2024

Broadband Diffusion in Rural Maine: A Qualitative Assessment of Residents' Attitudes

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Recommended Citation

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INTRODUCTION

In Maine and across the United States, policymakers are trying to bring digital equity to their communities. In November 2021, the United States made an unprecedented investment in digital equity with the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA), which allocates $65 billion toward expanding access to and meaningful use of broadband nationwide (The White House 2024: 383). Within the IIJA, the Digital Equity Act of 2021 sets aside $2.75 billion in planning grants to states and other eligible entities for a range of digital equity activities. The federal agency charged with administering this funding—the National Telecommunications and Information Administration—has asked states to craft statewide digital equity plans that illustrate how digital equity will benefit their communities.[1]

At their core, states' plans are visions for the future of life in their cities, towns, and townships. Many states—Maine included—have laid out plans for ubiquitous connectivity in the near future. On August 11, 2023, the Maine Connectivity Authority (MCA) released its Broadband Action Plan, a five-year roadmap that the quasi-governmental agency will use to achieve universal broadband for all Mainers (MCA 2023a). Not only does MCA hope to bring service to 42,000 Maine homes and businesses that currently remain unconnected, but it also wants to increase enrollment in the Affordable Connectivity Program (ACP) by 84,000 (62 percent of eligible households) by 2029 (MCA 2023b).

Based on ambitious plans like this one, it appears increasingly likely that universal broadband availability will become a reality in Maine and the rest of the country in the near future. As access increases and life digitizes across the country, the broader policy focus will shift toward emphasizing meaningful broadband adoption and use, a term developed over years by scholars and adapted in the final version of the Digital Equity Act of 2021 to mean

> daily access to the internet—(A) at a speed, quality, and capacity—(i) that is necessary for the individual to accomplish common tasks; and (ii) such that the access qualifies as an advanced telecommunications capability; (B) with the digital skills that are necessary for the individual to participate online; and (C) on a—(i) personal device; and (ii) secure and convenient network.[2]

An onlooker paying attention to the most promising policymaking might argue that meaningful broadband adoption, which goes beyond access to include widespread affordable and reliable internet, access to devices, and digital skills training, may also be within the grasp of many US communities over the next five to ten years. A definition of meaningful broadband adoption developed by Gangadharan and Byrum (2012: 2602) describes the term as

> the social layer of broadband access [...] [which] depends upon an individual's interaction with his or her community, which in turn helps shape the degree of relevance of broadband technologies to his or her life. [and] [...] [helps] policy targets make sense of and exercise control over how broadband enters users' lives. Meaningful broadband adoption thus refers to a range of broadband-related activities and experiences that target populations and their supporters construct, and often define, for themselves.

This social layer—the broader ways people relate to broadband—is the focus of this analysis, which draws insights from in-depth interviews conducted in rural Maine.

Maine's unique rural character and the spirit of each community shapes the state's relationship to digital equity. As the Maine Connectivity Authority (MCA) notes in the opening to its Digital Equity Plan,

> Maine faces a perfect storm of challenges in achieving digital equity. Our remote and rugged terrain makes our state one of the most difficult and expensive to reach with digital infrastructure. As the oldest state in the nation, we have a significant population that hasn't grown up with all of the technology available today. [...] Almost all of us live in small, rural communities with limited resources. These factors combine to shape the contours of the digital divide in Maine (MCA 2023b: 2).

Not only do these factors influence how Mainers experience digital inequality, but they will also influence how Mainers experience a more connected future. Most people in Maine

see broadband as essential—a truth confirmed by voters' overwhelming support of broadband expansion policies and reaffirmed by my interviews—but most of us also live in towns where the opportunity to unplug is everywhere. Though most rural Mainers are supportive on some level of broadband expansion and digital equity work, many people are still uncertain about the benefits of broadband, nervous about projects for a variety of reasons, and generally wary yet hopeful about what the future might hold. As I recruited participants for this project, I often had to reassure people that they did not need to be broadband educated to contribute valuable thoughts to the conversation.

