

NBER WORKING PAPER SERIES

E-COMMERCE INTEGRATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:
EVIDENCE FROM CHINA

Victor Couture
Benjamin Faber
Yizhen Gu
Lizhi Liu

Working Paper 24384
<http://www.nber.org/papers/w24384>

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH
1050 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
March 2018

We are grateful to CEGA, the Clausen Center, the Haas School of Business, the Weiss Family Fund and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation for providing funding for this study. We have benefited from outstanding research assistance by Hero Ashman, Allison Green, Wenwei Peng, Jose Vasquez-Carvajal and Yi Wei. We are grateful to Lijun Sun, Wei Wang, Wei Zheng and Fang Ye for their tireless support during the implementation of this project. We also thank Hongbing Gao, Zhenzhong Sheng, Liang Chen, Wentao Zhang and Zhengwei Jiang for providing us access to and assistance with the transaction database. We are grateful to David Atkin, Jie Bai, Loren Brandt, Lauren Falcao-Bergquist, Lorenzo Casaburi, Dave Donaldson, Pablo Fajgelbaum, Thibault Fally, Federico Finan, Cecile Gaubert, Edward Glaeser, Paul Gertler, Jonas Hjort, Amit Khandelwal, Supreet Kaur, Michael Kremer, David Levine, Ted Miguel, Mushfiq Mobarak, Ferdinando Monte, Ben Olken, Ralph Ossa, Steve Redding, Andres Rodriguez-Clare, Esteban Rossi-Hansberg, Daniel Sturm, Matt Turner, Eric Verhoogen, Jonathan Vogel, Michael Walker, Shangjin Wei, Christopher Woodruff, Daniel Xu, Noam Yuchtman, Fabrizio Zilibotti and participants at several seminars and conferences for very helpful comments. All views expressed and errors are our own. The views expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

NBER working papers are circulated for discussion and comment purposes. They have not been peer-reviewed or been subject to the review by the NBER Board of Directors that accompanies official NBER publications.

© 2018 by Victor Couture, Benjamin Faber, Yizhen Gu, and Lizhi Liu. All rights reserved. Short sections of text, not to exceed two paragraphs, may be quoted without explicit permission provided that full credit, including © notice, is given to the source.

E-Commerce Integration and Economic Development: Evidence from China
Victor Couture, Benjamin Faber, Yizhen Gu, and Lizhi Liu
NBER Working Paper No. 24384
March 2018, Revised August 2018
JEL No. F63,O12,R13

ABSTRACT

E-commerce markets are rapidly growing in the developing world, but this growth has until recently been limited to urban areas. Inspired by growth in cities and numerous case studies on the transformative effect of e-commerce trading on rural markets, policy makers are now targeting large investments to expand access to e-commerce outside of cities. In this paper, we investigate the effect of the first nationwide e-commerce expansion program on household welfare and the underlying channels at work. The program invests in the necessary logistics to ship products to and sell products from tens of thousands of Chinese villages that were largely unconnected to e-commerce. Our analysis combines a new collection of survey and administrative microdata with a randomized control trial (RCT) that we implement across villages in collaboration with a large e-commerce firm. We find that the gains from e-commerce trading are sizable, but only accrue to a minority of rural households who tend to be younger and richer. In contrast to the existing case study evidence that has motivated these policies, we find little evidence for significant income gains to the average rural producer or worker. Instead, the gains are driven by the consumption side, through a significant reduction in household cost of living that is most pronounced in more remote rural markets. Our results also suggest that these effects are mainly due to overcoming the logistical barriers to e-commerce in rural markets, rather than to additional investments targeted at adapting e-commerce to the rural population.

Victor Couture
University of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720-1900
couture@berkeley.edu

Benjamin Faber
Department of Economics
University of California, Berkeley
697A Evans Hall
Berkeley, CA 94720
and NBER
benfaber@econ.berkeley.edu

Yizhen Gu
Institute for Economic and Social Research
Jinan University
Guangzhou
China
yizhengu@jnu.edu.cn

Lizhi Liu
Department of Political Science
616 Serra Street, Encina Hall West, Room 100
Stanford, CA 94305-6044
lizhiliu@stanford.edu

1 Introduction

The number of people buying and selling products online in China has grown from practically zero in the year 2000 to more than 400 million by 2015, surpassing the US as the largest e-commerce market in terms of users and total sales.¹ Outside of China, a growing number of developing countries, especially in Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Middle East, are experiencing rapid growth in e-commerce activity (WTO, 2013; UNCTAD, 2016b). To date, most of this growth has taken place in the cities of the developing world. In this context, the Chinese government recently announced the expansion of e-commerce to the countryside as a national policy priority to foster rural economic development and reduce the rural-urban economic divide.² Other developing countries, such as Egypt, India and Vietnam, have recently announced similar policies to invest in the expansion of e-commerce trading to rural areas, where the majority of their population live.³

So far, these policies have been motivated mainly by a number of prominent case studies of highly successful “e-commerce villages” that have experienced rapid output growth by selling both agricultural and non-agricultural products to urban markets via e-commerce. For example, by the end of 2017 China’s largest e-commerce platform, Taobao, had branded more than 2000 rural markets in China as so-called “Taobao villages”, based on their concentration of online sellers and high sales volumes on the firm’s platform (AliResearch, 2017).⁴ Inspired by these success stories, much of the current policy focus has been on rural producers. By lowering trade and information costs to urban markets, the arrival of e-commerce is meant to increase rural incomes through higher demand for local production, better access to inputs and stronger incentives for rural entrepreneurship. There has been much less emphasis on the potential benefits to rural consumers. However, recent descriptive evidence from urban China suggests that e-commerce demand is strongest in smaller and more remote cities, pointing to potentially significant consumer gains in rural areas.⁵

Despite the fast growth of e-commerce in the developing world and large planned investments to expand access outside of cities, we currently have limited empirical evidence on the economic consequences of access to e-commerce trading. The recent growth of a number of “e-commerce villages” has captured the imagination of policy-makers and the general public, but important questions remain about whether market integration through online trading platforms

¹See e.g. PFSweb (2016) and Statista (2016).

²The so-called “No.1 Central Document” is the first policy statement released every year by the Chinese central government. It sets out the annual strategic priorities for the country. The expansion of e-commerce access to the countryside has featured in this document each January since 2014.

³As part of “Digital India”, a collaboration between the Ministry of Electronics and IT and India Post have been tasked to expand online buying and selling in rural India (MEITY, 2016). Other recent examples include Egypt’s National E-Commerce Strategy (MCIT, 2016) and Vietnam’s E-Commerce Development Masterplan (PM, 2016). Following this policy interest, UNCTAD recently announced the launch of a new platform, “eTrade For All: Unlocking the Potential of E-Commerce in Developing Countries”, to provide technical assistance and funding for e-commerce expansions in the developing world (UNCTAD, 2016a).

⁴E-commerce villages have also received much press coverage. See e.g. “China’s Number One E-Commerce Village” (BBC Global Business, 01 May 2013), “Inside China’s Tech Villages” (The Telegraph, 05 Nov 2016), “Once Poverty-Stricken, China’s ‘Taobao Villages’ Have Found a Lifeline Making Trinkets for the Internet” (QZ, 01 Feb 2017), “Taobao Villages Are Turning Poor Communities into Huge Online Retail Hubs” (Business Insider, 27 Feb 2017).

⁵In the US, the share of e-commerce in 2015 total US retail sales is estimated to be about 10-15 percent (e.g. FRED (2016)). In China, McKinsey (2016) reports this share to be as high as 20-30 percent in smaller cities, and Fan et al. (2016) find that this share increases by on average 1.2 percentage points as city population decreases by 10 percent.

can have a broad and significant impact on rural development. There is also little available evidence on the characteristics of households and markets that may benefit more or less from e-commerce, and on the effectiveness of investments targeted at lifting different types of barriers to rural e-commerce access. To investigate these questions, this paper studies the first nationwide e-commerce expansion program. Our analysis combines a randomized control trial (RCT), that we implement across villages in collaboration with a large Chinese e-commerce firm, with a new collection of household and store price survey microdata and the universe of transaction records from the firm's internal database. We use this empirical setting to provide the first set of rigorous evidence on the potential of e-commerce integration to foster economic development in the countryside, the underlying economic channels, and the distribution of the gains from e-commerce across households and villages.

E-commerce is the ability to buy and sell products through online transactions coupled with transport logistics for local parcel delivery and pickup from the producer. Bringing e-commerce to the countryside in developing countries requires more than internet access. As in many emerging countries, the internet has spread rapidly to most parts of the Chinese countryside due to both smartphones and expanding broadband access. Instead, there are two current barriers to e-commerce trading in the Chinese countryside, which we refer to as the logistical and the transactional barriers. First, the logistical barrier relates to the lack of modern commercial parcel delivery services. These distribution networks have started operating in Chinese cities, but have not started servicing large parts of the countryside. One well-known challenge to rural transport logistics is the so-called "last mile" between urban logistical hubs and relatively small pockets of population in the countryside. Second, many rural residents potentially face a transactional barrier, due to lack of familiarity with navigating online platforms and lack of access to online payment methods. In addition, villagers may not trust transactions that occur before inspecting the product or without interacting with buyers in person.

To overcome these barriers, the Chinese government recently partnered with a large firm that operates a popular Chinese e-commerce platform. The program aims to invest in the necessary transport logistics to offer e-commerce in rural villages at the same price, convenience and service quality that buyers and producers face in their county's main city center. To this end, the e-commerce firm builds warehouses as logistical nodes for rural parcel delivery near the urban center, and fully subsidizes transport between the county's city center to and from the participating villages. To address additional transactional barriers for the rural population, the program installs an e-commerce terminal in a central village location. A terminal manager, who is employed by the firm, assists villagers in buying and selling products through the firm's e-commerce platform, and villagers can pay upon receipt of their products or get paid upon pickup of their shipments in cash at the terminal location. From the end of 2014 to June 2016, approximately 16,500 Chinese villages in 333 counties and 27 provinces had been connected to e-commerce through the program. This expansion continues at the time of this writing, with an internal goal of 40,000 villages by the end of 2018.

Theoretically, we rationalize the program as a reduction in trade and information costs between participating villages and the rest of urban China that is already connected to e-commerce. An advantage of this setting is that we can study the reduction in trade frictions through e-

commerce without confounding the counterfactual with the effects of first-time internet access or reductions in transport costs more broadly. The participating villages were already connected to the internet, and the program makes no changes on this front. Furthermore, the program only directly affects trading partners through e-commerce, while other trade costs, e.g. to control villages, remain unchanged. The RCT and data analysis that we describe below exploit this empirical setting to provide evidence on the local economic effects of e-commerce trading access on rural households.⁶ In addition to evaluating the program's overall impact, we use the features of this setting to provide evidence on the relative importance of trade cost reductions (logistical barrier) and additional investments targeted at adapting e-commerce to the rural population (transactional barrier).

Our analysis proceeds in four steps. In the first step, we derive a general expression to quantify the program's effect on household economic welfare that guides the survey data collection and empirical analysis. Since the program can affect not just the nominal earnings of households, which we can in principle record directly as part of the survey data collection, but also local household price indices in the denominator of real incomes, the evaluation of the welfare impact requires theoretical structure on the demand side. In particular, some of the potential effects on household cost of living are likely to occur at the extensive margin of consumer choice, such as the arrival of a new e-commerce shopping option or local store exit. For such changes in the availability of local consumer options, the effective price changes are unobserved since no information exists at either baseline (new options) or endline (disappearing options) survey periods. Following a revealed-preference approach in industrial organization (e.g. Hausman (1996)) and international trade (e.g. Feenstra (1994); Atkin et al. (2018)), we make use of observed substitution of household spending into new options, or away from disappearing ones, to infer the effective change in consumer welfare across different product groups. More generally, the welfare expression allows us to break down the overall effect of e-commerce integration into several components that we can link to the microdata. We also discuss the assumptions under which rural-to-rural general equilibrium (GE) spillovers on the control group are negligible. Under this baseline assumption, we begin the analysis by estimating simple differences in outcomes between treatment and control villages, and then use two different approaches to investigate the role of cross-village spillovers.

In the second and third steps, we estimate the empirical moments of this welfare expression using household and village survey microdata, as well as the firm's internal database. The RCT takes place in 8 counties located in three provinces, Anhui, Henan and Guizhou, that have a large share of rural population. For each county, the firm gave us authorization to randomly select control villages from a list of candidates that had been extended by 5 villages per county for the purpose of this research. Upon receipt of this extended list of village candidates, we randomly select 5 control villages and 7-8 treatment villages from each county's list. The remaining villages on the list also receive a program terminal as planned. Our sample thus includes 40 control villages and 60 treatment villages across the 8 counties, which we selected from a total number of 432 candidate villages (on average 54 villages per county). Terminal installation and local e-commerce deliveries and pick-ups proceed shortly after we complete the baseline data collection.

⁶It would be outside the scope of this study to also attempt a social cost-benefit analysis of the program, which would require additional detailed and confidential information on the cost side from both the e-commerce firm and the government.

We complement this experimental design with survey data that we collect from households and local retail establishments. We collect baseline data in 8 different counties in December 2015, January 2016 and April-May 2016 for 2800 households (roughly 8600 individuals) in the 100 RCT villages. For the endline, we collect data from the original household sample, and also extend the number of households by 10 randomly selected households in each village (leading to an endline sample of 3800 households). For each household, we collect detailed information about consumption expenditures, expenditures on production inputs, economic activities and incomes. We also collect baseline and endline information on 115 local retail price quotes for each village at the barcode-equivalent level across 9 consumer product groups, as well as for business/production inputs. These survey data are aimed at quantifying the effect on household real incomes, and to distinguish between a number of underlying channels for both consumption gains (the denominator of real incomes) and production-side effects (the numerator). In terms of timing, we conduct the endline data collection 12 calendar months after the baseline in each county.⁷ This implies that the RCT and survey-based data allow us to quantify the program's effect up to 12 months after the arrival of e-commerce. In order to lift this and some other practical constraints of the fieldwork, and investigate the extent to which the censoring of outcomes one year after the intervention may mask longer-term adjustments on both the consumption and production sides, we then provide additional evidence from the firm's administrative database, to which we turn in the next step.⁸

In the third step, we bring to bear the firm's internal database that provides us with access to the universe of village transaction records in five provinces (including the three RCT provinces above) over the period between November 2015 until April 2017. The database covers roughly 27.8 million purchasing and selling transaction records for about 12,000 village terminals that were in operation over this 18-month period.⁹ The data allow us to observe village-level purchases and online sales up to two years and 4 months after the arrival of e-commerce. We use these data to answer four questions that are outside the scope of the RCT and survey data collection: i) to what extent are the RCT sample villages representative of the targeted program villages in the Chinese countryside more broadly?; ii) to what extent are the results from the endline survey data sensitive to monthly seasonality?; iii) what is the time path of adjustment for e-commerce buying and selling each month since program entry, and do the effects increase for periods more than one year post-installation?; and iv) to what extent are the survey data missing very successful, but rare, tail events on the production side that could affect the mean impact on household incomes per capita?

In the final step, we use the empirical estimates from steps 2 and 3 in combination with the theoretical framework in step 1 to quantify the impact of the program on average household eco-

⁷The fast pace of the program's expansion places bounds on the timing of the endline. After the baseline data collection and program installation, we were informed about additional waves of implementation that appeared on the county teams' schedules, with roll-outs starting one year after the initial wave. Given that our control villages were selected from a list of promising candidate villages, they ranked highly for additional installations.

⁸Related to this, we note that much of the existing literature on the consequences of ICT in developing countries have estimated effects after relatively short periods of time. For example, [Jensen \(2007\)](#) documents significant effects of Indian cell phone towers on local market prices and other outcomes within weeks of installation. More recently, [Hjort & Poulsen \(2017\)](#) use quarterly and annual data from several African countries, and document effects of fast-speed internet on local employment and incomes that arise within 3-12 months post-installation.

⁹As we discuss below, the out-shipment data cover 16 months starting in January 2016, rather than November 2015 as for the purchase transactions.

conomic welfare, the underlying channels and the distribution across households and villages. We find that the program leads to sizable gains in real incomes among the group of rural households who are induced to use the e-commerce terminal. These users represent 14 percent of the rural household sample and 13 percent of the village population after adjusting for sampling weights. For the average rural household, including non-users, these gains are statistically significant but more muted. Underlying these effects, we find strong heterogeneity across households and villages. Beneficiaries are on average significantly younger, richer, live in closer proximity to the e-commerce terminal, and in villages that are relatively more remote. Conditional on these characteristics, we do not find evidence that household education or the test scores of the terminal managers affect the extent of household gains from e-commerce.

In terms of channels, we find significantly stronger gains among villages that were not previously serviced by commercial parcel delivery, suggesting that the program's effects are mainly due to overcoming the logistical barrier, rather than additional investments targeted at adapting e-commerce to transactional barriers specific to rural households. On the consumption side, we find that the e-commerce terminals offer lower prices, higher convenience and increased product variety compared to the pre-existing local retail environment, both within the village and in nearby towns. The gains in household purchasing power are strongest for durable product groups, such as electronics and appliances. We also find suggestive evidence that the program led to additional product variety in local stores, as their managers source some new products through e-commerce. On the other hand, we find no evidence of significant pro-competitive effects on local retail prices. On the production side, we find no evidence of significant effects (gains or losses) on the local economy: household incomes, labor supply, sourcing of inputs, online selling and entrepreneurship are not significantly affected by the arrival of e-commerce.¹⁰ Overall, we find that the gains from e-commerce are driven by a significant reduction in local household cost of living that is mainly due to the direct gains from access to the new e-commerce shopping option. These gains are in the order of a 5 percent reduction in the cost of living for retail consumption among users, and a 1 percent reduction for the average household living in these villages. For durable good consumption, the estimated reduction in the local cost of living is 17 percent among users, and on average 3 percent among all households.

Using the firm's database, we find little evidence on the consumption side suggesting that household adjustments to the e-commerce program take longer than one year: the consumption-side uptake materializes within 2-4 months of entry and then remains mostly constant over time. On the production side, we find evidence that village-level out-shipments significantly increase over time beyond the 12-month survey window. However, the effect on total out-shipments remains minor after more than two years post-program entry, with a small upper-bound effect on local household incomes that is consistent with the statistical zero in the survey data. Related to this, we do not find evidence that the survey data fails to pick up highly successful but rare tail events on the production side that could in principle shift the mean effect on local household outcomes.

¹⁰In theory, e-commerce could harm rural producers as rural consumers substitute away from local stores to online sellers. Our survey evidence suggests no significant impact of e-commerce on local agricultural or non-agricultural incomes or on the business of local stores. Consistent with this, we find that villagers mainly source goods through e-commerce that are not competing locally, and that they would otherwise have bought in the nearest urban centers.

Overall, our findings suggest that e-commerce trading access offers significant economic gains to certain groups of the rural population and locations, rather than being broad-based. Compared to existing case study evidence of successful rural production hubs that has motivated recent policy proposals in this area, our analysis reveals that such transformative effects are not representative more generally, even when focusing on rural markets that were chosen by the program for successful e-commerce expansion. On the consumption side, our findings suggest that overcoming the logistical barriers to e-commerce is driving the gains, and that the program's additional investments to adapt e-commerce usage to the rural population have little additional impact. While these findings naturally reflect the empirical setting that we are able to study, we hope that our analysis can provide a first set of evidence to inform the current wave of policy interest and inspire future research in this area.

