadband/coverage	↑ Salaried or wage employment (Senegal, ³⁶ 14 developing countries, ³⁷ Nigeria) ↑ Earnings, ↑ formal jobs (Africa, ³⁸ Ethiopia ³⁹) Shift from informal to formal employment (Africa ⁴⁰) Shift from farm to wage and nonfarm self-employment (Tanzania ⁴¹)

Uneven Impact of Digital Connectivity

Digital connectivity has two competing effects that impact labor demand: automation and augmentation. As tasks are automated with digitalization, it may displace lower-skilled labor. Yet digitalization can also augment employment opportunities as it spurs firm growth by enhancing efficiency, opening access to new markets, and fostering shifts toward more competitive, digitally enabled activities⁴² or entirely new activities. Digital infrastructure may have uneven impacts across sectors, firms, occupations and skills, locations, and gender—carrying significant distributional consequences.

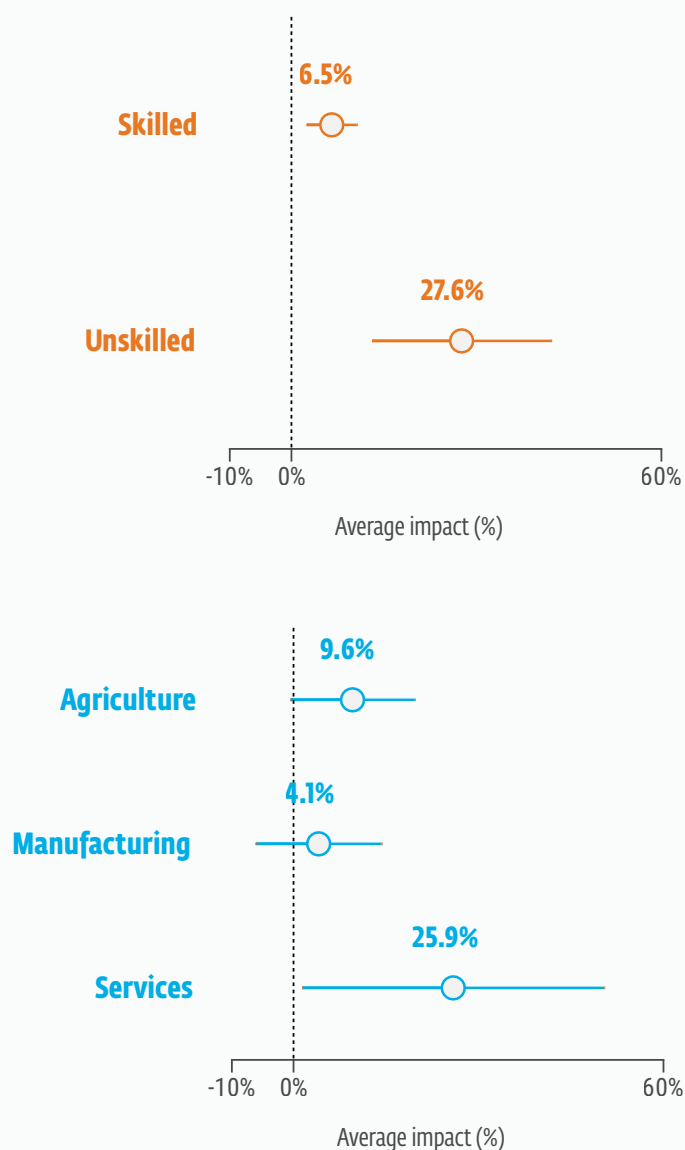
Occupations and Skills: While digital infrastructure in advanced economies⁴³ has tended to reinforce⁴⁴ generational and skill divides,⁴⁵ evidence from emerging and developing economies is more positive. Firms with more educated and younger workers gained most⁴⁶ from high-speed internet in China, mirroring patterns seen in advanced economies, while studies from Rwanda and Tanzania find mobile internet⁴⁷ boosting employment for both skilled and unskilled workers.⁴⁸

Sectors: Internet-enabled technologies often deliver larger benefits to services and skill-intensive industries, supporting structural transformation. For example, in Rwanda, improved 3G coverage shifted jobs⁴⁹ toward services as well as high-value-added industries.