The transition to universal broadband in rural Maine will be transformative, and as policymakers shift focus towards adoption and use, they should thoroughly understand how rural Mainers view the internet more broadly and how they see broadband affecting their lives and communities. Through in-depth interviews with 27 Mainers across 8 counties, this project aims to document how rural Mainers are reacting to the inevitability of broadband penetration, what people view as the pros and cons of new digital infrastructure, what reasons people have for resistance or skepticism, and, in general, how the broadband conversation relates more broadly to people's visions for the future of rural Maine. Overall, project participants imagine a future where broadband aligns with and even enriches distinctly rural ways of life while securing long-term wellbeing for their communities.

The goal of this project is to inform digital equity policy efforts in Maine and beyond. The Benton Institute, in an August 2023 report, emphasizes that to achieve digital equity, states need to create well-defined metrics for success

and plans that contain strategies that consider qualitative data, local data collection, and storytelling (Benton Institute 2023). In line with this guidance, Maine's Digital Equity Plan maps out a strategy for statewide education and information campaigns. According to the plan, the MCA will lead the development of a storytelling campaign to illustrate "the impact of digital equity on Mainers' lives" (MCA 2023b: 18). This project aims to contribute to this work and to provide policymakers with a glimpse into the feelings that Mainers have about the internet, broadband, infrastructure, and equity.

METHODOLOGY

The inspiration to conduct this study using in-depth interviews comes primarily from digital inequality research that explores how a person's use of the internet and digital technologies is shaped by social contexts, values, and attitudes. Sociologist Eszter Hargittai's work has been instrumental to developing this perspective; in 2011, Hargittai warned us not to "assume universal outcomes across population segments" when asking how digital media changes our world because these assumptions can make policy deterministic rather than grounded in exploratory research (Hargittai 2011: 231–232). People's attitudes and feelings are part of this story—they are part of why different experiences with the digital divide exist, and why different communities might experience the transition toward digital equity in varied ways. A 2019 paper by Reisdorf and colleagues was key to developing this project's focus on attitudes. In the study, the authors define globally relevant "cultural orientations" to the internet via surveys, ultimately showing how these belief and value patterns about the internet can explain digital

inequalities both in access and patterns of use (Reisdorf et al. 2019: 80).

This project was designed to answer a simple, related question: "What kinds of attitudes do rural Mainers have towards the internet and broadband—attitudes and feelings that may be grounded in their lived experiences?" A lobsterman on Swan's Island and a farmer in Sangerville might have different attitudes towards these topics for different reasons, along with desires to use the internet and broadband in ways especially relevant to their individual lives and communities. This project begins to uncover granular, nuanced data about Mainers' feelings toward the internet and broadband at this crucial policy moment in Maine where we are starting to truly envision life with universal broadband service.

This study is based on interviews conducted with 27 participants from May to August 2023. Of these, 16 participants are local leaders—selectmen, broadband committee members, librarians, tribal broadband leaders, and others—and 11 are simply residents of rural Maine. The participants represent eight counties: Piscataquis (10), Lincoln (2), Washington (4), Cumberland (3), Knox (3), Hancock (2), Sagadahoc (2), and Waldo (1). Location of residence was the only demographic data point collected from participants, and to keep participants anonymous, I only refer to participants' counties of residence. This research is qualitative and is not demographically representative; it is meant to provide a snapshot of rural Mainers' thoughts and feelings about broadband and the internet. During the recruitment phase, to maximize the possibility of interviewing people who are not regular internet users, I sent flyers to librarians, town clerks, and others who distributed print copies in their gathering spaces as well as electronic copies to email lists. Leaders were contacted

directly via email and telephone to ask if they would be willing to take part. Snowball sampling (asking participants to identify other potential contacts) led to numerous other connections along the way.

Though participants were recruited from around the state, the focus was mostly on Piscataquis County (10 participants are from Piscataquis County, while the remaining 17 are distributed across 7 other counties). In 2021, the Eastern Maine Development Corporation reported that Piscataquis County's broadband subscription rate is lower than the rest of the state's (EMDC 2021). For this reason, it seemed particularly important to hear from Piscataquis County residents about their attitudes toward broadband, which may reveal reasons for nonadoption (including cost, lack of digital skills, or lack of interest) or resistance to local broadband expansion (including tax concerns or fears related to growth). Another goal of this project was to increase the chance of hearing from people not well represented in conversations about digital equity. These factors, combined with the fact that this county has lagged in statewide broadband survey responses (Piscataquis Observer 2023), prompted the focus on Piscataquis County. Piscataquis is also one of Maine's most rural counties and the poorest in the state (Royzman 2022). The county's rural nature and relatively low adoption of broadband suggest that the region is likely to undergo the most significant transformation as a result of digital equity work. This project tries to center the perspectives of the county's residents who will experience this transformation. What are residents excited about? What are their hopes or fears? What are their visions for the futures of their communities that broadband projects prompt them to imagine?