Related Literature

Our analysis relates to existing work on the effects of transport cost reductions on rural markets (e.g. [Van de Walle \(2009\)](#); [Casaburi et al. \(2013\)](#); [Asher & Novosad \(2018\)](#)) and on the effects of ICT and the internet on rural markets (e.g. [Chapman & Slaymaker \(2002\)](#); [Goyal \(2010\)](#); [Forman et al. \(2012\)](#); [WB \(2016\)](#)). We first note that we are able to study a different counterfactual of policy interest compared to these existing literatures. Rather than estimating the effects of road infrastructure or of the arrival of the internet more broadly, our empirical setting allows us to study the consequences of access to e-commerce trading while holding other factors (such as commuting costs or first-time access to e-mail and online weather forecasts) constant. In particular, the expansion of e-commerce to rural markets requires specific investments to overcome both logistical and transactional barriers beyond the provision of roads and internet access, both of which were in place and left unchanged by the program we study.

Our finding of a significant impact of e-commerce on rural consumption, but little effect on production or incomes, provide an interesting contrast with recent findings by [Asher & Novosad \(2018\)](#) on the effect of rural all-weather roads in India. Using a careful regression discontinuity design, they find that new rural roads enable households to seek work outside the village, but find no effects on household consumption. One explanation for this difference is that, unlike rural roads, access to online trading reduces trade costs for goods, but not transportation costs for workers. Our finding of no significant effect on rural incomes also relates to existing work on the effect of the internet in urban versus rural markets. For example, [Forman et al. \(2012\)](#) find that the spread of the internet in the late 1990s raised wages in the most densely populated and developed US regions, but had no effect on rural markets. More broadly, these findings also relate to a literature in urban economics suggesting that ICT is a complement to urban density (e.g. [Gaspar & Glaeser \(1998\)](#)).

Our study contributes to the recent literature on globalization and development using within-country empirical variation (e.g. [Topalova \(2010\)](#); [Donaldson \(in press\)](#); [Atkin et al. \(2018\)](#)). Given the empirical context, we also relate to the recent literature on the consequences of transport cost reductions within China (e.g. [Banerjee et al. \(2012\)](#); [Baum-Snow et al. \(2016\)](#); [Faber \(2014\)](#)). Instead of focusing on trade liberalization, transport infrastructure or the effects of FDI, we set focus on the economic consequences of e-commerce, a recent but fast-growing channel of market integration in developing countries that has, so far, received relatively little attention in the literature.

Our findings relate to the literature on the consumer gains from e-commerce in the US (e.g. Brynjolfsson et al. (2003); Goldmanis et al. (2010); Einav et al. (2017)), and on cost of living as a function of city size and urban density (e.g. Handbury (2013); Handbury & Weinstein (2015); Couture (2016); Fan et al. (2016)). In this literature, we most closely relate to recent work by Fan et al. (2016) who use data on e-commerce sales on the Taobao platform across 315 prefectures in China for the year 2013, to document a decreasing relationship between prefecture population and online expenditure shares in the cross-section. These findings would suggest that the consumer gains from e-commerce are expected to be the largest among small and remote market places. Relative to the existing literature, this paper uses experimental variation in the arrival of e-commerce to rural markets to quantify the effects on both consumption and production. Our findings suggest that the relationship between e-commerce usage and city size does not appear to hold monotonically as we move from relatively large urban centers further to the left tail of the population size distribution in the countryside.

Finally, our findings relate to recent work on the sources of the rural-urban economic divide in developing countries (e.g. Young (2013); Lagakos et al. (2016); Hamory et al. (2016)). A central question in this literature is the extent to which features of locations, rather than the selection of people across space, can explain the observed rural-urban gap in economic development. Our findings suggest, perhaps surprisingly, that in the Chinese case a lack of urban market access – a characteristic that differs between rural and urban locations – does not by itself appear to be a strong factor explaining observed disparities between the countryside and urban centers, at least in the short to medium-run. In this respect, our findings complement existing evidence suggesting that selection plays an important role in rationalizing observed differences in rural and urban economic development.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 describes the context, experimental design and data. Section 3 presents the theoretical framework. Section 4 presents the empirical analysis based on the RCT and survey data. Section 5 provides additional evidence using the firm’s admin database. Section 6 presents the welfare quantification. Section 7 concludes.

2 Context, Experimental Design and Data

2.1 Context and Program Description

Following the announcement of the policy objective to expand e-commerce to the Chinese countryside as part of the so-called Number One Central Document in January 2014, the Chinese government entered a partnership with a large firm that operates a popular Chinese e-commerce platform. The firm’s objective as part of the program is to penetrate the vast and largely untapped e-commerce market outside of Chinese cities. Rural expansion is one of the firm’s strategic priorities over the coming years.

The program makes two main types of investments to enable villagers to buy and sell online through the firm’s platform. First, the program invests in the local distribution network, which the firms views as a necessary condition to provide e-commerce access in rural areas. Before the arrival of the program, most villages were not serviced by commercial parcel delivery operators, who had not solved the problem of the “last mile” transportation between dispersed rural

households and urban county centers.¹¹

The program sets out to change this lack of service with logistics investments targeted at e-commerce. In particular, the firm oversees the construction of warehouses that serve as logistical nodes to pool all e-commerce-related transportation requests to and from the participating villages. These warehouses are located close to the main urban center of the counties with good cross-county transport access. The program also fully subsidizes the transportation cost between these warehouses and participating villages, so that rural households face the same delivery costs and prices as households in the urban parts of the county. The rationale for this subsidy is that village deliveries and pickups start from a low basis, which due to economies of scale in rural transportation makes the starting phase of e-commerce prohibitively costly for village customers despite the investments in warehouses. The calculation of the government and the firm is that as the scale of rural e-commerce grows, per unit transport costs will decline enough to remove the need for a subsidy. Neither the warehouses nor the last-mile subsidy can be used for shipments outside of the firm's e-commerce platform.

The second investment is the installation of a program terminal in a central village location. The e-commerce terminal is a PC, keyboard and mouse connected to a flat-screen monitor mounted on the wall of a dedicated shop space and displaying the firm's website. On the screen, consumers and producers can choose their purchases or see their sales requests on the platform. The firm employs a terminal manager to assist local households in buying and selling products through the firm's e-commerce platform. The terminal manager receives a reward of about 3-5 percent for each transaction completed through the terminal. Before deciding on terminal installations, the firm solicits applications from potential local store operators and schedules an exam for the applicants. The score of this exam is one of the criteria that the firm uses to determine whether a village is a candidate. Villagers can pay in cash when the products arrive at the store for pickup, or they get paid upon delivery of their products for pickup at the store location if selling online. Instead of using the terminal interface, households can also choose to use the firm's e-commerce platform remotely on smartphones or PCs to order product deliveries or pickups at the terminal location. When referring to terminal usage below, we include all types of use of the e-commerce platform. The firm views the village terminals as overcoming three challenges that are specific to the rural population. First, local households may not be used to or comfortable with navigating online platforms. Second, they often do not have access to online payment methods. And third, they may not trust online purchases or sales before inspecting the goods in person or having interacted with buyers directly.

2.2 Sample, Design and Data

In this section, we briefly describe the sample, experimental design and data used in the analysis. Figure 1 presents a map of the locations where the RCT takes place. Appendix C provides additional details on surveyor training, data quality management, sampling and variable construction. And Tables 1 to 3 and A.1 to A.4 present descriptive statistics.

¹¹To receive packages via mail in absence of commercial parcel delivery services, rural households have to travel to the county or township center to pick up the package after receiving notification by mail that it has arrived.

Selection of Provinces and Counties

There are two main factors determining our survey location in Anhui, Henan and Guizhou, and the 8 counties within these provinces. First, our survey location depended on the timing of the program's roll-out across different provinces and counties, which had been decided before our collaboration with the firm. Second, we were guided by the internal evaluation of the program's senior managers as to whether the provincial and county managers in question would be willing to cooperate with our research protocol. These counties are: Huoqiu (Anhui), Linying (Henan), Linzhou (Henan), Minquan (Henan), Suixi (Anhui), Tianchang (Anhui), Xifeng (Guizhou) and Zhenning (Guizhou). In Section 5, we are also able to investigate the representativeness of our sample villages relative to all participating villages using the firm's internal transaction data in 5 provinces over this period.

Selection of Villages and Experimental Design

The unit of randomization is the village. For each county, we obtain a list of candidates that had been extended by 5 promising village candidates that would have not been part of the list in absence of our research. The three main factors determining the village selection within a county from the firm's operational perspective are i) a sufficient level of local population, ii) accessibility by roads, and iii) the presence of a capable store applicant (as measured by the applicant's test score). Overall, we are able to implement randomization on a broad pool of villages selected for participation in the program. This pool, however, is not a random sample of China's rural areas, but instead is likely a group of villages positively selected within each county, with better expected conditions for e-commerce usage on both consumption and production sides.

Upon receipt of this extended list of village candidates for each county, we randomly select 5 control villages and 7-8 treatment villages. The remaining villages on the extended list receive program terminals as planned. The full sample thus includes 40 control villages and 60 treatment villages across the 8 counties, which we selected from a total number of candidates of 432 villages that we received in the extended listings from the 8 county operations teams (on average 54 villages per county).

We restrict the list of villages entering the stratification and randomization to villages with at least 2.5 km distance to the nearest village on the county list, where possible.¹² We then stratify treatment and control villages along four dimensions. First, we balance the selection of treatment and control to both have a ratio of 85:15 with respect to pre-existing availability of commercial package delivery (85% not available, 15% available), which is close to the observed ratio among all candidate villages. We obtain information on the availability of commercial package delivery for each village on the candidate list from the program's local county managers (who are not aware what we require that piece of information for). As we discuss below, having villages in our sample with pre-existing commercial delivery services allows us to further investigate the effect of the program that is driven by the terminal access point (i.e. the effect of lifting only the transactional barrier), relative to the effect of providing both the terminal access point and the necessary logis-

¹²In counties with relatively short candidate lists we had to marginally extend this threshold, leading to a small number of villages with less than 2.5 km distances to the nearest other villages on the candidate list. The mean and median distances for villages without terminals to the nearest terminal location were 10.6 and 9.1 km respectively. We return to this discussion as part of the spillover analysis in Section 4.4.

tics for local e-commerce deliveries and pick-ups (i.e. the effect of lifting both the transactional and logistical barrier to e-commerce). We further stratify the selection of treatment and control villages on the basis of the equally-weighted average of the z-scores for three village variables: the local store applicants' test score, the village population, and the ratio of non-agricultural employment over the local population. We obtain the last variable from the establishment-level data of the Chinese Economic Census of 2008 which surveys every non-agricultural establishment in the counties.

Once we obtain the candidate list for each county, we have about 2-3 weeks to run the randomization and send in the survey teams for data collection in 5 control villages and the 7-8 treatment villages. After that, terminal installations take place and e-commerce begins in the treatment villages. Compliance with our assignments to treatment and control villages is not perfect: the program was rolled out in 38 of the 60 villages assigned to treatment, and it was present in 5 out of the 40 control villages.¹³ We therefore report both intent-to-treat and treatment-on-treated effects. The main reason for imperfect compliance is that we can randomize treatments only at the stage before the terminal manager candidates get to accept the offer and sign the contracts. Not all candidates that apply and make it to the list of viable candidates (from which we randomize) end up accepting the offer and signing the contract after we send the results of our randomization back to the local operation team. As a result, not all of the 60 chosen candidate villages end up with effective program roll-out. On the other side, the small number of control villages that end up with terminals are either due to mis-communication between our research team and the local operations teams or due to local political constraints (e.g. a county government official insisting on a particular village).

Tables 1 and 2 and appendix Tables A.1 to A.4 present descriptive statistics of the baseline data at the individual level, the household level and for local retail prices. The experimental design appears to have been successful in creating treatment and control groups that are on average balanced in terms of pre-existing outcomes. As discussed below in Section 4, our empirical analysis will also condition on the baseline values of the outcomes to be tested.

Sampling of Households and Household Survey Data

For the first round of data collection (December 2015 and January 2016 in Anhui and Henan, and April and May 2016 in Guizhou), we collect data from 28 households per village. 14 of those households are randomly sampled within a 300 meter radius of the planned terminal location ("inner zone"), and 14 households are randomly sampled from other parts of the village ("outer zone"). The household survey respondent is the member with the most knowledge of household consumption expenditures and income. Each respondent receives a gift to thank them for their participation in the survey (e.g., box of premium sweets, soaps, hand towels, etc). The value of the gift is about 4.5 USD. If the most knowledgeable respondent is not present at the time of the visit, then the surveyor schedules a follow-up visit.

The second round of data collection occurs one year after the first round in each county. We collect data from the same households as in the first round, and were also able to extend the original sample by 10 randomly sampled households within the inner zone of the planned terminal

¹³As discussed below, in our estimation sample we were able to collect data for 96 of the 100 villages during the endline survey. The treatment proportions for the sample of 96 villages are 37/58 and 4/38 respectively.

location.¹⁴ If either the survey respondent or the primary earner of the initially surveyed household no longer resides at the same address, we record this in our data and replace the household with another randomly sampled household within the same sampling zone (inner or outer). In our welfare analysis, we report results both before and after weighting each sampled household in proportion to the share of the village population in its sampling zone.

We collect detailed information about household consumption expenditures across 9 household consumption categories for retail products (food and beverages, tobacco and alcohol, medicine and health, clothing and accessories, other every-day products, fuel and gas, furniture and appliances, electronics, transport equipment). Given that one objective of rural e-commerce expansion is to make agricultural inputs like seeds and fertilizers available through online purchases, we ask for expenditures on business inputs as a separate category (as well as price information discussed below). We also collect information about household incomes, hours worked and economic activities of different members (occupation (e.g. farmer, manual worker etc.) and sector (agricultural, manufacturing, services), in addition to data on asset ownership, financial accounts, internet use and migration.

Finally, in one of the 8 counties, the local government suspended further activity by our teams after we had completed endline data collection for 8 out of 12 villages in that county. This was unrelated to our operation, which followed the same protocol as elsewhere. As a result, we have endline data for 96 instead of the 100 villages. As the timing of data collection within the county was random, the 4 missing villages are not particular in any way. They include two control villages and two treatment villages.

Tables 1 and 2 and appendix Tables A.1 to A.4 present descriptive statistics of the baseline data from the household survey at the individual level and at the household level. The tables also present descriptive statistics for the same outcomes in the control group at the endline data collection. The median age of all household members in the baseline survey is 44 and the median household size is 3. 60 percent of households report that the primary earner is a farmer, and 82 percent of households report that the primary earner completed at least primary school. In terms of demographics, these statistics are very similar to nationally representative rural household samples from the China Family Panel Study as well as the most recent Chinese Agricultural Census for the year 2016. In terms of economic characteristics, rural households are significantly poorer than in urban China: mean monthly income per capita and retail expenditure per capita are about RMB876 and RMB732 respectively. At baseline, households spend on average half of their retail expenditure outside the village, which requires travel, given that their main shopping destination outside the village is generally a township center at a median two-way distance of 40 minutes. In terms of work location, 80 percent of primary earners work inside the village. As discussed in the introduction, many households report using the internet via smartphones or other devices: close to 40 percent report having used the internet, more than 50 percent own smartphones and close to 30 percent report owning a laptop or PC. Almost all households own a TV. At the same time, e-commerce penetration is very limited compared to urban regions: the average share of household retail expenditure on local e-commerce deliveries is less than 1 percent, and

¹⁴This extended sample was possible due to a small remaining positive balance on the project account that we decided to invest in expanding the household survey sample.

this does not change over time for the endline survey in the control group of villages. Similarly, the share of revenues from online selling in monthly household income is less than 0.5 percent, and again this does not change over time for the endline data collection in the control group of villages. By comparison, a recent survey conducted by [McKinsey \(2016\)](#) has found that urban households in Chinese cities spend on average up to 20-30 percent of total retail consumption on e-commerce deliveries.

Local Retail Price Survey Data

We aim to collect data on 115 price quotes for each village. 100 of these prices are from the same 9 household consumption categories for retail products as in our household survey (food and beverages, tobacco and alcohol, medicine and health, clothing and accessories, other everyday products, fuel and gas, furniture and appliances, electronics, transport equipment), and 15 price quotes are for local production/business inputs. Our protocol for the price data collection closely follows the IMF/ILO standards for store price surveys that central banks collect to compute the CPI statistics. The sampling of products across consumption categories is based on budget shares of rural households in Anhui and Henan that we observe in the microdata of the China Family Panel Study (CFPS) for 2012. The sampling across stores is aimed at to provide a representative sample of local retail outlets (stores and market stalls). In villages with few stores we sampled all of them. The sampling of products within stores is aimed at capturing a representative selection of locally purchased items within that outlet and product group. Each price quote is at the barcode-equivalent level where possible (recording brand, product name, packaging type, size, flavor if applicable).

In the second round of data collection (one year after the first round), we aim to collect the price quotes of the identical products in the identical retail outlet where this is possible (see [Appendix C](#)). Where this is not possible, due to either store closure or absence of product in the store, we record the reason for the absence, and include a new price quote within the same product category that is sampled in the same way as in the first round.

[Tables 2 and A.4](#) presents descriptive statistics of the baseline data from the local retail price surveys. Unsurprisingly durable goods categories (furniture and appliances, electronics and transport equipment) are an order of magnitude more expensive than goods in non-durable categories. The median number of sampled stores is 3 per village. These stores are small with a median floor space of 50m², and the median store has not added any new product within the last month.

Firm's Admin Database

We complement the collected survey data with administrative records from two of the firm's internal databases that we access through a remote server. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first time that the firm has agreed to grant access to their internal database to external researchers. The first database covers 5 provinces (our three study provinces plus two additional provinces with high shares of rural population: Guangxi and Yunnan) over the period from November 2015 (1 month prior to the start of our survey data collection) to April 2017. This database covers the universe of e-commerce purchases made through the program in every participating village over this period. As summarized in [Table 3](#), the purchase database covers approximately 27.3 million

transaction records across 12,000 village terminals over the 18-month period. For each transaction, the database contains information about the terminal location, product category, number of units, amount paid and a unique buyer identifier.¹⁵ Given that many terminals had already been in operation for several months prior to November 2015, these data cover adjustment periods beyond the 12-months window that we are able to capture as part of the RCT: terminals are observed up to two years and 4 months after the installation in these data. The second database covers the universe of sales transactions, i.e. out-shipments from the villages, through the firms distribution network for the same universe of roughly 12,000 village terminals in the 5 provinces over the period January 2016 to April 2017. For each transaction, the database contains information about the village of origin and the weight of the out-shipment in kilograms (kg). As depicted in Table 3, the total number of e-commerce out-shipments from these villages over this period is roughly 500,000. The table provides descriptive statistics for both datasets that we use in the analysis reported in Section 5.

Township-Level Data on Trade Market Access

As part of our analysis of potential spillover effects on the control group, we estimate the fraction of a rural location's total trade market access that stems from trading relationships with other rural locations in the same county, as opposed to access to larger urban markets within and outside the county. To do this, we use geocoded township-level data from the Chinese Population Census in 2010, which contains information on the recorded population for each of roughly 45,000 township-level administrative units in China,¹⁶ the coordinates of the centroid of each of those units, the type of township-level unit (e.g. urban zones, rural townships) and data on the value added per rural and urban worker at the province level for 2010. Sections 3.3 and 4.4 below provide further discussion and details about the estimation.