Firms: Given high upfront costs, larger, more productive firms⁵⁰ and those with stronger management can adopt new technologies⁵¹ more readily. In Kenya, fiber-optic rollout primarily benefited larger firms, enabling them to expand buyer and supplier networks, while smaller firms struggled to invest in complementary capacity.

FIGURE 5

Uneven impact of increase in 3G/4G on labor-force participation by skills and sectors in Rwanda



NOTE: The line width represents 95 percent confidence band.

SOURCE: Caldarola et al. (2023)⁵²

Locations: Regions with superior broadband⁵³ exhibit labor market resilience,⁵⁴ have higher business activity,⁵⁵ and improve educational outcomes. It is not surprising then that internet expansion in poorer nations had stronger effects in reducing frictional unemployment⁵⁶ and in supporting catchup growth.⁵⁷

Gender: When digital connectivity improves, more women⁵⁸ join the labor force. However:

- Benefits are larger for high-skilled women,⁵⁹ suggesting that lower skill levels limit their ability to fully leverage the advantages of digital infrastructure.
- The gender wage gap may widen, possibly due to lower average education and skills among women, or social norms that inhibit occupational mobility.
- Women may shift toward lower value-added activities,⁶⁰ such as unpaid agricultural roles and small businesses, which is partly explained by women taking up roles left by men transitioning to wage jobs. This contrasts with evidence from the impact of mobile money in Kenya that helped shift women from agriculture to higher-earning work.

FIGURE 6
Gendered effects of digital infrastructure adoption

OUTCOME MEASURED	IMPACT
Female Employment (absolute, shares, participation rates)	Increased (Viet Nam, ⁶¹ India, ⁶² Mexico, ⁶³ Nigeria, ⁶⁴ Jordan, ⁶⁵ rural South Africa, ⁶⁶ and a study using data from 14 developing countries ⁶⁷)
Skill Premium	Benefited high-skilled women (Tanzania, ⁶⁸ Türkiye ⁶⁹)
Gender Wage Gap	Sustained or increased within firm (Türkiye, ⁷⁰ Viet Nam ⁷¹)
Shift Across Sectors	Toward less dynamic sectors and activities (Republic of Korea ⁷² (non-IT services), a study using data from 14 developing countries, ⁷³ Tanzania) ⁷⁴ ;
	From agriculture to higher-earning work via mobile money (Kenya ⁷⁵)

The Way Forward

Nearly 68 percent of the global population is online, but only 27 percent of the population in low-income countries use the internet, risking exclusion⁷⁶ from future job opportunities. Although developing countries have expanded digital infrastructure coverage,⁷⁷ they still lag advanced economies in coverage and usage.

INVESTMENTS

Investments in submarine cables and so-called last-mile infrastructure, which connects the internet to workplaces and homes, can reduce prices by up to 21 percent and hasten digital adoption.⁷⁸ However, closing the digital divide requires more than cables and towers.

Tailor Technology: Investments should be tailored to the level of development of the country or region. Although policies are often technology neutral, the choice between technologies can be critical, particularly due to their cost implications. For example, depending on capacity needs, the cost of achieving the UN's goal of universal broadband in developing countries over the next decade ranges from \$520 billion for 4G to \$940 billion for 5G non-standalone digital connectivity, a hybrid upgrade from 4G that leverages existing infrastructure. The choice of technology depends on whether a country faces challenges with high traffic demand or the need to cover large, sparsely populated areas. Countries with high traffic demand, such as Pakistan, may benefit from 5G non-standalone digital connectivity to handle the load, while countries with wide geographic areas and low population density, such as Malawi, may find 4G a more cost-effective⁷⁹ solution.

Expand Digital Hardware: To realize the benefits of infrastructure investments, they must be matched with investments in affordable devices. Access⁸⁰ to mobile devices⁸¹ enables the use of digital platforms⁸² that addresses matching frictions and reduces⁸³ price differences across space and sectors. Thus, they critically contribute to improved marketing decisions and resource allocation, and bolster nonfarm employment and entrepreneurship.

Build Specialized Digital Software and Skills:

Digital platforms create new tasks and opportunities⁸⁴ for micro and small businesses deploying specialized apps and digital platforms. To expand their use, three aspects are worth considering.