Table 1 and Table 2 show the different sets of questions that leader participants and resident participants were asked. Reisdorf et al. (2019) included many prompts in their survey that directly inspired a few of these interview questions. To identify orientations towards the internet, Reisdorf and colleagues asked participants to rate the extent to which they agreed with statements including "the Internet makes life easier," and "the Internet is frustrating to work with" (Reisdorf et al. 2019: 84). These prompts directly inspired the following questions: "Do you agree with the statement that 'the internet makes life easier?'" and "do you like the experience of being online?" (Table 2).

Interviews with the 27 participants lasted an average of 45 minutes. Interviewing ended when saturation was reached—when participants no longer provided new responses and instead echoed previous responses in ways that underscored the findings that had already emerged. All interviews were transcribed and then hand coded for themes and patterns in participant responses.

FINDINGS

Internet Attitudes

Before the questions about broadband, I asked resident participants for their general thoughts about the internet and being online. I decided to ask only resident participants these general questions in case these feelings clarified anything about their attitudes

TABLE 1: Leader Interview Questions

Categories	Questions
Broadband attitudes	Have you encountered resident hesitancy or worries regarding broadband in your work? · What kind of outreach or communication resulted in productive conversations with people? · Was there any misinformation being spread?
Community character and change	Did you hear from any residents who were concerned about broadband affecting the "rural character" of the community? Do you think your community has a "rural character?" If so, do you think broadband access will affect it in any way—positively, negatively, or otherwise?
Leader perspectives	As your broadband project was developing, did you make decisions to balance broadband goals with other priorities for the community? How do you think most residents in your community will use high-speed internet? Is there anything you wish other broadband leaders understood about the internet or broadband and rural communities? How optimistic or not do you think residents are about soon getting better and more affordable internet?
Other	Do you have any questions for me?

TABLE 2: **Resident Interview Questions**

Categories	Questions
Broadband use	Do you regularly use the internet?
	Do you know what broadband is?
	Do you have access to broadband/high-speed internet?
	If you are not able to regularly use the internet or high-speed internet, what would you use it for if you could?
Internet attitudes	Describe how you feel about the internet using three words. Then, feel free to elaborate.
	Do you agree with the statement that "the internet makes life easier?" Explain your opinion.
	Do you agree with the statement that "the internet makes life better?" Explain your opinion.
	If you are not currently, do you think you would be happy to be online (provided you would have all the internet skills you want)? Why or why not?
	If you do use the internet, do you like the experience of being online?
	If you choose not to use the internet regularly, why?
	How negative or positive of an impact do you think the internet has on people generally? Are you leaning more towards negative or positive?
Broadband attitudes	Do you support or would you support broadband expansion projects in your town? Please explain.
	How negative or positive of an impact do you think broadband expansion would have on your community?
Community character and change	Imagine your town gets high-speed internet everywhere. Now picture your town in 5-10 years. What, if anything, has changed?
	Would you describe where you live as rural?
	What do you value most about living in rural Maine or in a rural area in general?
	Do you think high-speed internet infrastructure would affect those things—positively, negatively, or otherwise?
Other	What does "off-grid" mean to you? How do you define it?
	Do you have any questions for me?

towards broadband. For leader participants, I was more interested in understanding their perspectives on the prevailing sentiments in their communities about broadband as it affects their projects. I was not interested in understanding their personal feelings about using the internet.

As broadband expansion goals merge into broader digital equity goals related to affordability, device access, and digital skills, and as stakeholders like the Maine Department of Education continue to develop a stance on digital citizenship,[3] it is important to understand the attitudes of rural Mainers toward the internet. Their attitudes could influence how they adopt broadband and other more advanced internet technologies. It is worth noting that all 11 of the resident participants said they regularly use the internet. Additionally, out of the 11, 7 resident participants said that they know what broadband is (a basic definition was provided to those who did not) and 9 confirmed they have access to it where they live. Participants' broadband awareness and use habits likely shaped their responses to other questions.