3 Theoretical Framework

This section proceeds in three parts. We first describe the channels through which the program can affect the local economy. We then derive a general expression of the program's effect on household economic welfare that guides the survey data collection and the empirical analysis in the following sections. Finally, we rationalize our empirical counterfactual in the light of potential GE spillovers across villages in the countryside.

3.1 Channels at Work

What type of economic shock does the program imply for the local economies? The program makes no investment in internet accessibility for villagers, and the terminal cannot be used to browse the internet except for the e-commerce platform. This, together with the fact that roughly 40 percent of village households report using the internet before the arrival of the program, and more than 50 percent own smartphones (Table 2), indicate that the shock is specific to the arrival of

¹⁵We are able to identify 40 of the 43 e-commerce terminals in our RCT sample villages based on the Chinese county and village names that we have access to in the firm's transaction database.

¹⁶This includes both the registered and non-registered population currently residing in the unit at the time of the census. Townships are the most disaggregated unit of observation that we can obtain the full census database for. In China's administrative hierarchy, townships are one layer above villages. In the countryside, townships include on average about 14 villages. In urban regions, township-level units are one level below urban districts.

e-commerce, rather than providing internet access more broadly. Being able to separate the effects of e-commerce from first-time internet access more broadly (e.g. through emails, weather forecasts, online search, social media or online news) is one of the strengths of this empirical setting.

The program has two central elements that are aimed at removing the logistical and transactional barriers to rural e-commerce. First, the program aims to bring e-commerce-related shipping costs to and from the village to the same level as those present in the county's main urban centers. To this end, the program builds warehouses as logistical hubs for village deliveries and pickups, and fully subsidizes transport costs between the county's city center and the villages. Second, the program installs an e-commerce terminal in a central village location, where a terminal manager assists villagers to buy and sell products through the firm's e-commerce platform using traditional offline payments.

Both of these interventions affect the degree of trade integration between the village and the rest of urban China that is already connected to e-commerce. The logistical element reduces the physical trade costs to and from the village for bilateral pairs that are connected to e-commerce. At the same time, the program does not directly affect the transport costs of non-participating villages, or trade flows of program villages outside of e-commerce.¹⁷ The transactional element (terminal installation) is targeted at adapting e-commerce to the rural population who may face barriers to online trading that differ from those in urban areas where e-commerce is thriving. To the extent that such additional barriers exist, this part of the program intervention reduces information costs and transactional frictions for trade flows. Access to e-commerce enables villagers to observe products and prices from other regions that are connected to e-commerce far beyond the local economy and, in turn, other regions can learn about the products and prices from local producers. In parallel, to the extent that villagers were already aware of the online information offered by the e-commerce platform in absence of the program (e.g. through smartphones), the terminal installation may still alleviate transactional barriers by making it easier for villagers to buy from or sell to trade partners outside the village.

By overcoming both logistical and transactional barriers to e-commerce integration, the program provides villages with essentially urban market access through e-commerce. In the majority of villages that were not previously served by commercial parcel delivery services, the effect that we observe will be driven by the removal of both of the barriers to e-commerce integration that we discuss above. In the fraction of villages that were already serviced by commercial parcel delivery distribution networks, there is in principle no pre-existing logistical barrier to e-commerce, and the comparison between treatment and control villages will be driven only by the additional provision of the terminal interface (removal of the transactional barrier to rural e-commerce).¹⁸

3.2 Quantifying Changes in Household Economic Welfare

As discussed above, the intervention that we are interested in evaluating has the potential to not just affect individual behavior and the nominal earnings of households, but also household

¹⁷As discussed in Section 2, the warehouses and distribution network used for e-commerce transactions cannot be used for offline transactions outside the firm's platform.

¹⁸The transport cost subsidy does not affect villages that were previously serviced by commercial parcel delivery services. The logistics operators offered service in a handful of rural locations at the same rate as elsewhere in the county prior to program entry. In those villages, households could order or sell online subject to pickup or delivery at an agreed central village location.

cost of living in the denominator of real incomes. To empirically quantify the change in household price indices due to the arrival of the e-commerce program in the village, we require theoretical structure on the demand side.

Following existing work by [Hausman \(1996\)](#), [Hausman & Leonard \(2002\)](#) and more recently [Atkin et al. \(2018\)](#), we start with the compensating variation (CV) for household h . The CV captures the change in exogenous income required to maintain the initial level of utility in period 0 after the e-commerce program has arrived in period 1:

$$CV_h = \underbrace{\left[e(\mathbf{P}^1, u_h^0) - e(\mathbf{P}^0, u_h^0) \right]}_{\text{Cost of living effect (CLE)}} - \underbrace{\left[y_h^1 - y_h^0 \right]}_{\text{Nominal income effect (IE)}}, \quad (1)$$

where \mathbf{P}^t is the vector of prices faced by the household in period t , u_h^t is the household's utility and y_h^t is its nominal income.

The first term is the cost of living effect, the welfare change due to the price changes induced by the arrival of e-commerce. The second term is the nominal income effect, the welfare change due to any changes in household income that result from the arrival of e-commerce. While, at least in principle, we can record the effect on nominal household earnings and labor supply directly as part of the survey data collection, this is not the case for the cost of living effect. The store price survey data described above allow us to observe the vector of price changes $\mathbf{P}_C^1 - \mathbf{P}_C^0$ for continuing products in continuing local retailers (i.e. stores, market stalls, etc) that are present both before and after the arrival of the program. We index such continuing product prices by C .

However, there are three sets of price changes that are inherently unobservable: the consumer price changes $\mathbf{P}_T^1 - \mathbf{P}_T^0$ due to the entering e-commerce terminal indexed by T , the price changes $\mathbf{P}_X^1 - \mathbf{P}_X^0$ of potentially exiting local retailers or varieties within continuing stores indexed by X , and the price changes $\mathbf{P}_E^1 - \mathbf{P}_E^0$ due to local store entry or new product additions in pre-existing local retailers. For example, prices at the new e-commerce terminal option cannot be observed in period 0, and exiting local retailers' prices cannot be observed in period 1. As first noted by [Hicks \(1940\)](#), we can replace these three unobserved price vectors with 'virtual' price vectors, the price vectors that would set demand for these shopping options equal to zero given the vector of consumer prices for other goods and services.

In the following, we denote such price vectors with an asterisk (the implicit prices that would set consumption equal to zero in a given period), and break up the total consumption price vector in expression (1), into the four different components of potential consumer price changes. This leads to a decomposition of the program's total cost of living effect (CLE) into different channels that we can map to observable moments in the survey microdata:

$$\begin{aligned} CLE = & \underbrace{e(\mathbf{P}_T^1, \mathbf{P}_C^1, \mathbf{P}_X^{1*}, \mathbf{P}_E^1, u_h^0) - e(\mathbf{P}_T^{1*}, \mathbf{P}_C^1, \mathbf{P}_X^{1*}, \mathbf{P}_E^1, u_h^0)}_{(1) \text{ Direct price-index effect (DE)}} + \underbrace{e(\mathbf{P}_T^{1*}, \mathbf{P}_C^1, \mathbf{P}_X^{1*}, \mathbf{P}_E^{1*}, u_h^0) - e(\mathbf{P}_T^{0*}, \mathbf{P}_C^0, \mathbf{P}_X^{0*}, \mathbf{P}_E^{0*}, u_h^0)}_{(2) \text{ Pro-competitive price effect (PP)}} \\ & + \underbrace{e(\mathbf{P}_T^{1*}, \mathbf{P}_C^1, \mathbf{P}_X^{1*}, \mathbf{P}_E^1, u_h^0) - e(\mathbf{P}_T^{1*}, \mathbf{P}_C^1, \mathbf{P}_X^{1*}, \mathbf{P}_E^{1*}, u_h^0)}_{(3) \text{ Entry effect (EE)}} + \underbrace{e(\mathbf{P}_T^{0*}, \mathbf{P}_C^0, \mathbf{P}_X^{0*}, \mathbf{P}_E^{0*}, u_h^0) - e(\mathbf{P}_T^{0*}, \mathbf{P}_C^0, \mathbf{P}_X^{0*}, \mathbf{P}_E^{0*}, u_h^0)}_{(4) \text{ Exit effect (XE)}}. \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

The first term of the first bracket and the second term of the final bracket of this decomposition represent the same difference in expenditure functions as in the first term of (1): the amount of expenditure one would have to pay household h in order to obtain the pre-terminal level of wellbeing, but evaluated at the post-intervention consumption prices. The terms in the middle between these two terms cancel out one another, so that this decomposition yields the total gains or losses due to effective consumption price changes, including changes at the extensive margin of consumer choice (e.g. new shopping options).

The first bracket, the direct price index effect, captures the consumer gains due to the arrival of the new terminal shopping option holding all other prices fixed. These gains can arise from three distinct channels that are all captured in the quantification of the bracket: e-commerce can provide existing products at cheaper prices, it can offer new product variety that was not previously available, and it can offer different shopping amenities (e.g. convenience, saving trips outside the village, etc). The second bracket captures changes in household cost of living due to price changes among pre-existing retailers and their products. For instance, existing retailers could lower their markups due to increased competition from e-commerce. Following [Atkin et al. \(2018\)](#), we label this the pro-competitive price effect. The third and fourth terms, that we refer to as the entry and exit effects, capture changes in product availability in the local retail environment. For example, the arrival of the e-commerce terminal could lead some local retailers to exit, it could in principle lead to store entry (e.g. stores sourcing online), and it could lead to disappearing or new product variety among pre-existing stores (for example due to local retailers starting to source their products online).

Up to this point, the welfare expressions in (1) and (2) are fully general, and do not rely on specific functional forms. However, the terms (1), (3) and (4) in equation 2 involve price index effects due to extensive-margin changes in consumer choice across retailers and products. Quantifying the implications of these unobserved price changes for household welfare requires imposing theoretical structure on the expenditure function. That same specification of consumer preferences will also provide a specific price index formula for the pro-competitive cost of living effect (2), which depends on observable prices.

The logic behind this approach is as follows: with knowledge of the shape of the demand curve that governs consumer substitution across different retailer options within a given product group, we can use the observed changes in the expenditure shares across different shopping options before and after the program intervention in order to infer the unobserved effective consumer price changes that underlie this observed substitution. Once we know the elasticity subject to which consumers usually substitute across retailers as a function of differences in value-for-money, then one can back out the implied effective price index change for consumption of a given product group that is consistent with the observed substitution into the e-commerce terminal for that product group. Again, these price index changes could be driven by price differences, different product availability and/or different shopping amenities. The moments that inform the welfare evaluation are the observed changes in consumption expenditure shares in combination with knowledge about the consumer demand curve across retail outlets. A very similar logic follows when evaluating the price index movements due to disappearing stores, entering stores or product disappearances and additions within continuing stores.

In Appendix B, we outline one such approach to guide the empirical estimation that follows a nested CES preference specification commonly used in international trade and macroeconomics. In particular, local households are assumed to have Cobb Douglas preferences across broad product groups in retail consumption (durables and non-durables). Within these nests, groups of households have CES preferences across retailers (e.g. e-commerce terminal, stores or stalls in village, stores outside village, etc). Within stores, households choose across varieties on offer within product groups as a function of quality-adjusted product prices. This structure closely follows recent work by [Atkin et al. \(2018\)](#) on Mexican households, as we describe further in Section 6 below and in the appendix.

Regardless of the particular demand specification one imposes, the raw empirical moments that are required to quantify the welfare impact of the intervention fall into three different types. The first set of empirical moments are estimates of the causal effects of the intervention on a number of observable economic outcomes, such as the effects on household nominal incomes to capture the second term in (1), the fraction of total retail expenditure substituted into the new e-commerce terminal across different product groups and by household types, the effect on the price changes from continuing products in pre-existing retailers, and the effect on the propensity of store exit and entry, and of product entry and exit in the local retail environment.

The second type of required estimates are empirical moments from the baseline data collection, such as consumption shares across product groups. The third type of moments are estimates of demand parameters that govern the degree of consumer substitution across retailers and products. This latter set of parameters differ across different functional form assumptions on the demand side. Our Chinese empirical context, however, lacks the rich panel of consumer scanner data required to estimate these demand parameters. One advantage of the approach we outline in Appendix B is that it allows us to use recent estimates for households of very similar income ranges reported in [Atkin et al. \(2018\)](#), which to the best of our knowledge are the closest empirical estimates on the nature of retail demand and consumer substitution in an emerging market environment, such as China. In addition to tying our hands to existing estimates from the literature, we also report quantification results across a range of alternative demand parameters to document the sensitivity of the welfare estimates across a range of assumptions.

3.3 GE Spillovers

Our estimation exploits differences in outcomes between program villages and comparable control villages. This raises the question to what extent these differences may reflect spillover effects from treated villages on nearby control villages. The presence and strength of spillovers on e.g. local incomes or product prices is a priori unclear, and will depend on the degree of trade integration between villages in rural regions. If Chinese villages are small open economies whose market access is mainly determined by trade with urban areas, rather than by trade with other small rural markets, then the extent of spillovers could be muted. On the other hand, if trading with other villages in the countryside is an important component of villages' trade market access, then GE effects across villages could play an important role. In addition to spillovers driven by trade linkages between villages, it could also be the case that households in control villages use

program terminals in nearby villages to access e-commerce.¹⁹

The extent of such spillover effects is an interesting empirical question for three main reasons. First, we are interested in estimating the effect of the program on the level of household welfare among villages that receive the e-commerce program. If the control group is indirectly affected, then an empirical specification exploiting the difference in outcomes between treatment and control villages no longer directly speaks to the program's impact on treated villages. Second, even after correctly adjusting for indirect effects on the control group, the presence of spillovers would also have implications for the external validity of our conclusions. In the current setting, only a fraction of the Chinese countryside in any given county is part of the program. If we wanted to inform policy-making on the welfare consequences of scaling up e-commerce access in rural China to a larger fraction of the countryside, then the presence of spillovers would imply that treatment effects depend on the scale of the program's roll-out. Third, the presence of spillovers would change our understanding of the aggregate implications of the program, either in its current form or when evaluating a scaled-up version of the program. That is, rather than focusing on the welfare effects on treated communities, we are also interested in the overall impact of the program among rural households as a whole. Here, knowing the extent of spillover effects allows us to compute the average effect of the program on rural households as a function of direct and indirect exposure to the program whose averages we can measure in the data (or simulate when scaling up).

In our empirical analysis, we begin by comparing economic outcomes in treatment and control villages, under the baseline assumption that rural-to-rural GE effects are negligible. We then proceed in two directions. First, in Section 4.4 below we use a methodology close to Miguel & Kremer (2004) to investigate to what extent plausibly exogenous variation in exposure to nearby treatment villages affects local economic outcomes conditional on the local treatment status of the village in question. Second, we use trade theory as a guidance and construct village-level measures of market access. Market access is the weighted sum of access to economic activity across all rural and urban market places in China and beyond, where the weights are inversely related to the bilateral trade costs on each potential trading route. We can use information on the geographical position and market size of all rural and urban settlements in China prior to the program's roll-out in combination with measures of bilateral travel costs in order to investigate what fraction of trade market access in our village sample is driven by access to urban markets, relative to other villages within the same county that participate in the e-commerce expansion program. We implement these two approaches in Section 4.4 below.

4 Empirical Analysis Using Survey Data

In this section, we estimate the program's effect on a number of economic outcomes related to household consumption, incomes, economic activity and local retail prices, that we observe in the survey microdata. In addition to being of interest in their own right, these empirical moments enter the quantification of changes in household economic welfare in Section 6.

¹⁹Another possible source of spillovers in this setting are rural-to-rural migration flows for which we can test directly.

4.1 Average Program Effects

Following e.g. McKenzie (2012), we run regressions of the following form:

$$y_{hv}^{Post} = \alpha + \beta_1 Treat_v + \gamma y_{hv}^{Pre} + \epsilon_{hv}, \quad (3)$$

where y_{hv} is an outcome of interest for household h living in village v .²⁰ For outcomes from the retail price data, h indexes individual price quotes or store-level outcomes instead. $Treat_v$ is an indicator of intended treatment according to our randomization, so that β_1 captures the intent-to-treat effect (ITT). We also estimate the treatment-on-the-treated (TOT) after instrumenting for the actual treatment status using $Treat_v$. Finally, we run (3) after replacing the binary treatment indicator with a continuous measure of the log of household residential distance to the nearest program terminal, again using $Treat_v$ as an IV.²¹

For households who were either replaced or added as part of our extended sample in the second round (from 28 to 38 households), we define y_{hv}^{Pre} as the mean pre-treatment outcome of households living in the same zone (inner or outer) in the same village. The implicit assumption is that households were not induced to move within or across villages as a result of the program.²² We cluster standard errors at the level of the treatment (village-level).²³

Tables 4 to 6 present the estimation results for the average effects on household consumption, incomes and local retail prices. Our discussion focuses on the TOT results, while the tables display the three types of effects discussed above (ITT, TOT and log distance). We run these regressions on the survey sample of households, stores, and price quotes described in Section 2 and Appendix C. For the welfare quantification in Section 6, we will also report results after re-weighting village zones according to their village population shares.

Consumption

In Table 4, we find that the program on average leads to an uptake of 9 percent of households in treatment villages who report to have ever used the e-commerce terminal for making purchases, relative to households in control villages. This treatment effect is about 5 percent when restricting attention to terminal use over the month prior to our endline survey.²⁴ These effects on consumption-side uptake may in part mask additional uptake from households in nearby control villages. We return to this issue when investigating spillover effects in Section 4.4 below. The

²⁰While improving precision as intended, none of the significant findings below or in the welfare estimation in Section 6 rely on the inclusion of baseline outcomes y_{hv}^{Pre} .

²¹Given that we use the same instrument for both binary and continuous versions of the TOT, the log distance specification effectively re-scales the binary TOT estimate, adding information on how the effect relates to the underlying difference in average distances to the nearest terminal between intent-to-treat and control households.

²²As reported in appendix Table A.5, we find no evidence that households in treated villages are more or less likely to reside at the same address at endline. We also find no treatment effect on migration decisions of members within households.

²³While we report point estimates broken up into numerous outcomes in Tables 4-6 to provide a full picture, the welfare estimation in Sections 3.2 and 6 relies on a small subset of those (effects on expenditure shares on new terminal option, price index of pre-existing local retail, household nominal incomes). We further discuss multiple hypothesis testing as part of the welfare estimation in Section 6.

²⁴Following standard protocol, we construct monthly consumption based on the last two weeks of expenditures for non-durables (multiplied by two), and on the past three months for durables (divided by three). Usage over the past month is thus defined as either having purchased non-durables over the past two weeks, or as having purchased durables over the past three months. Appendix C.4 provides additional details.

treatment effect on the e-commerce terminal share in total household retail expenditure is 1.24 percent for the average household in our survey data. Thus, households that report ever having used the terminal spent on average $0.0124/0.089=14.1$ percent of their retail consumption at the terminal during the past month. For those who bought over the past month, this share rises to $0.0124/0.049=25.3$ percent.