- **Develop targeted and tailored platforms.** For example, a mobile phone-based matching platform that connects agricultural buyers and sellers⁸⁵ in Uganda reduced transaction level search costs by 21 percent, facilitating price convergence between regions. Job matching platforms such as Upwork and Freelancer expanded access⁸⁶ to employment opportunities across borders, offering flexible arrangements⁸⁷ especially beneficial to women and youth.
- **Upskill workers.** The new occupations⁸⁸ that will emerge in the coming years are such that equipping workers with new or improved digital, social, and emotional skills will be essential to prevent labor-market bottlenecks. In this context, instruments such as retraining⁸⁹ subsidies can ease the transition⁹⁰ of displaced workers to new roles.⁹¹
- **Upgrade businesses.** Training in the use of complementary technology tools and organizational practices,⁹² as well as R&D, will be essential to reduce the digital divide among large and small firms, for example.

Coordinate with Physical Infrastructure:

The impact of digital infrastructure is amplified by complementary investments in road infrastructure,⁹³ as estimated in Africa, where employment benefits can increase by 22 percent. Digital connectivity⁹⁴ is critically dependent on energy infrastructure,⁹⁵ implying that better electricity access⁹⁶ boosts usage and attracts FDI⁹⁷ in digital infrastructure. Multilateral development banks can forge innovative partnerships integrating energy and internet access to address the demand for reliable electricity and high-speed internet. For example, simultaneous investments⁹⁸ in Fenix International and Lumos brought together mobile money with solar home systems in Africa.

FIGURE 7

Investments and policies to leverage digital infrastructure for job creation

INVESTMENTS	
▶	Tailor technology choice to country context, costs, and deployment capabilities
▶	Expand digital hardware in computers, affordable mobile handsets
▶	Build productive digital software (e.g., sector and context specific such as bike rider app, retail service); and Skills of workers and firms (e.g., digital, socio-emotional)
▶	Coordinate with physical infrastructure (e.g., roads, energy)
REGULATIONS	
▶	Streamline regulations to reduce cost: infrastructure sharing, spectrum management auctions, streamlined licensing
▶	Harmonize laws to facilitate diffusion: e-transaction laws, data protection, cybersecurity, etc.
▶	Optimize financing models to mobilize capital: mobilize private financing or public-private partnerships, based on infrastructure type

REGULATIONS

Developing countries pay more⁹⁹ and get lower-quality digital services than richer countries. For example, costs are 39 percent higher in Sub-Saharan Africa and 27 percent higher in Latin America. Three distinct areas of regulations are critical for cost, diffusion, and financing of digital infrastructure.

Streamline Regulations to Reduce Costs:

Infrastructure sharing,¹⁰⁰ for example, reduces duplication and can save on capital and operational costs¹⁰¹ by 15 to 72 percent. Effective spectrum management¹⁰² balances efficiency with equity. Streamlined licensing with long-term spectrum licenses provide regulatory certainty, whereas universal service funds help reach underserved areas.¹⁰³

Harmonize Laws to Facilitate Diffusion:

Accessibility, security, and trust in digital use require harmonized regulations that enable secure online transactions,¹⁰⁴ protection of data flows, and cybersecurity.¹⁰⁵ Stronger policies are also needed to address anti-competitive practices¹⁰⁶ in digital markets. Market integration can help reduce the prices of goods, services, and labor, which are essential to leverage potential gains from digital infrastructure.

Optimize Financing Models to Mobilize Capital:

Financing digital infrastructure can leverage private, public, and public-private partnership models, contingent on regulatory simplification. For example, first-mile (submarine cables, data centers) can possibly be commercially viable through private-led

investment (e.g., Google's Equiano cable); middle-mile (national fiber backbones) could be more amenable to PPPs, such as with India's BharatNet, which includes subsidies to attract private participation to expand rural broadband;¹⁰⁷ while last-mile (rural and underserved areas) might need public financing to address viability gaps.¹⁰⁸

Unlocking the full potential of digital infrastructure—and the jobs it can create—hinges on mobilizing private investment. Forward-looking reforms that leverage digital collateral and, where appropriate, public guarantees and blended finance, are essential instruments to attract private investment. With these tools, emerging markets can leapfrog old limitations and ignite lasting job growth ■

Emerging Market Insights is an article series covering business trends in emerging markets and developing economies.

Cover Photo: Banking kiosk in Borlai village, India. Photo © IFC

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