When asked if the internet makes life easier, all 11 of the resident participants said that it does at least on some level. Participants primarily view the internet as an increasingly necessary tool that can make tasks more convenient, improve access to information, and enable socialization. When asked if the internet makes life better, only two resident participants said "yes" without qualification. The rest expressed concern about potential harms and risks of internet use. The risks and harms participants highlighted can be summarized as follows: misinformation, information overload, slow and unreliable connections, online fraud, low self-esteem about digital skills, and the psychological harms of internet overuse.

Leader participants shared anecdotes from their community engagement that affirmed the importance of the concerns residents mentioned in their interviews. A Passamaquoddy broadband leader participant emphasized the largely enthusiastic embrace of broadband by community members,

but also noted the particular salience of internet safety concerns for people living in Wabanaki Nation communities:

> There's another level of safety here. Not only do you have access to the world via the internet, but the world has access to you. It's like inviting the world right onto our reservation which is always [...] there's a little hesitancy about that.

The topic of internet safety came up in interviews with other leaders. A broadband advocate from Sagadahoc County recalled that the biggest fears he found among residents were related to internet safety issues, such as harm to children online and the risk of online fraud. Residents he spoke to wanted leaders to prioritize solutions that address "what access to broadband [means] for new users" and how to "safely navigate that world." This leader also worried that because many community members he interacts with are new to the internet in general, they may be unaware of more complex and evasive online dangers such as misinformation. This snapshot of Mainers' feelings about the internet and its risks suggests that broadband outreach and engagement in Maine would benefit from projects that intentionally address and anticipate communities' broader internet concerns.

Rural Character, Change, and Broadband

The community leaders interviewed had a lot to say about the complex and varied nature of residents' perspectives on broadband expansion. In their outreach, leaders have found some concern among residents that expanded digital infrastructure will undermine towns' rural characters and identities. At the same time, both leaders and residents are highly aware of the benefits of broadband for rural Maine

and the role it plays in ensuring long-term survival for their communities. Overall, leaders emphasize that digital equity projects should balance the need for connectivity with the preservation of rural ways of life.

Multiple leaders explained that some of the local hesitancy around broadband expansion was due to a lack of awareness and misconceptions about the infrastructure. This finding shows up most prominently in conversations about the visual impact of new fiber and 5G infrastructure on the rural charm that defines many Maine towns. One selectman from western Lincoln County recalled hearing about worries that many new structures would pop up in the region. As he noted, "it's not that [residents] didn't want broadband [...] they just didn't know enough about it." While discussing their fiber projects, leaders explained that where fiber cannot be put underground, it will largely be installed on existing poles. The resulting visual impact on communities will therefore be minimal. However, questions about how infrastructure projects could alter their local landscapes is one example of the uncertainty residents feel about how life in rural Maine will change in the coming years. One former selectboard chair and local farm owner from Washington County told me about the changes broadband expansion will make to a stretch of barren road in her town: "even for me, one of the things I probably most regret is that that section of road is going to now have telephone poles on it."

However, for the most part, rural Mainers' concerns about broadband have more to do with how expanded access could relate to broader issues that generally affect small, rural communities in Maine and across the country. The influx of new residents, in particular, seems to be on people's minds. During an interview, one regional broadband coalition leader in

Piscataquis County used an analogy that mirrors fears that many leaders said they have encountered in their broadband outreach:

> many people who live on gravel roads don't particularly want them to get paved because people will start driving on them. They like living where they do, and they like being relatively remote. And they see a gravel road as a way to keep people out.

This idea—that improved infrastructure will attract new residents—combined with the harms that development can sometimes cause in small towns influences some Mainers' reactions to broadband expansion. As another western Lincoln County leader put it, "I think there's some fear that if we have high-speed internet, everybody's going to have a quarter-acre lot and we're going to look like suburbia." Most participants had something to say about the challenges and drawbacks of development separate from the broadband context. Participants (particularly those on the unbridged islands) told stories of newcomers wealthier than the local populations purchasing expensive homes, running at-home businesses, and in some cases, raising property values and "driving away the fishermen," as one local broadband committee member observed. A library director in southern Piscataquis County spoke candidly about the real estate changes generally affecting the state:

> It's all throughout Maine. There's a lot of people who have vacation homes here or they're retired here and can live in a certain way. One woman bought three trailers and just tore them down because they were an eyesore to her, but there's no affordable housing. You do have people whose idea of improving town is just completely redoing a lot of things, and it makes it not very livable for a large majority of

the population that lives here. It's interesting trying to navigate that.