Looking at retail consumption across product groups, we find stronger effects on durables compared to non-durables. For durables, the treatment effect on the terminal share of household expenditure is 6.7 percent for the average household in our sample, indicating a 44 percent shift in durable consumption to the e-commerce terminal among households who report ever having used the terminal for consumption.²⁵ For non-durables, the treatment effect on the terminal share in household retail expenditure is 1 percent for the average household, indicating that ever-users spend on average about 11 percent of total non-durables expenditure at the terminal.²⁶ In contrast, we find no significant substitution to the e-commerce terminal for household expenditures on production and business inputs (e.g. fertilizer, tools, machinery, materials, etc). Finally, while households do shift part of their expenditures to the terminal, there are no significant treatment effects on total monthly retail expenditures. This result is consistent with the lack of income effects of the program that we discuss in the next subsection.

To summarize, the program leads a minority of local households to take up the new e-commerce shopping option. Among users, we find sizable effects on the substitution of total household retail expenditure to the e-commerce terminal, especially for durable consumption. These results are indicative of significant direct consumption gains for certain groups of local households. We return to the welfare computations based on these moments in the final section below.

Incomes

The income effect of e-commerce on local producers could be in principle either positive due to the possibility of selling online, or negative due to increased competition from the new terminal shopping option. In Table 5, we find no treatment effect on household incomes, or on labor supply as measured by hours worked by the primary and secondary earner. The point estimates on incomes per capita are close to zero and negative, and not statistically significant. We find no effects on either annual or monthly income, from agricultural or non-agricultural sources. In contrast to our consumption results, we find no treatment effect on online selling activity, online revenues or business creation offline or online. The point estimate on whether “any member of the household has ever sold online” is also close to zero, negative and not statistically significant. Given that the control group experienced no increase in income shares from online selling activity relative to its tiny level at baseline over this period (Table 2), these estimates suggest that the e-commerce program had no significant effect on the uptake of online selling activity or local revenues. Related to these findings, we also find no significant effect on sourcing business or production inputs through e-commerce in Table 4.

We are cautious in drawing conclusions on the absence of production treatment effects from

²⁵To compute durable consumption shares, the sample is restricted to households who buy any durables over the past three months. In this sample, the treatment effect on ever using the terminal is 15.3 percent instead of 9 percent. This yields an effect on the average durables consumption share among uptakers of $0.067/0.153=44$ percent.

²⁶Since all households consume non-durables, the treatment effect on uptake is as reported in Table 4, so that the average non-durables terminal share among ever users is $0.01/0.089=11$ percent.

our household survey only. The 12-month period between baseline and endline surveys may be too short for local households to grow their online selling activities. Our survey sample may also fail to capture rare but highly successful tail events of online businesses within villages that could shift the local mean effect on incomes. Furthermore, point estimates on nominal incomes that are based on survey data are noisy. In Section 5 we use the firm’s internal database to corroborate our analysis that is based on the survey data. As discussed below, these administrative data allow us to observe the universe of buying and selling transactions, and to estimate the monthly time path of adjustments both before and after 12 months post-program entry.

Local Retail Prices

Table 6 shows the average program effects relative to control villages using the retail price survey data. We find no significant reduction in local store prices for identical continuing products that we observe in the same local retailer in both baseline and endline data. The point estimate is close to zero and positive, and not statistically significant. Given our sampling framework in Section 2, the unweighted average effect on local retail prices resembles the effect measured by a Laspeyres price index for local retail consumption.²⁷

One piece of evidence suggests potential knock-on effects on pre-existing local stores. The treatment effect on the number of new products per store over the past month is 4 goods and is significant at the 10% level.²⁸ Furthermore, we find a negative but statistically insignificant effect on store prices for durable products. Given the small sample size of durables observed in the villages, this could be consistent with the more pronounced treatment effect on household durable consumption above. We re-visit the plausibility and robustness of these knock-on effects on local stores in the heterogeneity analysis that follows below. Finally, we should again point out a limitation to the scope of our survey data collection: while we are able to estimate pro-competitive effects on the local retail price environment within the villages, potential effects on retail prices in nearby urban centers, where households source part of their consumption, would be outside the scope of these data. Given how small villages are compared to urban centers within counties (see Section 4.4 below), and the fact that only a small fraction of all villages participate in the program during our sample period, GE effects on urban centers are somewhat unlikely in our current setting. Having said this, and following the discussion in Section 3.3 above, potential GE effects on prices and incomes in urban China could play a role in the future, when evaluating the scaling up of e-commerce expansions to larger parts of the countryside.

4.2 Heterogeneity Across Households and Villages

We now investigate the extent to which the average effects mask significant heterogeneity across households and villages. To this end, we estimate regressions of the following form:

$$y_{hv}^{Post} = \alpha + \beta_1 Treat_v + \beta_2 X_{hv} + \beta_3 Treat_v \times X_{hv} + \gamma y_{hv}^{Pre} + \epsilon_{hv}, \quad (4)$$

²⁷Our price survey data collection follows the data collection protocol of the IMF data dissemination standard for CPI analysis across countries. For example, the BLS in the US or INEGI in Mexico estimate a Laspeyres price index across product groups using a similar methodology.

²⁸We find no significant effect on store online sourcing, but this average appears to mask significant heterogeneity with respect to the initial availability of commercial parcel delivery. We return to this result in the next section.

where X_{hv} indicates different pre-existing household or village characteristics. As before, we report the results of specification (4) for both ITT and TOT, and after replacing the binary treatment variable with log household residential distance to the nearest terminal location (again instrumenting with intended treatment status). It is important to note that unlike for the average effects across villages above, the β_3 estimates of the interaction terms are no longer identified by experimental variation. So while providing additional information and suggestive evidence, one should be cautious not to interpret the heterogeneity in the treatment effect related to household or village factors X_{hv} as causally identified.

We begin by investigating the heterogeneous effect of the program with respect to pre-existing availability of commercial parcel delivery at the village level. Villages that were already serviced by commercial parcel delivery operators during our baseline survey were essentially already connected to the same logistical network for e-commerce as urban centers in the same county prior to the program's arrival.²⁹ Interacting the treatment with pre-existing parcel delivery status therefore allows us to shed light on the effect of removing both the transaction and logistical barriers to rural e-commerce (among villages without pre-existing parcel delivery), from the effect of removing only the transactional barrier (in villages with pre-existing parcel delivery). Next, we investigate heterogeneity across a basic set of pre-existing household and village characteristics: respondent age, education, household income per capita, residential distance to the planned terminal location, and a measure of village remoteness based on road travel distance to the nearest township center.

Table 7 reports the heterogeneous impact of the program with respect to pre-existing commercial parcel delivery across a number of economic outcomes. On the consumption side, we find that the average treatment effects are driven by villages that were not initially connected to commercial parcel delivery services. The average effects among the previously connected villages are relatively precise zeroes on all outcomes that showed significant average effects in the pooled sample. This somewhat magnifies the previously reported average treatment effects on terminal consumption in the 85 percent of the village sample not previously connected to commercial parcel delivery. In these villages, slightly more than 10.5 percent of local households are induced to ever use the terminal, and the average household spends 1.5% of their total retail expenditure on the e-commerce terminal over the past month, both relative to control villages. On the production side of the local economy, however, we find no significant effects in either group of villages, confirming the earlier pooled results. Considering the local retail outcomes, we now find a significant treatment effect on the number of stores sourcing their products online in villages without pre-existing delivery, and again find a treatment effect on new product varieties that is significant only in these villages. The treatment effect on local durable prices increases to -14.4 percent in villages without pre-existing delivery, but remains statistically insignificant at conventional levels. These results suggest that the removal of the logistical barrier to e-commerce is the main driver of the program's local economic effects, rather than the provision of the additional terminal interface in villages that already have a logistical connection to e-commerce.

Table 8 extends the analysis of heterogeneous treatment effects to other household and village characteristics. We first run regressions in which only one characteristic is interacted with

²⁹See discussion in Sections 2 and 3 and footnote 18 above.

the treatment, and then we run a combined regression with all interactions included jointly. We find that younger, richer households who live in closer proximity to the planned terminal, and in villages at longer distances from the nearest city center experience significantly more positive treatment effects on the consumption side. In particular, Table 8 shows that the average effect on terminal uptake is driven by, and more sizable among these groups of households. For example, the results suggest that consumption uptake would close to double if average incomes were to double and primary earners were on average 10 years younger. Somewhat surprisingly, we find no significant heterogeneity in household usage of the terminal with respect to the education (years of schooling) of the household respondent. And we, again, find no significant heterogeneity in the treatment effect on the production side of the local economy, or on pro-competitive price effects among local retailers. We return to the heterogeneity of the program’s effects as part of the welfare analysis in Section 6.

4.3 How Does E-commerce Compare to Pre-Existing Shopping Options?

Before providing additional evidence from the firm’s admin database in the next section, we use the survey data to further investigate the observed treatment effects and their heterogeneity. In this subsection, we use the survey data to describe how the arrival of e-commerce compares to the pre-existing retail environment of local households. In the next subsection, we investigate the role of spillovers on control villages.

Table 9 reports descriptive statistics showing that the new e-commerce shopping option compares favorably with the pre-existing environment on a number of dimensions, including accessibility, value-for-money and product variety. To illustrate the pre-existing retail environment, recall from Table 2 that households source more than half of their total retail consumption outside their village, and almost 70% of their durable goods consumption. The need to travel outside the village to shop is unsurprising, given that our surveyors could not find any durable goods in local stores for about half of our sample villages (Table 9). Households’ main reported shopping destination outside the village is at a median round-trip distance of 10 km, representing a 40 minute round trip at a median cost of 4 RMB (Table 9). In comparison, the terminal is much closer to our survey households, with a median distance to the planned terminal of 230 m (Table 2). The terminal also offers a variety of goods unavailable in local stores. As shown in Table 9, 62 percent of goods bought through the e-commerce terminal were not available in the village, which rises to 84 percent for durable goods. When goods are available at both the terminal and in the village, the terminal is cheaper by a median price reduction of 15 percent.³⁰ The main shopping destination outside the village, generally the nearest township center, is more competitive in terms of varieties offered (80 percent of goods purchased on the terminal are available there), but the terminal remains cheaper by a median of 18 percent, even before accounting for transport costs. Given fast processing turn-around at the warehouse locations, e-commerce delivery times in program villages are close to identical to those in urban regions within the county.

Despite these advantages, not all rural households substitute expenditure into the new shopping option. Given the heterogeneity in household e-commerce uptake across different groups of

³⁰For each e-commerce purchase recorded in our household survey, we ask the respondent whether the good was available in the village and in the most common shopping destination outside the village. If the good is available, we ask how much it would have cost.

the local population that we document in the previous subsection, a natural explanation is that consumers have heterogeneous evaluations of the benefits of the new shopping option.³¹ For example, affinity for online shopping on a screen with a keyboard and mouse, or preferences for the mix of product variety on offer through e-commerce may be lower among older or poorer local households. Relatedly, local offline shopping options could offer unique attributes that are valued in particular among groups with low observed e-commerce uptake, such as being able to negotiate with a known vendor or inspect goods prior to purchase.³²

4.4 Role of Spillovers

We next investigate the role of GE spillovers on surrounding villages that could in principle confound our findings from the survey data, as discussed above in Section 3.3. For example, if trade linkages with other nearby villages are an essential driver of the local economy, then it could be the case that the comparison between treated and control villages misses average income effects. In that case, store prices in surrounding villages could also respond to pro-competitive effects, potentially biasing toward zero the comparison between treatment and control villages. At the same time, there could be spillovers on the control group that are somewhat easier to observe and not mediated through trade linkages, such as terminal usage in a nearby village or migration across villages.³³ To investigate these mechanisms, we pursue two different approaches.

First, we follow an approach similar to Miguel & Kremer (2004):

$$y_{hv}^{Post} = \alpha + \beta_1 Treat_v + \beta_2 Exposure_v^{treat} + \beta_3 Exposure_v^{all} + \gamma y_{hv}^{Pre} + \epsilon_{hv}, \quad (5)$$

where $Exposure_{vk}^{treat}$ measures the proximity of village v to other program villages, and $Exposure_{vk}^{all}$ measures proximity to all villages on the candidate list from which we randomly selected our control villages. Even though exposure to other program villages is not randomly assigned, our randomization means that conditional on exposure to all candidate villages, exposure to other treatment villages is plausibly exogenous. Using this design, β_2 is an estimate of the strength of cross-village spillovers. We measure exposure as the number of intent-to-treat villages within 3 or 10 km distance bins of a given village. Table 10 reports the estimation results. We find some evidence of positive spillover effects of nearby terminals within 3 km of the village. These effects imply a larger total average effect of the program installation on household terminal uptake than we estimated above. Terminal uptake increases from 9 percent in Table 4 to about 14 percent once we take into account positive spillovers from nearby villages, which is about 13 percent of the village population after adjusting for sampling weights. In contrast, we find no evidence of

³¹Strong heterogeneity in consumer evaluations of newly introduced shopping options has been documented in other contexts. For example, Atkin et al. (2018) find that richer Mexican households substitute more than 5 times as much of their retail expenditure on entering foreign supermarkets compared to the expenditure share among poorer households.

³²One could argue that poor program implementation along other dimensions than those observed in Table 9 could be an explanation why the program did not attract a broader cross-section of the local population. While a priori unlikely (given the firm's professionalism, expertise and profit motive), we further investigate the role of program implementation in appendix Table A.6. We obtain information on the terminal manager application test score and a dummy for delay in the terminal installation relative to the scheduled date. We find that neither of these program features affect take-up of the terminal in a significant way.

³³As reported in appendix Table A.5, we find no evidence that households in treated villages are more or less likely to reside at the same address at endline. We also find no treatment effect on migration decisions of members within households.

cross-village spillovers on local retail stores, or on the production side of the economy.

Second, to further investigate these channels in the absence of experimental variation in program saturation rates,³⁴ we also pursue an approach grounded in trade theory. In particular, we can quantify the fraction of a rural location’s total trade market access that is due to trading exposure to other rural markets in the same county. This fraction provides additional information on the extent of rural-to-rural spillovers from other sample villages in our setting. If a sizable share of local market access is due to trading relations with other local rural markets, then indirect effects on local product prices and incomes from treatments in other villages could become an important force. If, on the other hand, local product and factor prices are predominantly determined by access to larger urban markets, then rural-to-rural spillovers could have negligible effects on local prices and incomes across our sample villages.

Following e.g. [Head & Mayer \(2014\)](#), the market access of location v to all other rural and urban markets $j \neq v$ is:

$$MA_v = \sum_{j \neq v} \tau_{jv}^{-\theta} Y_j \quad (6)$$

where τ_{jv} is the bilateral trade cost, θ is the elasticity of trade flows with respect to trade costs, and Y_j is a measure of j ’s market size.³⁵ MA_v is thus a weighted sum of economic activity outside of market v , with weights that are inversely related to bilateral trade costs. To compute the fraction of total market access that is due to bilateral linkages with other rural markets in the same county (i.e. MA_v^R / MA_v), we compute (6) both across bilateral connections to all other markets (denominator), and only summing across bilateral connections with other rural markets in the same county (numerator). Alternatively, we restrict the numerator to bilateral connections with respect to the fraction of rural markets in the county that are participating in the program to compute the share of market access due to rural locations with program terminals. That fraction was about 1/6th of all rural markets in participating counties over our sample period.

To compute these measures, we use the township-level data from the Chinese Population Census in 2010 described in Section 2. These data provide us with the populations residing in each of roughly 45,000 township-level administrative units. In addition, we use the coordinates of township centroids to construct the full matrix of bilateral distances in km. Following the trade literature, we use these bilateral distances to parameterize $\tau_{jv}^{-\theta}$: using the finding that the elasticity of trade flows with respect to distance is approximately -1,³⁶ we measure $\tau_{jv}^{-\theta}$ as the inverse bilateral distance in km when summing across the j market sizes. Alternatively, we also use a larger distance elasticity of -1.5 that gives more weight to markets in closer proximity. For market size Y_j , we use either population or population multiplied by the value added per worker for rural and non-rural workers measured at the province level for 2010. The first metric provides an

³⁴As part of our negotiations and collaboration with the firm’s local implementation teams, it was not feasible to also attempt a two-stage cluster randomization design that would have allowed us to randomly vary saturation rates.

³⁵To be consistent with structural gravity in trade models, the measure Y_j of j ’s market size should include a multilateral resistance term capturing j ’s own degree of access to all other markets (see e.g. [Head & Mayer \(2014\)](#)). In (6), we abstract from this and compute a first-order approximation of the structural gravity expression for MA_v . In practice, both measures have been found to yield very similar results in recent empirical work, as they are highly correlated (e.g. [Donaldson & Hornbeck \(2016\)](#)).

³⁶See e.g. [Disdier & Head \(2008\)](#) for a meta-analysis of this point estimate.

inverse distance-weighted measure of market access to populations outside the township, while the second provides an approximate measure of access to GDP. Finally, we define rural and urban markets following the administrative classification across township-level units we obtain in the census data. For computational feasibility, when constructing the full matrix of bilateral connections, we compute the total market access of rural townships with respect to all other township units (both rural and urban) within each of the 3 broad administrative regions of China in which our sample counties are located: East China (7 provinces), Middle China (3 provinces) and Southwest China (5 provinces).³⁷

The above provides us with four measures of the ratio of total market access that is due to access to other rural populations or rural GDP within the the same county: measured either in terms of access to population or to GDP, and measured either in terms of access to all rural markets in the county or only the fraction of rural markets that on average participate in the e-commerce program. We compute the median, mean and standard deviations of these 4 ratios for all rural townships located in the three regions of China, as well as only for townships in our 3 sample provinces, or only for townships in the 8 sample counties. Furthermore, we compute each of these measures both for the baseline distance elasticity of -1, and when using -1.5 instead.

Appendix Table A.7 presents the estimation results. Overall, we find that other rural markets in the same county account for a tiny fraction of total trade market access for the median or the average rural market place. This result is driven by the fact that nearby rural markets within the same county account for a small fraction of the market size that is concentrated in vastly larger urban centers. This is particularly the case when using economic output as the measure of market size, but also holds for raw populations. For example, the median fraction of market access from nearby rural markets in terms of GDP is 0.37 percent in our sample provinces, and 1.2 percent in terms of population access. These fractions slightly increase when giving more weight to nearby markets using a higher distance elasticity, but remain close to zero in both cases when computing rural-to-rural market access only with respect to the average fraction of rural markets that are participating in the program in any given county over our sample period. These findings are in line with the absence of significant GE spillover effects on market prices or nominal incomes shown in our first approach above, and serve to provide some further corroborating evidence in this context.

Summary of Findings from the Survey Data

On the consumption side, we find that the program leads to sizable substitution of retail expenditure among households who are induced to use the new e-commerce terminal shopping option. These households represent 14 percent of the rural household sample and 13 percent of the village population after adjusting for sampling weights. The program's effect is subject to significant heterogeneity. The beneficiaries are on average younger, richer, live in closer proximity to the program's terminal and in villages that are more remotely located. Conditional on these characteristics, we do not find evidence that household education or the characteristics of the terminal manager are significant determinants of the program's impact. The consumption response appears to be mainly driven by the removal of the logistical barrier in villages with no

³⁷The 8 counties of our RCT fall into one these three zones. Omitting regions outside each zone is somewhat conservative, as their inclusion would increase the denominator of the rural-to-total market access ratios.

pre-existing commercial parcel delivery, rather than by adapting e-commerce to the rural population through the terminal interface. The new e-commerce option offers cheaper prices, more product variety and more convenience/smaller travel costs. We find that the effects are particularly pronounced for durable product groups, such as electronics and appliances. We also find some suggestive evidence of knock-on effects on the local retail environment: local store owners report slightly higher numbers of new product variety, and a higher likelihood of sourcing their products online in treated villages who did not initially have commercial parcel delivery. On the other hand, we do not find significant pro-competitive effects on product prices among local stores. On the production side, we find no evidence of significant positive or negative effects on the local economy in terms of household incomes, sourcing of inputs, labor supply, online selling activity or entrepreneurship.

5 Additional Evidence Using the Firm’s Database

In this section, we use the firm’s internal transaction database to provide additional evidence on four remaining questions that are outside the scope and budget of our household survey data collection. First, are the villages in our RCT sample representative of villages targeted by the program across the Chinese countryside more broadly? Second, to what extent does seasonality and the timing of our endline data collection affect the estimation results? Third, what is the time path of adjustments on the consumption and production sides, and is terminal take-up increasing beyond our survey’s 12-month post-treatment time window? And fourth, is our survey data missing rare but highly successful tail events on the production side that could shift the average effect on local household income per capita?

As described in Section 2, we gained access to the universe of purchase transaction records over the period from November 2015 to April 2017, across roughly 12,000 participating villages that existed over this period in 5 provinces. To capture household sales through the e-commerce terminals, we also obtained access to data on the universe of village out-shipments and their weight in kg for the same terminal locations over the period from January 2016 to April 2017.

Are the RCT Sample Villages Representative?

One concern is that the 8 counties that our RCT takes place in may not be representative of program villages in the Chinese countryside more broadly. To assess whether the RCT villages are representative of the population of program villages in China, we use the 5-province transaction database on both purchases and sales transactions to estimate regressions of the following form:

$$y_{vm} = \theta_m + \beta RCTSample_v + \gamma MonthsSinceEntry_{vm} + \epsilon_{vm},$$

where v indexes village terminals and θ_m is a set of monthly dummies indexed by m for the 18 months of operation from November 2015 to January 2017. y_{vm} is one of five terminal-level monthly outcomes (number of buyers, number of purchase transactions, total terminal sales, number of out-shipments and total weight of out-shipments in kg), $RCTSample$ is a dummy for whether the terminal is in our RCT sample, and $MonthsSinceEntry$ controls for the number of months that terminal v has been in operation as of month m . The standard errors ϵ_{vm} are clus-

tered at the terminal level.³⁸

The results in appendix Table A.8 show no remarkable differences between our RCT villages and the population of program villages in these 5 provinces. The same is true if we compare our RCT villages to all villages in our 3 survey provinces. The RCT sample seems marginally more successful on the out-shipment side, but the magnitudes are tiny. These results provide some reassurance against the potential concern that the e-commerce firm directed our team towards 8 counties that systematically differ from the program’s target locations in the Chinese countryside.

Did We Collect Endline Data During Particular Months?

The timeline of pre-treatment data collection was determined by the roll-out schedule of the e-commerce firm, and we could not finance more than a single post-treatment round. As a result of these constraints, our survey cannot measure the impact of seasonality on treatment effects. We therefore use the transaction database to study seasonality effects by estimating:

$$y_{vm} = \theta_v + \beta RCTMonth_m + \gamma MonthSinceEntry_{vm} + \epsilon_{vm},$$

where $RCTMonth$ is a dummy for our survey months i.e., a dummy equal to 1 if month m is either in December, January, April or May, which are the four calendar months during which we conducted our survey. We again cluster standard errors ϵ_{vm} at the terminal level. The results are in appendix Table A.9. We find slightly higher numbers of terminal buyers during survey months relative to the rest of the calendar year, and slightly lower numbers of purchase transactions and out-shipments. In both cases, the point estimates are very small: about one additional buyer per month, a reduction of between 4 to 5 in the number of monthly purchase transactions, and a reduction of less than one out-shipment per month on the selling side. We conclude that seasonality is unlikely to be a significant driver underlying the findings of the RCT.

What Is the Time Path of Adjustments in Consumption and Production?

The program’s objective to introduce e-commerce to all promising Chinese villages and continuous roll-out in our RCT counties imply that we cannot keep our control group untreated for more than one year. The firm’s transaction data allows us to see beyond this one-year survey horizon, and to plot the time pattern of monthly terminal usage for both purchasing and selling starting from program installation. In particular, these plots tell us whether the impacts of the e-commerce terminals grow stronger over time, either on the consumption or production sides.

We estimate the following event study specification:

$$y_{vm} = \theta_v + \delta_m + \sum_{j=-3}^{24} \beta_j MonthsSinceEntry_{jvm} + \epsilon_{vm}. \quad (7)$$

Each observation in equation (7) is a terminal in a given month. A negative index j denotes the number of months prior to installation for terminal v and in this case the outcome y_{vm} will always be 0. A positive value of j indexes the number of months since terminal v started operation, so that β_0 is a measure of average outcomes for terminals during the month of their installation, β_1 captures averages one month after installation, and so on. We assign an index of $j = 24$ to

³⁸With very rare exceptions there is only one terminal per village.

all observations equal or beyond 24 months after the first month of program entry, so that β_{24} captures average outcomes of terminals that have been in operation for more than two years. Since we have terminal and month fixed effects, each of the β_0 - β_{24} are estimated relative to the omitted category that are periods pre-installation (zeros by construction since the terminals did not exist).

To estimate specification (7), we create a balanced panel in the sense that each of the roughly 11,900 village terminals ever observed in the raw data appears once per month in the panel, for each of the 18 months for which we have data (16 months in the shipment data). This panel starts in November 2015 for the purchase database and in January 2016 for the out-shipment database. It spans terminal observations of up to 17 months pre-installation for villages connected in April 2017, and up to 28 months post-installation for the earliest terminals connected 10 months prior to the beginning of our data in November 2015.

In terms of identification, we no longer have experimental variation and a clear counterfactual control group when using the firm's internal database, as we did in the RCT. Instead, the assumption is that online purchases or out-shipments would be a hard zero in these villages if the program had not arrived in month $j = 0$. This assumption is reasonable given that online purchases or sales remain close to zero at endline in the control villages (Table 2). Reassuringly, we also find that the magnitudes of the program's effect after 12 months are closely aligned with the findings based on the RCT's survey data. On the other hand, if for some reason we believe this assumption not to hold in the broader set of villages that we are able to observe in the transaction data, then the estimates of the findings of the event study we discuss below can be interpreted as upper-bound estimates of the effect of the program (assuming a hard zero for the counterfactual).

Figures 2 and 3 present the event-study plots for terminal-level outcomes on the consumption and production sides. On the consumption side, we find little evidence of increasing uptake past our survey's one-year timeline. Terminal usage increases rapidly for about 2 to 4 months after opening, and then plateaus at around 80 buyers and 280 transactions per month per terminal. At the same time, total terminal sales in RMB appear to slightly decline over time, after peaking at about 3 months after program entry, suggesting that villagers make higher-value purchases first and then switch to buying lesser-value products through e-commerce.

On the production side, we find evidence that village-level number and total weight of out-shipments increase smoothly over time after program entry, and that this increase continues beyond the 12-month window that we cover in our survey data collection. The effect increases by roughly 50 percent when comparing the point estimate on the total weight of out-shipments 12 months post-entry to the point estimate for more than 2 years post-entry (including periods up to 2 years and 4 months post-entry). These results suggest that production-side adjustments may take longer to fully materialize than the 1-year horizon covered in the survey data. Despite this positive trend, the estimated effects at the village level remain relatively minor even two years post implementation. The average number of monthly out-shipments is about 10 in periods more than 2 years after the arrival of e-commerce. In turn, the combined weight of all village-level out-shipments increases to about 30 kg on average.

Are the Survey Data Missing Successful Tail Events on the Production Side?

Our survey sampling of 38 households per village may be insufficient to capture rare but very successful events on the production side. If neglected, such tail events of high-volume online businesses enabled by the terminal could in principle shift the average effect of the terminal on household incomes that we estimate as part of the RCT analysis. To investigate this issue, we use the universe of e-commerce shipments from 5 provinces over the period January 2016 to April 2017. As discussed above, we observe total shipment weight in kg, but not revenues. Figure 3 shows that the mean monthly number of e-commerce shipments out of the villages is about 10, and the total weight of e-commerce out-shipment averages less than 30 kg per village more than two years post-program entry.

To obtain a non-conservative upper-bound for these shipments' value to the local village economy, we assume i) that the entire value of these shipments is pure local value-added and captured by local incomes, and ii) that the average value per kg of these shipments is as high as that of Chinese exports to the world (i.e. on average RMB66.5 per kg in 2015 and 2016).³⁹ Under these assumptions, we find that e-commerce out-shipments account for on average at most a 0.17 percent increase in local income per capita more than 2 years after the program's arrival. In summary, this upper bound of the average longer-term effect that we can estimate precisely in the administrative transaction data would still be consistent with the statistical zero result that we find using the survey data after one year in the RCT data collection.

Summary of Findings from Transaction Database

When comparing our RCT sample to the roughly 12,000 villages in the transaction data, we find that they are broadly representative of the Chinese village population that is being considered by the firm to be part of the e-commerce expansion program. The periods during which we collected endline data appear to be slightly above-average for some outcomes related to terminal purchasing use, and slightly below-average for some outcomes related to purchasing price tags and village out-shipments. However, the point estimates are very small in magnitude, suggesting that seasonality is unlikely to be a major factor in the RCT analysis. In terms of the time path of adjustment, we find little evidence on the consumption side that the program's effect takes longer to materialize than the one-year period covered by our survey. The effects materialize within 2-4 months after installation and remain roughly stable afterward. On the production side, we find evidence that village-level out-shipments are increasing significantly over time after installation. The effects remain small, however, in terms of total out-shipment weights, suggesting a minor upper-bound effect on village income per capita more than 2 years post-installation. Related to this, we find no evidence that our survey data collection missed rare but highly successful tail events on the production side that could have in principle shifted the village-level average effect on economic outcomes.

6 Quantification

This section combines the empirical results from the previous sections with the theoretical framework in Section 3 and Appendix B to quantify the program's effect on average household

³⁹From the World Bank's WITS database, which provides total value of Chinese exports and total weight.

welfare, decompose the underlying channels, and estimate the distribution of the gains from e-commerce integration across households and villages.

Average Gains

The most robust evidence of significant treatment effects from the program from the previous sections is on the substitution of local households' retail expenditures to the new e-commerce terminal shopping option. As discussed in Section 3, these treatment effects enter the direct price index effect as part of the consumer gains from the program.⁴⁰ Even though it is impossible to directly observe the implicit price index changes due to the arrival of a new retail shopping option—that includes differences in prices, product variety as well as shopping amenities—we can use existing estimates of the slope of household demand across retail shopping options to quantify the change in consumption value that is consistent with the changes in household expenditure shares that we observe in the data.

Following Feenstra (1994) and more recent work by Atkin et al. (2018) on Mexico, we derive an expression for the direct consumer gains from the arrival of the e-commerce terminal, expressed as a percentage of initial household expenditure:

$$\frac{DE}{e(\mathbf{P}_T^0, \mathbf{P}_C^0, \mathbf{P}_E^0, \mathbf{P}_X^0, u_h^0)} = \prod_{g \in G} \left(\left(\sum_{s \in S_g^C} \phi_{gsh}^1 \right)^{\frac{1}{\sigma_g - 1}} \right)^{\alpha_{gh}} - 1, \quad (8)$$

where σ_g is the elasticity of substitution across retail options to source consumption in product group g , α_{gh} is the initial expenditure share on that product group for household group h and $\sum_{s \in S_g^C} \phi_{gsh}^1$ is the share of retail expenditures that is not spent on the new e-commerce terminal post-intervention (where $s \in S_g^C$ indexes continuing local retailers and ϕ_{gsh}^1 is the endline expenditure share on retailer s in product group g of household group h). See Appendix B for a detailed derivation.

To estimate this expression empirically, we require information about the program's effect on $\sum_{s \in S_g^C} \phi_{gsh}^1$, as well as the parameters α_{gh} and σ_g . For the α_{gh} , we use our baseline data on household expenditure shares across product groups. For ex-post expenditure shares on the new e-commerce option, we use the treatment effects among the 85 percent of villages without pre-existing parcel delivery connections reported in Table 7. These villages experienced the removal of both logistical and transactional barriers to e-commerce integration, which is the counterfactual that we focus on for the quantification exercise (i.e. the effect of e-commerce trading access on previously unconnected markets). We include the regression intercept (mean program usage among control villages) in these treatment effects on household terminal consumption shares to account for the positive spillovers that we estimate in Table 10.

We perform this welfare computation for two different groups of local households. First for

⁴⁰We also find suggestive evidence of additional product variety among local retailers. We abstract from this effect in the quantification for two main reasons. First, the point estimates are small as a fraction of the available product space (2 products after removing both barriers in Table 7) and would not remain statistically significant when adjusting for multiple hypothesis testing on pro-competitive retail effects as part of Table 6. Second, quantifying the welfare implications of this effect would require a number of additional moments that are outside the scope of the fieldwork, such as knowing the local market shares of each of the barcode products and estimating an additional elasticity of substitution between products within a given retailer (the lower tier utility function in Appendix B). Rather than imposing stronger assumptions, we quantify a conservative estimate of the gains from e-commerce in this section, that could have been marginally higher after accounting for this additional effect.

the average sample household, for whom the average treatment effect on the terminal share of total retail consumption is 1.6 percent, and second for households who report ever having used the terminal for consumption, for whom the average effect on the terminal share of total retail consumption is 14 percent. Given the heterogeneity in treatment effects between durable and non-durable consumption documented in Section 4, we estimate welfare effects separately for these two retail product groups.

The estimated treatment effects give equal weight to all households in our endline data. To obtain welfare estimates that are representative at the village-level, we also re-estimate the treatment effects after weighting each household in our sample according to the fraction of the village population that resides within its sampling zone (inner or outer) in our endline data. These estimates are slightly smaller than in the unweighted sample, but very similar (1.5 and 11 percentage points respectively), suggesting that our sampling procedure did not distort the average household in the village by much. For exposition, we report welfare estimates both with and without re-weighting households.

For the final set of required parameters in (8), the σ_g , we use the closest existing estimate of consumer demand across retailer choices in an emerging market context from recent work by [Atkin et al. \(2018\)](#) in Mexico. In particular, we use demand parameter estimates for households in Mexico with incomes comparable to those of rural Chinese households in our survey, which gives us $\sigma_N = 3.87$ for non-durables consumption and $\sigma_D = 3.85$ for durables consumption as baseline parameter values.⁴¹

To obtain standard errors for the welfare evaluation, we take into account that the treatment effects on ex-post e-commerce consumption shares are point estimates, not actual data points. We bootstrap the computation of expression 8 across 1000 iterations with random household re-sampling. Each iteration uses the mean and standard deviation of the estimated treatment effect on terminal share of retail consumption for durables and non-durables, for each of the two household groups discussed above, and draws from a normal distribution around the mean of the respective point estimate of the treatment effects.

Table 11 reports the estimation results. The average reduction in retail cost of living among households who experienced the lifting of both logistical and transactional barriers is 0.81 percent. This effect increases to 5.5 percent among the roughly 14 percent of households who ever used the terminal for purchases. These effects are slightly lower at 0.71 and 4.8 percent respectively when weighting our sample households to represent the average population living in these villages. Underlying these effects are strong consumer gains in durable consumption: 2.9 percent for the average village household and 16.6 percent among users. For reference, retail consumption across all product groups accounts for on average 55 percent of total household expenditure among the rural households in the sample.

Distribution of the Gains from E-Commerce Integration

We now investigate the distribution of the gains from the arrival of e-commerce across households and villages. We use treatment effects from the heterogeneity specification in the last rows

⁴¹[Atkin et al. \(2018\)](#) estimate these parameters separately for richer and poorer Mexican households, and for food and non-food product groups. The parameters σ_N and σ_D that we use as our baseline refer to food and non-food product groups estimated among the poorer segment of Mexican households.

of Table 8, which includes all interactions with program treatment jointly estimated in one regression. We estimate this specification with the dependent variable being either household terminal share in durable or in non-durable retail consumption. For each sample household living in treatment villages without pre-existing parcel delivery, we compute a fitted value of the treatment effect on terminal retail consumption shares based on the primary earner’s age, education, income per capita, residential distance to the planned terminal as well as distance to the nearest township center (remoteness).

We use these estimated effects for $\sum_{s \in S_g^c} \phi_{gsh}^{t1}$ in expression (8), and then plot the effect on household retail price indices flexibly across all sample households in treated villages. Figure 4 shows these plots for household income per capita (upper left), respondent age (upper right), distance to terminal (lower left) and distance to the nearest township center (lower right). These plots quantify the distribution of the gains to the average household, without restricting attention to users. The confidence intervals in these figures are based on sampling variation in household characteristics on the x-axis after clustering standard errors at the village-level.

The income plot shows that households in the 5th percentile of the income distribution on average experience a 0.25 percent reduction in retail cost of living due to the arrival of the new e-commerce option, which roughly quadruples to more than 1 percent for households at the 90th income percentile. A household with a 20 year-old primary earner on average experiences a reduction in retail cost of living of about 1.5 percent, which drops below 1 percent past the age of 40, and close to zero gains past the age of 60. The gains are close to 1.5 percent on average in close residential proximity to the terminal and decrease to on average less than half a percent toward the largest distances in the sample. In contrast, villages in close proximity to the nearest township center experience a small reduction in retail cost of living that more than quadruple as distance from the nearest township reaches its maximum within our sample.

Overall, these figures reflect the significant heterogeneity in the program’s impact on household consumption that we report in Table 8. We find that the benefits of e-commerce disproportionately accrue to households that are richer and younger, living in closer proximity to the e-commerce terminal within the villages, and in villages that are relatively more remote.

Quantification Across Alternative Parameter Values

To account for uncertainty in the demand parameters, we compute results across alternative values of σ_N and σ_D , relative to our baseline parameterization ($\sigma_N = 3.87$ and $\sigma_D = 3.85$). In particular, we allow for household shopping demand to be either more or less price elastic across retailer options. Intuitively, the less price sensitive households are across retailers (i.e. the lower σ_g), the higher will be the implied consumer gains that are consistent with the observed household substitution to the new shopping option. We report results for a low-elasticity scenario with $\sigma_N = 2.87$ and $\sigma_D = 2.85$, and conversely for a high-elasticity scenario with $\sigma_N = 4.87$ and $\sigma_D = 4.85$. A priori, it is unclear which scenario is more likely in our current empirical context, relative to the baseline parameters estimated in [Atkin et al. \(2018\)](#) for similarly poor Mexican households living in urban areas. Rural Chinese households may be less sensitive to effective price differences across retailers due to higher shopping travel costs to a nearby town compared to urban Mexicans. Conversely, rural Chinese households may be intrinsically more price sensitive than Mexicans with similar real incomes.