All but two of the residents interviewed said that if a significant influx of new residents were to move to their communities, this could negatively affect the qualities of rural life that they value. When asked what they value most about living in rural Maine, every participant's response described one or more of the following qualities: peace and quiet (8), close-knit and neighborly culture (6), and immersion in nature (3). Notably, for the eight participants who emphasized peace and quiet, all of them mentioned low population density as an important element defining peace and quiet.

Overall, participants emphasized that concerns related to population increase and development are long-standing and exist independently of the broadband conversation, and most did not think that broadband will have a significant additional impact. Nevertheless, some rural Mainers—like one resident of southern Piscataquis County—suspect that broadband's presence will "change the tapestry of people" locally for the worse, attracting people who do not share the same rural values and who will demand unwanted transformations. The same island leader quoted earlier about displaced fishermen expressed a sentiment similar to what other participants shared: "[people move here] who […] come in with their clipboards and start demanding things and it's not pleasant. I don't know if broadband is bringing that in but they're going to want broadband when it's built."

Most leaders emphasized one of broadband's main selling points for small, rural areas: its presence will not just keep locals, especially young adults, from leaving, but will also bring in new, permanent families (who want broadband where they live) who will ultimately help keep schools and businesses

open. One regional broadband project leader in northeastern Waldo County imagines an even more drastic impact if the project succeeds: "it will be the difference between the entire area drying up and falling off the map, to potentially turning a corner and starting to fight Camden and Rockport for tourists or something." In general, the participants—both leaders and residents—view broadband as supporting or sustaining development and population growth, and all would view these outcomes as either largely positive or simply as a necessity for community survival. It is worthwhile to highlight here that when asked if they do or would support high-speed internet expansion, eight out of eleven resident participants said yes without qualification. The others said they would support the right project, primarily noting local costs as a concern.

DISCUSSION: A HARMONIOUS BROADBAND FUTURE

Through many of the conversations with participants about how broadband may or may not affect their communities, the desire for *balance* was a throughline. Both leaders and residents want broadband expansion to be balanced with the preservation of rural character in their communities. One Washington County town leader aptly paraphrased opinions expressed by most participants:

> I think if you let fear hold you back on stuff like the high-speed internet, you're really losing out on things. And I really think that's why a lot of change in a way doesn't come to Maine, because we all really like our rural community. I mean, it is a fear — that people might move [here] […] and we can only try our hardest to keep it rural

without depriving ourselves of the luxuries of life.

A March 2023 article in *Down East* magazine helps frame the kinds of fear this leader describes, citing mill closures, a transforming Gulf of Maine and fishing industry, unprecedented waves of out-of-state homebuyers, and severe housing shortages as among the recent changes Mainers are adjusting to (Ellison 2023). Ellison asks,

> what does all of this mean for the state we love? What is Maine when the lobster boats disappear from the harbors? What is Maine if only a fraction of those who grew up here can afford to live here? What will become of our *character*? What will become of us if we lose it?

Importantly, as Ellison points out, it is crucial to keep a handle on what is meant by the word *character* in the phrase *rural character.* The research I report on here focuses on the values participants identified to define what they meant by the terms *peace and quiet, close-knit local culture,* and *immersion in nature.* Character, when invoked to resist development projects, can sometimes be weaponized to keep away low-income families and people of color. Ellison asks, "what, exactly, are we protecting Maine's character from? Outside forces? Change? *Those* people?" This task of defining what Maine's rural character means to its residents is crucial for bringing meaningful change and digital equity to communities. By emphasizing participants' interest in balancing broadband expansion with the preservation of Maine's rural character, this project highlights the importance of identifying what people love about rural life in Maine and how those qualities can be balanced with a connected, equitable, and prosperous future for current and future Mainers.

One way policymakers and other leaders can work towards this balance is

by focusing thoughtfully on the ways that broadband and digital equity could enhance the rural ways of life that Mainers value. This focus on how broadband can directly enrich rural life becomes especially important considering the frustration among residents as the world around us all digitizes. Multiple leaders suggested that some people support broadband expansion or use the internet with a sense of resigned acceptance of "where things are going." The Piscataquis library director quoted earlier described the "many people who … come [to the library] and they need to live in the digital world, and they come in with a lot of anger"—not directed at library staff, but at a world increasingly difficult to exist in without access to the internet. As one Cumberland County island broadband leader stated, "I think people are more resigned to the fact that this is the way things are going and broadband is just an essential part of whatever happens next. You can't keep it out. I think we're at that level. You accept it." These sentiments further signal the importance of considering how to make broadband and digital equity meaningful for people.

Participants suggested broadband can make a meaningful impact on rural life by enabling existing populations to stay where they are and to continue living the lives they want. One Washington County broadband leader imagined that, in the future, broadband would allow her grandson to make a better living as a farmer. Another participant, a seasonal resident of an unbridged island in Knox County, envisions a future where part-time residents like him stay on the island longer, relying on local businesses while they do. A second Piscataquis County library director pictures broadband bringing his small community closer together as it enables local gathering spaces like his library to reach more people and hold online events. A Hancock County retired lobsterman and selectboard chair imagines that broadband could be "a clean way of helping climate change" for his island by enabling more people to work greener jobs. He also pictures broadband opening up career opportunities "where people can make money and not take away from people that are making money [on the island]," often as fishermen and lobstermen. When asked if there is anything he wished other leaders understood about broadband and rural communities, a broadband consultant from Sagadahoc County told me he feels strongly about making sure outreach focuses on how broadband can directly enhance existing aspects of life for rural Mainers:

> If you have a conversation about, you know, "hey, we want everybody to have broadband in your beautiful, idyllic coastal Maine community," they're not [very enthusiastic]. But if the conversation is, "well now you can plot your lobster traps on the same mapping software you use on your boat, but you can access it from home and increase your productivity," they start making that connection.

Policymakers and other leaders across Maine can continue to engage local communities in the broadband and digital equity planning process. Following smart growth principles of the kind advocated by GrowSmart Maine and the Island Institute, among others, can help; these are principles that fundamentally support community collaboration in development decisions as well as the cultivation of "distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place," as the GrowSmart Maine website explains.[4] Rural Mainers are protective of their sense of place, and leaders can design community-driven blueprints for visions of a more digitized rural life that reflect this sense of place.

CONCLUSION

This snapshot of rural Mainers' attitudes towards the internet and broadband expansion suggests opportunities for further in-depth engagement with residents and leaders as digital equity work progresses statewide. When developing policies that encourage meaningful and locally relevant broadband use, policymakers can benefit from a detailed and nuanced understanding of people's general internet attitudes and wishes for Maine's broadband future, including the wish to align infrastructure development with rural ways of life. It became particularly clear throughout this project's interviews that the people working to bring digital equity to their communities have a lot to say to fellow community leaders as well as leaders at the state and federal levels. When asked at the end of the interviews if there is anything they wish other leaders understood about broadband and rural communities, leaders shared both advice and frustrations (see Appendix A).[5] Numerous leaders emphasized the importance of having broadband-literate local leaders and suggested that project management support needs to help minimize the learning curve for local leaders taking on new projects. Other leaders stressed the usefulness of collaboration between communities so that communication can flow more effectively between the local and state levels; one leader suggested that the state can do more to gather input from librarians who are already having daily conversations with the people who are most affected by digital inequity.

Amid all of the broadband developments underway in Maine, leaders are also preparing locals for the often slow and unpredictable construction timelines. When asked how optimistic or not they believe residents are about

receiving better internet service soon, nearly all leaders explained that they see, at best, weariness among residents and sometimes outright hopelessness (see Appendix B). Many rural communities across the state have heard about broadband projects for years, but have not seen any real progress. Other communities have seen projects move forward only to be delayed or dropped. A sentiment generally expressed by leaders during their interviews is that residents will "believe it when they see it." Even so, Maine is making encouraging strides towards digital equity. Now is the time for state leaders to listen carefully to communities and to collect qualitative data revealing exactly what rural Mainers want for our broadband future.

NOTES

1   https://www.internetforall.gov/program/digital-equity-act-programs
2   Digital Equity Act of 2021, 47 U.S.C. § 1721 (2021).
3   https://www.maine.gov/doe/learning/content/ela/initiatives/literacyforme/2.0/intro/future
4   https://growsmartmaine.org/about-growsmart-maine/#more
5   https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/mpr/vol33/iss1/6/

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