Table A.10 reports the estimation results. As discussed above, assuming that rural Chinese shopping demand is less price elastic across retailer options than in our preferred parametrization yields significantly larger estimated welfare gains in retail consumption: a 1.25 percent reduction in cost of living for the average household in our sample and a 8.5 percent reduction for users. Conversely, assuming more price elastic shopping demand yields slightly smaller effects of 0.6 and 4 percent respectively. For reference, the baseline estimates are 0.81 and 5.5 percent respectively.

Summary of Results

We find that the program leads to sizable gains in household real income, but that these gains are limited to a minority of local households who are younger and richer. The welfare gains for the average rural household are more muted, suggesting strong heterogeneity in the effect of the arrival of e-commerce rather than broad-based welfare gains. The welfare gains are driven by a significant reduction in household cost of living due to access to the new e-commerce shopping option that provides greater product variety, cheaper prices and a reduction in travel costs. These gains are strongest in more remote rural markets, and for durable product groups such as electronics and appliances.

7 Conclusion

Inspired by the rapid growth of e-commerce within cities of the developing world, and mounting case study evidence on the transformative effects of e-commerce trading on rural markets, policy makers are now targeting large investments at expanding access to e-commerce outside of cities. In this context, the Chinese government has launched the first nationwide e-commerce expansion program as part of its agenda to close the rural-urban economic divide. The program aims at removing two remaining barriers to e-commerce trading in the countryside: the lack of modern commercial transport logistics (the logistical barrier) and the transitioning to non-traditional online user interfaces and paperless payments for the rural population (the transactional barrier).

This paper uses this empirical context to provide a first set of rigorous evidence on the potential of e-commerce integration to foster economic development in the countryside, the underlying channels and the relative importance of different investments targeted at logistical or transactional barriers. To this end, we combine an RCT that we implement across villages in collaboration with a large Chinese e-commerce firm, with a new collection of microdata on household consumption, production and retail prices in the Chinese countryside.

We find that the program leads to sizable welfare gains, but only for a minority of rural households who tend to be younger and richer. In contrast to the existing case study evidence that has motivated these policies, we find little evidence for significant gains to the average rural producer or worker. Instead, the gains are driven by the consumption side, through a significant reduction in household cost of living, especially among more remote rural markets. Our results also suggest that the effects are mainly due to lifting the logistical barriers to rural e-commerce, rather than additional investments to adapt e-commerce to the rural population.

Overall, our findings suggest that access to e-commerce offers significant economic gains to certain groups of the rural population and in certain places, rather than being broad-based. In

this light, we hope that our work can help inspire future research in this area aimed at further investigating the factors and potential complementary interventions that enable certain groups and market places to reap the gains from trade through e-commerce.

References

- AliResearch. (2017). China's taobao villages. *Research Report*, 1741–1779.
- Anderson, S. P., De Palma, A., & Thisse, J. F. (1992). *Discrete choice theory of product differentiation*. MIT press.
- Asher, S., & Novosad, P. (2018). Rural roads and local economic development. *Working Paper, Dartmouth College*.
- Atkin, D., Faber, B., & Gonzalez-Navarro, M. (2018). Retail globalization and household welfare: Evidence from Mexico. *Journal of Political Economy*.
- Banerjee, A., Duflo, E., & Qian, N. (2012). *On the road: Access to transportation infrastructure and economic growth in China* (Tech. Rep.). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Baum-Snow, N., Brandt, L., Henderson, J. V., Turner, M. A., & Zhang, Q. (2016). Roads, railroads and decentralization of Chinese cities. *Forthcoming, The Review of Economics and Statistics*.
- Brynjolfsson, E., Hu, Y., & Smith, M. D. (2003). Consumer surplus in the digital economy: Estimating the value of increased product variety at online booksellers. *Management Science*, 49(11), 1580–1596.
- Casaburi, L., Glennerster, R., & Suri, T. (2013). Rural roads and intermediated trade: Regression discontinuity evidence from Sierra Leone. *Working Paper, University of Zurich*.
- Chapman, R., & Slaymaker, T. (2002). ICTs and rural development: review of the literature, current interventions and opportunities for action. *Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Report*.
- Couture, V. (2016). Valuing the consumption benefits of urban density. *Working Paper, UC Berkeley*.
- Disdier, A.-C., & Head, K. (2008). The puzzling persistence of the distance effect on bilateral trade. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 90(1), 37–48.
- Donaldson, D. (in press). Railroads of the raj: Estimating the impact of transportation infrastructure. *American Economic Review*.
- Donaldson, D., & Hornbeck, R. (2016). Railroads and American economic growth: A market access approach. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 131(2), 799–858.
- Einav, L., Klenow, P. J., Klopock, B., Levin, J. D., Levin, L., & Best, W. (2017). Assessing the gains from e-commerce. *Working paper, Stanford University*.
- Faber, B. (2014). Trade integration, market size, and industrialization: Evidence from China's national trunk highway system. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 81(3), 1046–1070.
- Fan, J., Tang, L., Zhu, W., & Zou, B. (2016). The Alibaba effect: Spatial consumption inequality and the welfare gains from e-commerce. *Working Paper, Michigan State University*.
- Feenstra, R. C. (1994). New product varieties and the measurement of international prices. *American Economic Review*, 84(1), 155–57.
- Forman, C., Goldfarb, A., & Greenstein, S. (2012). The internet and local wages: A puzzle. *American Economic Review*, 102(1), 556–75.

- FRED. (2016). E-commerce retail sales as a percent of total sales (ECOMPCTSA). *Economic Data, Federal Reserve of St. Louis*.
- Gaspar, J., & Glaeser, E. (1998). Information technology and the future of cities. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 43(1), 136–156.
- Goldmanis, M., Hortaçsu, A., Syverson, C., & Emre, Ö. (2010). E-commerce and the market structure of retail industries. *The Economic Journal*, 120(545), 651–682.
- Goyal, A. (2010). Information, direct access to farmers, and rural market performance in Central India. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 2(3), 22–45.
- Hamory, J., Kleemans, M., Li, N., & Miguel, E. (2016). Individual ability and selection into migration in Kenya. *Working Paper, UC Berkeley*.
- Handbury, J. (2013). Are poor cities cheap for everyone? Non-homotheticity and the cost of living across US cities. *Working Paper, Wharton*.
- Handbury, J., & Weinstein, D. E. (2015). Goods prices and availability in cities. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 82(1), 258–296.
- Hausman, J. A. (1996). Valuation of new goods under perfect and imperfect competition. In *The Economics of New Goods* (pp. 207–248). University of Chicago Press.
- Hausman, J. A., & Leonard, G. K. (2002). The competitive effects of a new product introduction: A case study. *Journal of Industrial Economics*, 50(3), 237–263.
- Head, K., & Mayer, T. (2014). Gravity equations: Workhorse, toolkit, and cookbook. In *Handbook of International Economics* (Vol. 4, pp. 131–195). Elsevier.
- Hicks, J. R. (1940). The valuation of the social income. *Economica*, 105–124.
- Hjort, J., & Poulsen, J. (2017). The arrival of fast internet and skilled job creation in Africa. *Working Paper, Columbia University*.
- Jensen, R. (2007). The digital provide: Information (technology), market performance, and welfare in the south indian fisheries sector. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 122(3), 879–924.
- Lagakos, D., Mobarak, M., & Waugh, M. (2016). Urban-rural wage gaps in developing countries: Spatial misallocation or efficient sorting. *Working Paper, UC San Diego, Yale, and NYU*.
- MCIT. (2016). Egypt’s national e-commerce strategy. *Ministry of Communications and Information Technology Report*.
- McKenzie, D. (2012). Beyond baseline and follow-up: The case for more t in experiments. *Journal of Development Economics*, 99(2), 210–221.
- McKinsey. (2016). China’s e-tail revolution. *Report, McKinsey Global Institute*.
- MEITY. (2016). Digital india: Driving e-commerce in rural and semi urban India. *Ministry of Electronics and IT Report*.
- Miguel, E., & Kremer, M. (2004). Worms: Identifying impacts on education and health in the presence of treatment externalities. *Econometrica*, 72(1), 159–217.
- PFSweb. (2016). China’s e-commerce market 2015. *Annual Market Report*.
- PM. (2016). Vietnam’s e-commerce development masterplan. *Vietnam’s Office of the Prime Minister Report*.
- Statista. (2016). Online retail statistics for China. *Market Statistics*.

- Topalova, P. (2010). Factor immobility and regional impacts of trade liberalization: Evidence on poverty from India. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 2(4), 1–41.
- UNCTAD. (2016a). E-commerce opens new opportunities for developing countries. *UNCTAD/PRESS/UI14/IN/2016/011*.
- UNCTAD. (2016b). UNCTAD E-commerce Index 2016. *Report, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Geneva*.
- Van de Walle, D. (2009). Impact evaluation of rural road projects. *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, 1(1), 15–36.
- WB. (2016). World development report 2016: Digital dividends.
- WTO. (2013). E-commerce in developing countries: Opportunities and challenges for small and medium-sized enterprises. *Policy Report, World Trade Organization, Geneva*.
- Young, A. (2013). Inequality, the urban-rural gap and migration. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1727–1785.

8 Figures and Tables

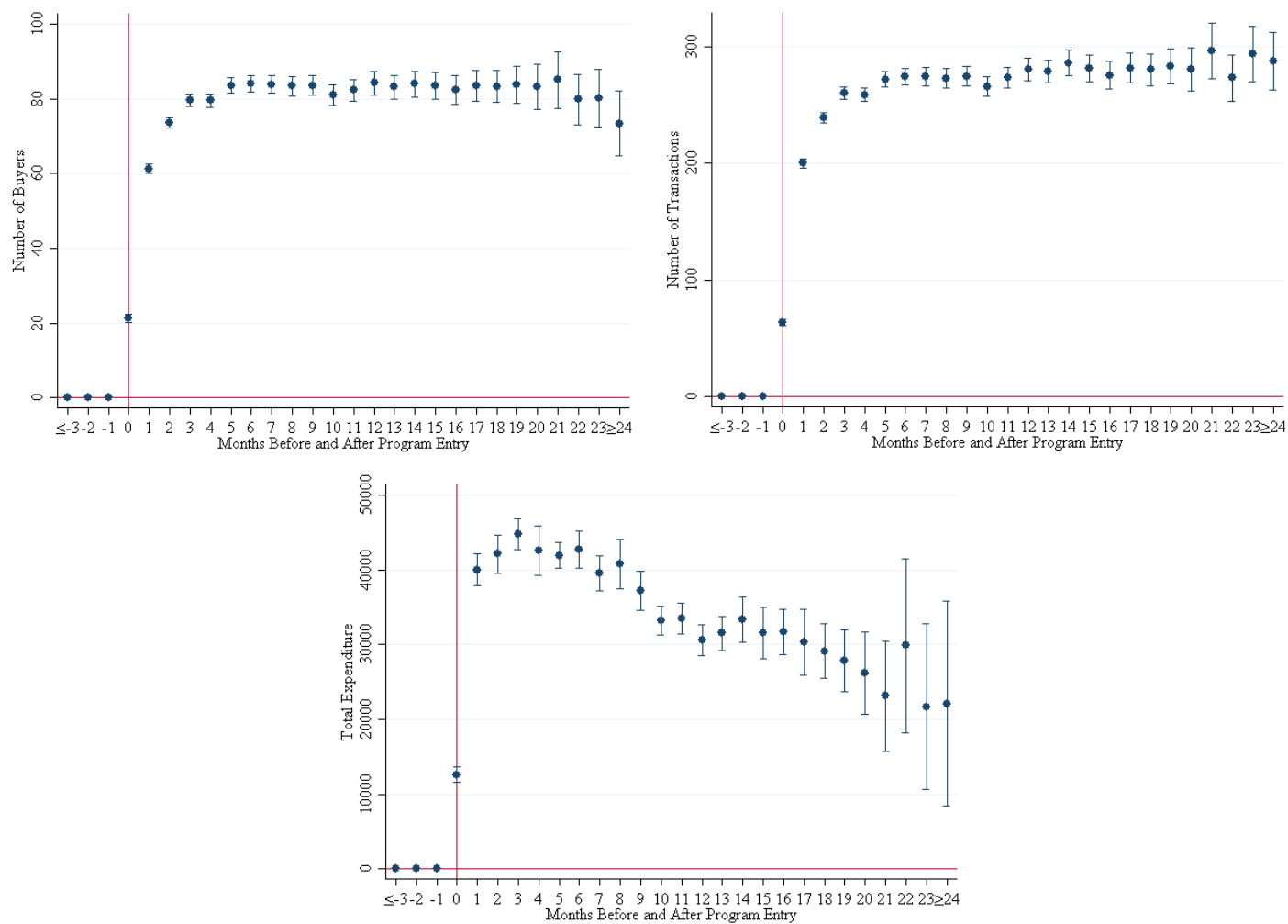
8.1 Figures

Figure 1: Provinces and Counties Where RCT Was Implemented



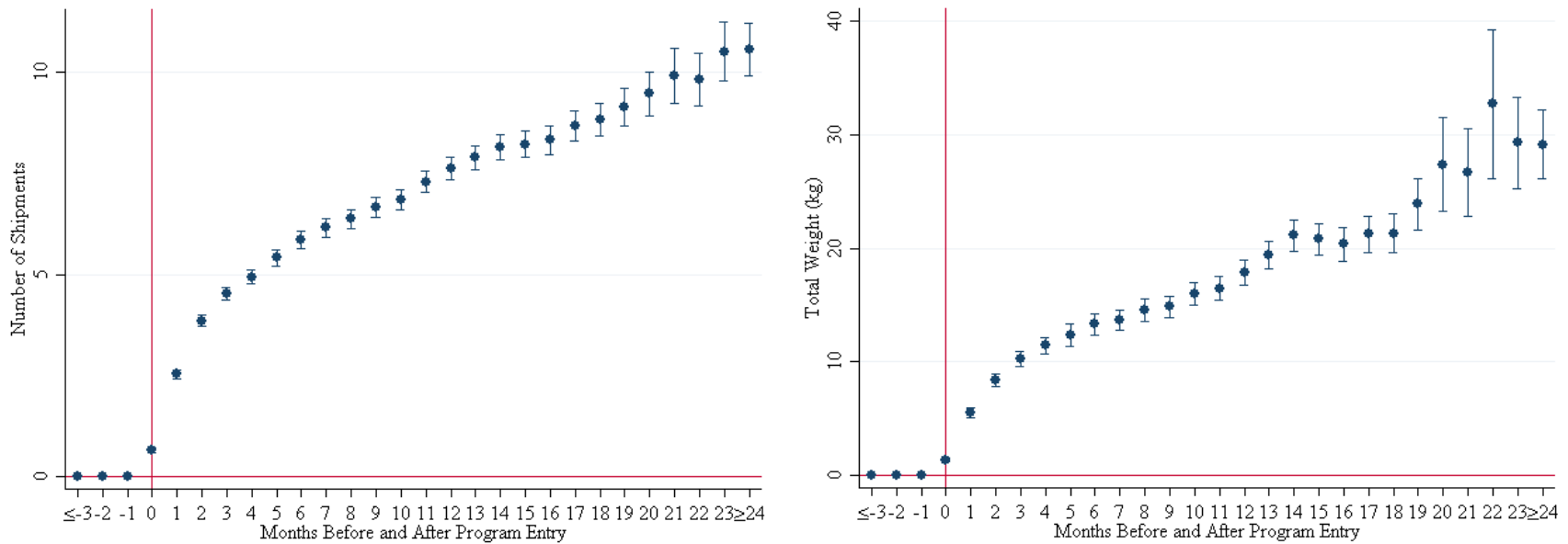
Notes: Map shows the location of our eight RCT counties in the three provinces of Anhui, Guizhou and Henan. The dots indicate participating villages and the boundaries indicate Mainland Chinese provinces. Section 2 for discussion.

Figure 2: Timeline of Adjustment: Village Consumption



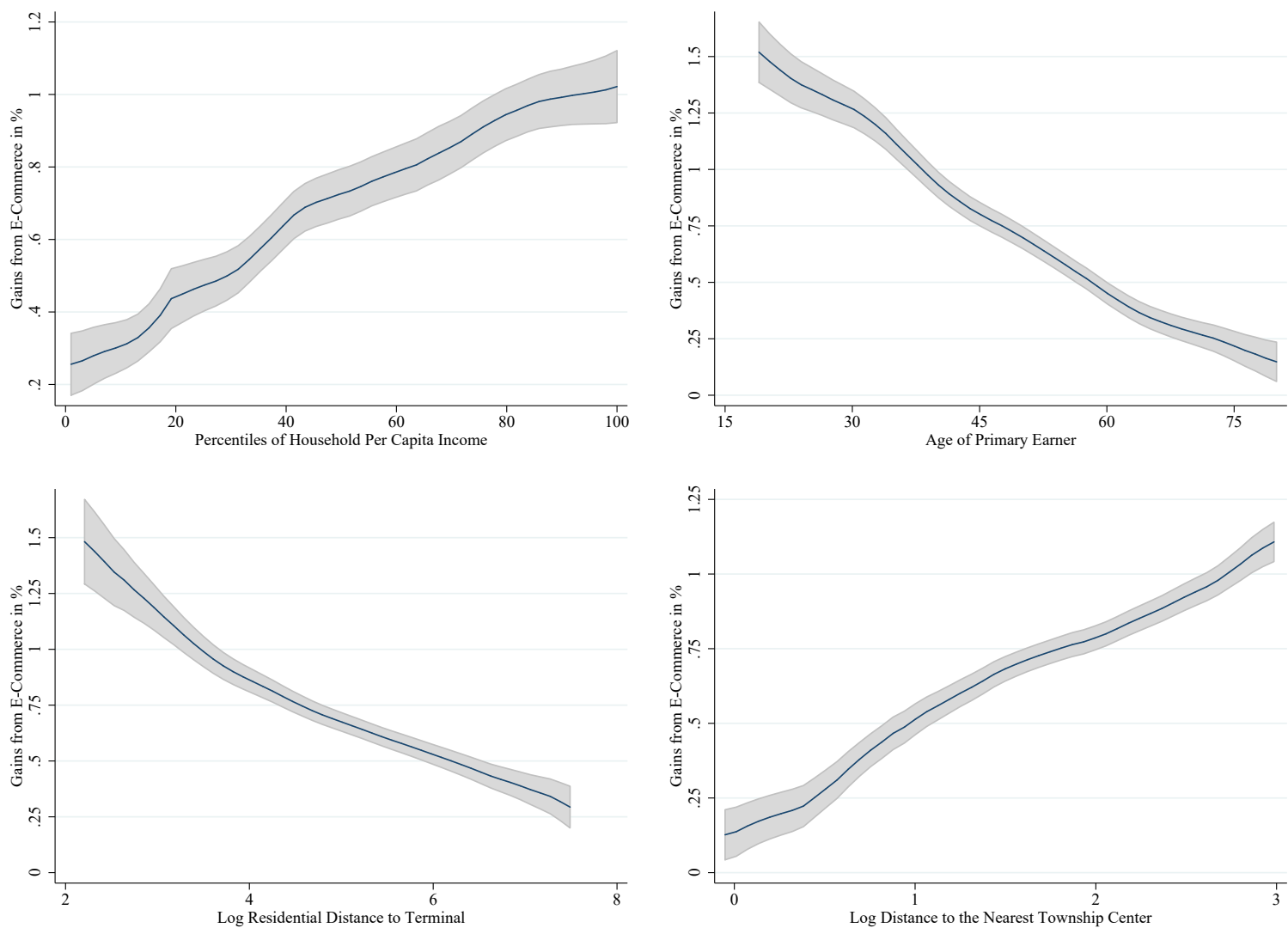
Notes: Figure shows point estimates from a regression of depicted outcomes on months since program entry and village and month fixed effects. Outcomes are the number of buyers (top left), the number of transactions (top right), and monthly total expenditure in RMB (bottom) per village terminal. The data are from the e-commerce firm's internal database and contain the universe of village purchase transactions from November 2015 to April 2017 in the five provinces of Anhui, Guangxi, Guizhou, Henan, and Yunnan (roughly 11,900 villages in total). The last point estimate of each plot pools months 24 to 28. The figure shows 95 percent confidence intervals based on standard errors that are clustered at the level of village terminals. See Section 5 for discussion.

Figure 3: Timeline of Adjustment: Village Out-Shipments



Notes: Figure shows point estimates from a regression of depicted outcomes on months since program entry and village and month fixed effects. Outcomes are the number of shipments (left) and the total weight of shipments in kilograms (right) per village terminal. The data are from the e-commerce firm’s internal database and contain the universe of village out-shipments from January 2016 to April 2017 in the five provinces of Anhui, Guangxi, Guizhou, Henan, and Yunnan (roughly 11,900 villages in total). The last point estimate of each plot pools months 24 to 28. The figure shows 95 percent confidence intervals based on standard errors that are clustered at the level of village terminals. See Section 5 for discussion.

Figure 4: Heterogeneity of Gains from E-Commerce



Notes: Figure shows predicted average gains (users and non-users) in terms of percentage point reductions in household retail cost of living as a function of household per capita income (top left), age of primary earner (top right), residential distance to terminal (bottom left), and distance to the nearest township center (bottom right). Predictions are based on equation (8) using treatment effects from the full regression specification shown in the bottom panel of Table 8. The figure depicts 95 percent confidence intervals that are based on clustering standard errors at the village level. See Section 6 for discussion.

8.2 Tables

Table 1: Survey Data Statistics

		Full Sample at Baseline	Treatment Villages at Baseline	Control Villages at Baseline	P-Value (Treat-Control=0)	Control Villages at Endline
<i>Panel A: Individual Level</i>						
Age	Median	44.000	44.000	43.000	0.208	46.000
	Mean	38.950	39.329	38.407		39.943
	Standard Deviation	23.580	23.658	23.460		23.759
	Number of Obs	8491	5001	3490		4194
Gender (Female=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.025	1.000
	Mean	0.534	0.526	0.546		0.537
	Standard Deviation	0.499	0.499	0.498		0.499
	Number of Obs	8484	5001	3483		4188
Employed (for age>15) (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.882	1.000
	Mean	0.767	0.766	0.769		0.762
	Standard Deviation	0.423	0.424	0.422		0.426
	Number of Obs	6070	3590	2480		3015
Peasant (for age>15) (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.971	1.000
	Mean	0.527	0.527	0.526		0.513
	Standard Deviation	0.499	0.499	0.499		0.500
	Number of Obs	6369	3760	2609		3144
No Schooling (for age>15) (No School=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.745	0.000
	Mean	0.270	0.273	0.266		0.319
	Standard Deviation	0.444	0.446	0.442		0.466
	Number of Obs	6368	3758	2610		3132
<i>Panel B: Household Level</i>						
Household Size	Median	3.000	3.000	3.000	0.075	3.000
	Mean	3.114	3.053	3.205		2.987
	Standard Deviation	1.422	1.420	1.421		1.397
	Number of Obs	2740	1647	1093		1405
Gender of Primary Earner (Female=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.457	0.000
	Mean	0.288	0.295	0.276		0.295
	Standard Deviation	0.453	0.456	0.447		0.456
	Number of Obs	2547	1530	1017		1348
Primary Earner Self- Employed (Yes=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.036	0.000
	Mean	0.073	0.087	0.053		0.072
	Standard Deviation	0.261	0.282	0.224		0.259
	Number of Obs	2549	1531	1018		1348
Primary Earner Is Peasant (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.620	1.000
	Mean	0.590	0.600	0.577		0.587
	Standard Deviation	0.492	0.490	0.494		0.493
	Number of Obs	2549	1531	1018		1348
Household Monthly Income Per Capita in RMB	Median	350.000	339.000	375.000	0.365	466.667
	Mean	876.412	841.198	929.473		1028.960
	Standard Deviation	1717.456	1687.169	1761.560		2005.311
	Number of Obs	2740	1647	1093		1405
Household Monthly Retail Expenditure Per Capita in RMB	Median	381.000	372.833	400.500	0.135	364.000
	Mean	732.017	663.034	835.966		686.616
	Standard Deviation	2304.540	1139.788	3368.220		1512.058
	Number of Obs	2735	1644	1091		1405

Notes: See Section 2 for discussion.

Table 2: Survey Data Statistics (Continued)

		Full Sample at Baseline	Treatment Villages at Baseline	Control Villages at Baseline	P-Value (Treat-Control=0)	Control Villages at Endline
<i>Panel B: Household Level (Continued)</i>						
Share of Retail Expenditure Outside of Village	Median	0.553	0.489	0.623	0.193	0.598
	Mean	0.500	0.470	0.545		0.531
	Standard Deviation	0.395	0.402	0.379		0.385
	Number of Obs	2720	1637	1083		1397
Distance in Meters to Planned Terminal Location	Median	231.556	232.891	231.454	0.789	203.629
	Mean	290.346	293.364	285.797		286.631
	Standard Deviation	243.450	247.778	236.820		267.061
	Number of Obs	2740	1647	1093		1405
Any Member of the Household Has Ever Used the Internet (Yes=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.249	0.000
	Mean	0.368	0.354	0.390		0.427
	Standard Deviation	0.482	0.478	0.488		0.495
	Number of Obs	2739	1646	1093		1402
Household Owns a Smartphone (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.153	1.000
	Mean	0.526	0.509	0.552		0.551
	Standard Deviation	0.499	0.500	0.498		0.498
	Number of Obs	2731	1642	1089		1400
Share of Household Monthly Expenditure on E-Commerce Deliveries	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.693	0.000
	Mean	0.007	0.006	0.007		0.008
	Standard Deviation	0.050	0.046	0.057		0.049
	Number of Obs	2720	1637	1083		1397
Share of E-Commerce Sales in Household Monthly Income	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.103	0.000
	Mean	0.003	0.001	0.006		0.003
	Standard Deviation	0.052	0.030	0.074		0.051
	Number of Obs	2055	1244	811		1161
<i>Panel C: Local Retail Survey</i>						
Number of Stores at Village Level	Median	3.000	3.000	2.000	0.33	2.000
	Mean	4.152	4.383	3.795		3.605
	Standard Deviation	2.936	2.912	2.975		2.991
	Number of Obs	99	60	39		38
Establishment Space in Square Meters	Median	50.000	50.000	40.000	0.35	50.000
	Mean	99.072	74.424	146.764		121.333
	Standard Deviation	320.375	89.595	532.729		375.349
	Number of Obs	361	238	123		126
Number of Establishment's New Products Added Over Last Month	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.57	0.000
	Mean	1.427	1.563	1.174		0.635
	Standard Deviation	7.442	8.881	3.416		2.261
	Number of Obs	330	215	115		126
Prices of All Retail Consumption (9 Product Groups) in RMB	Median	7.000	7.000	6.000	0.47	6.000
	Mean	71.029	76.737	61.426		71.234
	Standard Deviation	411.241	433.667	370.331		390.307
	Number of Obs	9382	5884	3498		3259
Prices of Business or Production Input in RMB	Median	10.000	10.000	8.800	0.76	9.000
	Mean	45.633	42.883	49.783		43.838
	Standard Deviation	195.092	206.229	177.464		97.924
	Number of Obs	444	267	177		111

Notes: See Section 2 for discussion.

Table 3: Firm's Transaction Data

	Number of Purchase Transactions	Number of Buyers	Number of Out-Shipments	Number of Terminals	Number of Counties	Number of Provinces	Number of Days	Number of Months	Sum of Payments (RMB)	Sum of Out-Shipments (Weight in kg)
Full Sample	27,270,532	3,785,019	500,743	11,941	175	5	547	18	4,480,424,896	1,169,673
3 Provinces	20,647,373	2,832,872	442,319	8,561	116	3	547	18	3,409,227,245	1,019,373
8 Counties	1,835,897	216,529	44,148	706	8	3	503	17	330,930,097	95,908
RCT Villages	130,769	15,099	3,158	40	8	3	482	16	17,618,900	7,817

Notes: The table provides information from the purchase and the sales transaction databases. The purchase database covers all village transactions in 5 provinces over the period November 2015 until April 2017. The sales transaction database covers all out-shipments from the same locations over the period January 2016 to April 2017. See Section 2 for discussion.

Table 4: Average Effects: Consumption

Dependent Variables		Intent to Treat	Treatment on Treated	Log Distance (IV using Treat)	Dependent Variables		Intent to Treat	Treatment on Treated	Log Distance (IV using Treat)
Monthly Total Retail Expenditure Per Capita	Treat or Log Dist	-21.93 (31.96)	-40.92 (60.19)	11.15 (16.29)	Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Tobacco and Alcohol (2)	Treat or Log Dist	0.000608 (0.000515)	0.00123 (0.00109)	-0.000352 (0.000306)
	R-Squared	0.038				R-Squared	0.001		
	First Stage F-Stat		43.92	42.45		First Stage F-Stat		33.02	27.08
	Number of Obs	3,434	3,434	3,434		Number of Obs	1,653	1,653	1,653
Household Has Ever Bought Something through Terminal (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0480*** (0.0169)	0.0886*** (0.0271)	-0.0241*** (0.00721)	Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Medicine and Health Products (3)	Treat or Log Dist	0.000693 (0.000689)	0.00126 (0.00124)	-0.000344 (0.000339)
	R-Squared	0.008				R-Squared	0.000		
	First Stage F-Stat		45.56	43.80		First Stage F-Stat		51.06	46.74
	Number of Obs	3,518	3,518	3,518		Number of Obs	2,416	2,416	2,416
Household Has Bought Something through Terminal in Past Month (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0263*** (0.00981)	0.0490*** (0.0171)	-0.0134*** (0.00458)	Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Clothing and Accessories (4)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0465*** (0.0140)	0.0734*** (0.0216)	-0.0205*** (0.00603)
	R-Squared	0.009				R-Squared	0.019		
	First Stage F-Stat		43.93	42.23		First Stage F-Stat		70.69	56.57
	Number of Obs	3,482	3,482	3,482		Number of Obs	1,269	1,269	1,269
Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Total Monthly Retail Expenditure	Treat or Log Dist	0.00666*** (0.00239)	0.0124*** (0.00434)	-0.00338*** (0.00117)	Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Other Household Products (5)	Treat or Log Dist	0.00430 (0.00395)	0.00804 (0.00713)	-0.00225 (0.00198)
	R-Squared	0.006				R-Squared	0.001		
	First Stage F-Stat		44.03	42.34		First Stage F-Stat		43.87	39.89
	Number of Obs	3,434	3,434	3,434		Number of Obs	2,336	2,336	2,336
Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Business Inputs	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00715 (0.00778)	-0.0154 (0.0191)	0.00433 (0.00545)	Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Heating, Fuel and Gas (6)	Treat or Log Dist	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	R-Squared	0.003				R-Squared	.	.	.
	First Stage F-Stat		16.46	14.96		First Stage F-Stat		.	.
	Number of Obs	1,207	1,207	1,207		Number of Obs	1,463	1,463	1,463
Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Non-Durables	Treat or Log Dist	0.00536*** (0.00195)	0.00999*** (0.00355)	-0.00272*** (0.000956)	Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Furniture and Appliances (7)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0546** (0.0217)	0.0908** (0.0368)	-0.0248** (0.00989)
	R-Squared	0.003				R-Squared	0.019		
	First Stage F-Stat		44.11	42.33		First Stage F-Stat		47.51	44.31
	Number of Obs	3,433	3,433	3,433		Number of Obs	380	380	380
Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Durables	Treat or Log Dist	0.0398** (0.0159)	0.0669** (0.0261)	-0.0188** (0.00736)	Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Electronics (8)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0697** (0.0345)	0.110** (0.0522)	-0.0322** (0.0152)
	R-Squared	0.011				R-Squared	0.024		
	First Stage F-Stat		52.64	41.27		First Stage F-Stat		43.20	26.28
	Number of Obs	768	768	768		Number of Obs	232	232	232
Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Food and Beverages (1)	Treat or Log Dist	0.00121 (0.000823)	0.00223 (0.00152)	-0.000606 (0.000414)	Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Monthly Transport Equipment (9)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0353* (0.0201)	0.0554* (0.0313)	-0.0162* (0.00935)
	R-Squared	0.001				R-Squared	0.014		
	First Stage F-Stat		45.63	43.70		First Stage F-Stat		43.07	31.48
	Number of Obs	3,359	3,359	3,359		Number of Obs	141	141	141

Notes: Table reports point estimates from specification (3). The first column reports IIT and the second column TOT. The third column replaces the binary TOT with log residential distances to the nearest e-commerce terminal (using village-level IIT as instrument as for second column). See Section 4 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of villages. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table 5: Average Effects: Incomes

Dependent Variables		Intent to Treat	Treatment on Treated	Log Distance (IV using Treat)	Dependent Variables		Intent to Treat	Treatment on Treated	Log Distance (IV using Treat)
Monthly Income Per Capita in RMB	Treat or Log Dist	-7.838 (70.78)	-14.48 (129.9)	3.974 (35.61)	Member of Household Has Ever Sold through E-Commerce (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00700 (0.00562)	-0.0129 (0.0104)	0.00353 (0.00282)
	R-Squared	0.038				R-Squared	0.347		
	First Stage F-Stat		45.33	42.83		First Stage F-Stat		45.30	42.71
	Number of Obs	3,437	3,437	3,437		Number of Obs	3,504	3,504	3,504
Monthly Income Per Capita Net of Costs in RMB	Treat or Log Dist	-20.09 (70.80)	-37.20 (129.9)	10.19 (35.51)	Member of Household Has Sold through E-Commerce In Past Month (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00132 (0.00237)	-0.00244 (0.00438)	0.000667 (0.00119)
	R-Squared	0.037				R-Squared	0.038		
	First Stage F-Stat		44.78	42.54		First Stage F-Stat		44.30	42.34
	Number of Obs	3,390	3,390	3,390		Number of Obs	3,498	3,498	3,498
Monthly Income Per Capita Net of Transfers in RMB	Treat or Log Dist	-12.55 (72.18)	-23.21 (132.4)	6.360 (36.25)	E-Commerce Sales in Past Month in RMB	Treat or Log Dist	-10.09 (12.89)	-18.75 (23.94)	5.109 (6.504)
	R-Squared	0.051				R-Squared	0.012		
	First Stage F-Stat		45.16	42.67		First Stage F-Stat		44.26	42.39
	Number of Obs	3,445	3,445	3,445		Number of Obs	3,498	3,498	3,498
Annual Income Per Capita in RMB	Treat or Log Dist	-45.95 (586.9)	-85.08 (1,080)	23.33 (296.3)	Share of E-Commerce Sales in Household Monthly Income	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00120 (0.00176)	-0.00224 (0.00330)	0.000614 (0.000901)
	R-Squared	0.046				R-Squared	0.032		
	First Stage F-Stat		44.77	42.23		First Stage F-Stat		41.62	38.41
	Number of Obs	3,388	3,388	3,388		Number of Obs	2,830	2,830	2,830
Monthly Agricultural Income Per Capita	Treat or Log Dist	-70.23 (140.3)	-130.3 (257.7)	35.61 (70.34)	Primary Earner Working As Peasant (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	-0.0229 (0.0319)	-0.0425 (0.0597)	0.0116 (0.0164)
	R-Squared	0.033				R-Squared	0.140		
	First Stage F-Stat		44.23	42.33		First Stage F-Stat		44.42	41.58
	Number of Obs	3,448	3,448	3,448		Number of Obs	3,327	3,327	3,327
Monthly Non-Agricultural Income Per Capita	Treat or Log Dist	-46.65 (137.3)	-86.06 (249.6)	23.55 (68.28)	Member of Household Started a Business Over Last 6 Months (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00802 (0.00631)	-0.0149 (0.0120)	0.00407 (0.00327)
	R-Squared	0.157				R-Squared	0.001		
	First Stage F-Stat		45.74	43.51		First Stage F-Stat		44.37	42.34
	Number of Obs	3,441	3,441	3,441		Number of Obs	3,468	3,468	3,468
Weekly Hours Worked by Primary Earner	Treat or Log Dist	1.008 (3.383)	1.879 (6.285)	-0.516 (1.723)	New Business Selling in Part Online (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	0.000212 (0.00159)	0.000394 (0.00294)	-0.000108 (0.000803)
	R-Squared	0.000				R-Squared	0.000		
	First Stage F-Stat		43.80	41.21		First Stage F-Stat		44.33	42.37
	Number of Obs	3,310	3,310	3,310		Number of Obs	3,468	3,468	3,468
Weekly Hours Worked by Secondary Earner	Treat or Log Dist	-0.0606 (3.886)	-0.110 (7.002)	0.0317 (2.020)					
	R-Squared	0.000							
	First Stage F-Stat		45.39	40.21					
	Number of Obs	1,866	1,866	1,866					

Notes: Table reports point estimates from specification (3). The first column reports ITT and the second column TOT. The third column replaces the binary TOT with log residential distances to the nearest e-commerce terminal (using village-level ITT as instrument as for second column). See Section 4 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of villages. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table 6: Average Effects: Local Retail Prices

Dependent Variables		Intent to Treat	Treatment on Treated	Dependent Variables		Intent to Treat	Treatment on Treated
Log Prices (All)	Treat	0.0189 (0.0142)	0.0352 (0.0263)	Log Prices of Food and Beverages (1)	Treat	0.0368** (0.0185)	0.0706* (0.0375)
	R-Squared	0.893	0.893		R-Squared	0.870	0.870
	First Stage F-Stat		41.66		First Stage F-Stat		39.37
	Number of Obs	6,877	6,877		Number of Obs	3,686	3,686
Product Replacement Dummy (Not Counting Store Closures) (Yes=1)	Treat	-0.00516 (0.00947)	-0.00983 (0.0181)	Log Prices of Tobacco and Alcohol (2)	Treat	0.0212 (0.0340)	0.0421 (0.0662)
	R-Squared	0.000	-0.002		R-Squared	0.809	0.810
	First Stage F-Stat		39.82		First Stage F-Stat		32.39
	Number of Obs	8,956	8,956		Number of Obs	1,071	1,071
Store Closure (at Product Level) (Yes=1)	Treat	0.00124 (0.0294)	0.00236 (0.0556)	Log Prices of Medicine and Health Products (3)	Treat	-0.0474 (0.0741)	-0.0756 (0.122)
	R-Squared	0.000	0.000		R-Squared	0.794	0.795
	First Stage F-Stat		39.82		First Stage F-Stat		19.18
	Number of Obs	8,956	8,956		Number of Obs	266	266
Number of New Products Per Store	Treat	2.194** (1.073)	4.020* (2.278)	Log Prices of Clothing and Accessories (4)	Treat	0.0809 (0.111)	0.115 (0.158)
	R-Squared	0.277	0.212		R-Squared	0.845	0.842
	First Stage F-Stat		19.69		First Stage F-Stat		42.80
	Number of Obs	312	312		Number of Obs	152	152
Store Owner Sources Products Online (Yes=1)	Treat	-0.00145 (0.0258)	-0.00261 (0.0461)	Log Prices of Other Household Products (5)	Treat	-0.0328 (0.0382)	-0.0619 (0.0744)
	R-Squared	0.000	-0.001		R-Squared	0.756	0.755
	First Stage F-Stat		23.76		First Stage F-Stat		28.85
	Number of Obs	341	341		Number of Obs	1,268	1,268
Log Prices of Business Inputs	Treat	0.00229 (0.129)	0.00337 (0.186)	Log Prices of Heating, Fuel and Gas (6)	Treat	-0.0115 (0.0955)	-0.0440 (0.332)
	R-Squared	0.811	0.811		R-Squared	0.007	-0.095
	First Stage F-Stat		24.86		First Stage F-Stat		0.795
	Number of Obs	237	237		Number of Obs	12	12
Log Prices of Non-Durables	Treat	0.0211 (0.0146)	0.0398 (0.0276)	Log Prices of Furniture and Appliances (7)	Treat	-0.0347 (0.0881)	-0.0617 (0.156)
	R-Squared	0.860	0.860		R-Squared	0.952	0.953
	First Stage F-Stat		40.36		First Stage F-Stat		6.757
	Number of Obs	6,455	6,455		Number of Obs	109	109
Log Prices of Durables	Treat	-0.0320 (0.0711)	-0.0522 (0.115)	Log Prices of Electronics (8)	Treat	-0.0892 (0.305)	-0.163 (0.570)
	R-Squared	0.951	0.952		R-Squared	0.884	0.890
	First Stage F-Stat		9.753		First Stage F-Stat		3.180
	Number of Obs	185	185		Number of Obs	23	23
				Log Prices of Transport Equipment (9)	Treat	0.0297 (0.0840)	0.0398 (0.110)
					R-Squared	0.946	0.946
					First Stage F-Stat		22.67
					Number of Obs	53	53

Notes: Table reports point estimates from specification (3). The first column reports ITT and the second column TOT (using village-level ITT as instrument). See Section 4 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of villages. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table 7: Role of Logistical and Transactional Barriers

Effects on Consumption				Effects on Incomes				Effects on Retail Prices					
Dept Variables	Intent to Treat	Treatment on the Treated	Log Distance (IV Using Treat)	Dept Variables	Intent to Treat	Treatment on the Treated	Log Distance (IV Using Treat)	Dept Variables	Intent to Treat	Treatment on the Treated			
Monthly Total Retail Expenditure Per Capita	Treat or Log Dist	-26.72 (36.25)	-49.03 (67.96)	13.55 (18.65)	Monthly Income Per Capita in RMB	Treat or Log Dist	-14.99 (77.55)	-27.14 (140.1)	7.579 (39.08)	Log Prices (All)	Treat	0.0114 (0.0144)	0.0215 (0.0273)
	Treat or Log Dist *	31.42 (69.33)	58.59 (140.5)	-15.88 (35.96)		Treat or Log Dist *	50.29 (171.2)	97.16 (339.1)	-25.08 (86.90)		Treat * Delivery	0.0417 (0.0377)	0.0739 (0.0572)
	First Stage F-Stat	2.388	2.466	2.466		First Stage F-Stat	2.694	2.737	2.737		First Stage F-Stat	17.26	17.26
	Number of Obs	3,434	3,434	3,434		Number of Obs	3,437	3,437	3,437		Number of Obs	6,877	6,877
Household Has Ever Bought Something through Terminal (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0573*** (0.0190)	0.105*** (0.0288)	-0.0289*** (0.00776)	Monthly Income Per Capita Net of Costs in RMB	Treat or Log Dist	-20.24 (77.47)	-37.09 (140.5)	10.33 (39.07)	Product Replacement Dummy (Not Counting Store Closures) (Yes=1)	Treat	-0.00680 (0.0108)	-0.0129 (0.0206)
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0603** (0.0251)	-0.110** (0.0438)	0.0304*** (0.0113)		Treat or Log Dist *	6.011 (167.6)	9.303 (317.4)	-3.362 (81.28)		Treat * Delivery	0.00907 (0.0213)	0.0173 (0.0415)
	First Stage F-Stat	2.683	2.754	2.754		First Stage F-Stat	2.810	2.852	2.852		First Stage F-Stat	2.648	2.648
	Number of Obs	3,518	3,518	3,518		Number of Obs	3,390	3,390	3,390		Number of Obs	8,956	8,956
Household Has Bought Something through Terminal in Last Month (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0329*** (0.0111)	0.0604*** (0.0189)	-0.0167*** (0.00518)	Monthly Income Per Capita Net of Transfers in RMB	Treat or Log Dist	-13.87 (77.86)	-25.27 (140.7)	7.041 (39.18)	Store Closure (at Product Level) (Yes=1)	Treat	0.00111 (0.0355)	0.00209 (0.0668)
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0422*** (0.0155)	-0.0790** (0.0329)	0.0214** (0.00855)		Treat or Log Dist *	12.70 (188.3)	23.04 (367.2)	-6.473 (93.22)		Treat * Delivery	0.000779 (0.0423)	0.00162 (0.0805)
	First Stage F-Stat	2.513	2.577	2.577		First Stage F-Stat	2.635	2.696	2.696		First Stage F-Stat	2.648	2.648
	Number of Obs	3,482	3,482	3,482		Number of Obs	3,445	3,445	3,445		Number of Obs	8,956	8,956
Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Total Monthly Retail Expenditure	Treat or Log Dist	0.00796*** (0.00274)	0.0146*** (0.00488)	-0.00405*** (0.00134)	Annual Income Per Capita in RMB	Treat or Log Dist	70.33 (645.0)	124.2 (1,168)	-34.68 (325.6)	Number of New Products Per Store	Treat	1.403* (0.828)	2.352* (1.354)
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.00833*** (0.00294)	-0.0153*** (0.00542)	0.00424*** (0.00147)		Treat or Log Dist *	-734.1 (1,484)	-1,462 (2,755)	368.3 (692.5)		Treat * Delivery	3.403 (3.876)	7.993 (12.77)
	First Stage F-Stat	2.413	2.483	2.483		First Stage F-Stat	2.501	2.603	2.603		First Stage F-Stat	1.247	1.247
	Number of Obs	3,434	3,434	3,434		Number of Obs	3,388	3,388	3,388		Number of Obs	312	312
Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Total Monthly Business Inputs	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00830 (0.00827)	-0.0190 (0.0222)	0.00548 (0.00656)	Member of Household Has Ever Sold through E-Commerce (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00857 (0.00608)	-0.0156 (0.0111)	0.00433 (0.00309)	Store Owner Sources Products Online (Yes=1)	Treat	0.0250** (0.0122)	0.0416** (0.0201)
	Treat or Log Dist *	0.0158 (0.0105)	0.0296 (0.0241)	-0.00790 (0.00685)		Treat or Log Dist *	0.0102 (0.0141)	0.0188 (0.0280)	-0.00513 (0.00715)		Treat * Delivery	-0.0911 (0.0814)	-0.185 (0.166)
	First Stage F-Stat	6.346	5.536	5.536		First Stage F-Stat	2.561	2.598	2.598		First Stage F-Stat	1.320	1.320
	Number of Obs	1,207	1,207	1,207		Number of Obs	3,504	3,504	3,504		Number of Obs	341	341
Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Total Monthly Non-Durables	Treat or Log Dist	0.00637*** (0.00225)	0.0117*** (0.00400)	-0.00324*** (0.00110)	Share of E-Commerce Sales in Household Monthly Income	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00172 (0.00210)	-0.00316 (0.00387)	0.000882 (0.00108)	Log Price of Business Inputs	Treat	-0.0858 (0.134)	-0.108 (0.182)
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.00646** (0.00246)	-0.0119*** (0.00452)	0.00329*** (0.00122)		Treat or Log Dist *	0.00282 (0.00233)	0.00540 (0.00441)	-0.00145 (0.00121)		Treat * Delivery	0.289 (0.273)	0.473 (0.447)
	First Stage F-Stat	2.413	2.483	2.483		First Stage F-Stat	2.402	2.342	2.342		First Stage F-Stat	1.972	1.972
	Number of Obs	3,433	3,433	3,433		Number of Obs	2,830	2,830	2,830		Number of Obs	237	237
Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Total Monthly Durables	Treat or Log Dist	0.0486*** (0.0177)	0.0807*** (0.0284)	-0.0233*** (0.00822)	Primary Earner Working as Peasant (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	-0.0192 (0.0341)	-0.0352 (0.0624)	0.00979 (0.0174)	Log Price of Non-Durables	Treat	0.0192 (0.0157)	0.0366 (0.0308)
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0694*** (0.0258)	-0.118*** (0.0442)	0.0324*** (0.0121)		Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0284 (0.0813)	-0.0609 (0.185)	0.0143 (0.0464)		Treat * Delivery	0.0137 (0.0362)	0.0214 (0.0585)
	First Stage F-Stat	3.150	17.74	17.74		First Stage F-Stat	2.503	2.533	2.533		First Stage F-Stat	16.09	16.09
	Number of Obs	768	768	768		Number of Obs	3,327	3,327	3,327		Number of Obs	6,455	6,455
Member of Household Has Started a Business Over Last 6 Months (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00328 (0.00635)	-0.00601 (0.0116)	0.00167 (0.00322)	Member of Household Has Started a Business Over Last 6 Months (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00328 (0.00635)	-0.00601 (0.0116)	0.00167 (0.00322)	Log Prices of Durables	Treat	-0.118 (0.0880)	-0.144 (0.104)
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0297 (0.0183)	-0.0604 (0.0536)	0.0149 (0.0130)		Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0297 (0.0183)	-0.0604 (0.0536)	0.0149 (0.0130)		Treat * Delivery	0.164 (0.134)	0.288 (0.366)
	First Stage F-Stat	2.517	2.566	2.566		First Stage F-Stat	2.517	2.566	2.566		First Stage F-Stat	0.488	0.488
	Number of Obs	3,468	3,468	3,468		Number of Obs	3,468	3,468	3,468		Number of Obs	185	185

Notes: Table reports point estimates from specification (4) for outcomes related to household consumption (left panel), household incomes (middle panel) and local retail prices (right panel). The first column reports ITT and the second column TOT. The third column replaces the binary TOT with log residential distances to the nearest e-commerce terminal (using village-level ITT as instrument as for second column). See Section 4 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of villages. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table 8: Heterogeneity Across Households and Villages

Type of Heterogeneity	Intent to Treat	Treatment on the Treated	Log Dist (IV)	Intent to Treat	Treatment on the Treated	Log Distance (IV)	Intent to Treat	Treatment on the Treated	
Dependent Variables:	Household Has Ever Bought Something through E-Commerce Terminal (Yes=1)			Monthly Income Per Capita (RMB)			Log Local Retail Prices		
Average Effect	Treat or Log Dist	0.0480*** (0.0169)	0.0886*** (0.0271)	-0.0253*** (0.00801)	-7.838 (70.78)	-14.48 (129.9)	4.190 (37.55)	0.0189 (0.0142)	0.0352 (0.0263)
	R-Squared	0.008			0.038			0.893	0.893
	First Stage F-Stat		45.56	39.22		45.33	37.69		41.66
	Number of Obs	3,518	3,518	3,518	3,437	3,437	3,437	6,877	6,877
Village Was Previously Connected to Parcel Delivery (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0573*** (0.0190)	0.105*** (0.0288)	-0.0323*** (0.00922)	-14.99 (77.55)	-27.14 (140.1)	8.513 (43.82)	0.0114 (0.0144)	0.0215 (0.0273)
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0603** (0.0251)	-0.110** (0.0438)	0.0335*** (0.0113)	50.29 (171.2)	97.16 (339.1)	-22.44 (75.42)	0.0417 (0.0377)	0.0739 (0.0572)
	R-Squared	0.016			0.040			0.894	
	First Stage F-Stat		2.683	14.88		2.694	14.42		17.26
Number of Obs	3,518	3,518	3,518	3,437	3,437	3,437	6,877	6,877	
Village Distance to Township Center	Treat or Log Dist	-0.0156 (0.0288)	-0.00882 (0.0429)	-0.00268 (0.0126)	-23.53 (181.7)	-43.67 (289.2)	14.71 (84.33)	-0.0219 (0.0375)	-0.0322 (0.0632)
	Treat or Log Dist *	0.0388** (0.0162)	0.0612*** (0.0227)	-0.0138** (0.00570)	0.389 (97.50)	0.371 (152.0)	-1.272 (40.55)	0.0216 (0.0198)	0.0358 (0.0336)
	R-Squared	0.014			0.040			0.893	
	First Stage F-Stat		15.63	11.79		15.66	10.98		16.96
Number of Obs	3,518	3,518	3,518	3,437	3,437	3,437	6,877	6,877	
Primary Earner's Age	Treat or Log Dist	0.140*** (0.0506)	0.223*** (0.0778)	-0.0669*** (0.0230)	-136.4 (172.5)	-237.8 (286.5)	70.34 (84.03)		
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.00172** (0.000774)	-0.00251* (0.00129)	0.000778** (0.000370)	2.561 (2.734)	4.551 (4.825)	-1.341 (1.404)		
	R-Squared	0.023			0.049				
	First Stage F-Stat		16.07	15.63		16.34	15.65		
Number of Obs	3,304	3,304	3,304	3,292	3,292	3,292			
Primary Earner's Education	Treat or Log Dist	0.0407* (0.0206)	0.0977** (0.0412)	-0.0266** (0.0115)	52.80 (83.52)	119.7 (195.0)	-33.46 (53.92)		
	Treat or Log Dist *	0.00161 (0.00267)	-0.000469 (0.00506)	-5.85e-05 (0.00141)	-8.666 (12.14)	-17.79 (24.03)	5.057 (6.774)		
	R-Squared	0.014			0.063				
	First Stage F-Stat		8.462	10.62		8.662	10.78		
Number of Obs	3,296	3,296	3,296	3,284	3,284	3,284			
Household Income Per Capita	Treat or Log Dist	0.00806 (0.0213)	0.0209 (0.0375)	-0.00505 (0.00998)	35.86 (96.83)	59.51 (165.5)	-16.75 (45.62)		
	Treat or Log Dist *	0.00712** (0.00326)	0.0121** (0.00541)	-0.00370** (0.00162)	-9.204 (21.22)	-15.79 (36.31)	4.564 (10.39)		
	R-Squared	0.011			0.355				
	First Stage F-Stat		22.78	17.96		22.57	17.62		
Number of Obs	3,416	3,416	3,416	3,437	3,437	3,437			
Household Distance to Planned Terminal	Treat or Log Dist	0.144** (0.0591)	0.231** (0.109)	-0.0636** (0.0315)	185.9 (350.6)	400.1 (697.5)	-108.9 (188.3)		
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0181* (0.00981)	-0.0274 (0.0193)	0.00739 (0.00587)	-36.54 (61.53)	-79.67 (128.5)	21.85 (34.90)		
	R-Squared	0.012			0.039				
	First Stage F-Stat		9.905	11.64		9.325	14.15		
Number of Obs	3,518	3,518	3,518	3,437	3,437	3,437			
Combined	Treat or Log Dist	0.154* (0.0805)	0.289** (0.140)	-0.0838* (0.0438)	108.5 (333.8)	213.4 (619.5)	-57.26 (184.7)	-0.0398 (0.0362)	-0.0435 (0.0531)
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0400 (0.0285)	-0.106 (0.0687)	0.0342** (0.0149)	98.21 (137.1)	229.2 (336.0)	-53.30 (69.69)	0.0413 (0.0361)	0.0517 (0.0622)
	Delivery								
	Treat or Log Dist *	0.0458*** (0.0174)	0.0813*** (0.0298)	-0.0178*** (0.00688)	-37.85 (62.90)	-81.46 (134.2)	18.11 (31.65)	0.0284 (0.0188)	0.0380 (0.0312)
	Log Dist Township								
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.00181** (0.000775)	-0.00314** (0.00129)	0.000964** (0.000390)	0.929 (2.567)	1.742 (4.664)	-0.511 (1.378)		
	Age								
	Treat or Log Dist *	0.000370 (0.00268)	-0.00380 (0.00499)	0.000671 (0.00144)	-2.778 (10.22)	-1.854 (21.43)	1.218 (6.086)		
	Years of Education								
	Treat or Log Dist *	0.00908*** (0.00339)	0.0162*** (0.00555)	-0.00544*** (0.00174)	-12.43 (22.39)	-21.38 (38.60)	6.717 (11.50)		
	Log Income PC								
	Treat or Log Dist *	-0.0249** (0.0107)	-0.0417* (0.0218)	0.0109 (0.00671)	-8.134 (45.46)	-20.40 (96.39)	5.556 (26.75)		
	Log Dist Planned								
R-Squared	0.051			0.353			0.894		
First Stage F-Stat		0.474	2.991		0.420	2.938		1.579	
Number of Obs	3,261	3,261	3,261	3,282	3,282	3,282	6,877	6,877	

Notes: Table reports point estimates from specification (4) for outcomes related to household consumption (left panel), household incomes (middle panel) and local retail prices (right panel). The first column reports ITT and the second column TOT. The third column replaces the binary TOT with log residential distances to the nearest e-commerce terminal (using village-level ITT as instrument as for second column). See Section 4 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of villages. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table 9: How Does E-Commerce Compare?

Could You Have Purchased This Product in Your Village? (Yes=1)	Sample Fraction	0.380	Household Living in Village Without Any Durables on Sale (Yes=1)	Sample Fraction	0.547
	Number Obs	255		Number Obs	3,508
Log Price Difference between Terminal and Village Retail	Sample Mean	-0.166	Travel Cost to Main Shopping Destination Outside Village (RMB)	Sample Mean	11.85
	Sample Median	-0.154		Sample Median	4
	Number Obs	95		Number Obs	2,766
Could You Have Purchased This Product in the Nearby Town? (Yes=1)	Sample Fraction	0.836	Travel Time to Main Shopping Destination Outside Village and Back (Minutes)	Sample Mean	58.14
	Number Obs	238		Sample Median	40
				Number Obs	2,366
Log Price Difference between Terminal and Nearby Town Retail	Sample Mean	-0.227	Travel Distance to Main Shopping Destination Outside Village and Back (Km)	Sample Mean	15.38
	Sample Median	-0.182		Sample Median	9.045
	Number Obs	197		Number Obs	2,773

Notes: Table reports survey-based statistics comparing the e-commerce terminal to pre-existing shopping options. Observations in the left panel are transactions at e-commerce terminals, and observations in the right panel are at the household level. See Section 4 for discussion.

Table 10: Role of GE Spillovers

Dependent Variables		Treatment on Treated without Spillovers	ToT with Spillovers: Number of Terminals within 3 km Outside of Village	ToT with Spillovers: Number of Terminals within 10 km Outside of Village
Monthly Income Per Capita (RMB)	Treat Dummy	-14.48 (129.9)	-3.924 (138.8)	-32.97 (122.3)
	Exposure to Terminals Outside the Village		-143.9 (184.5)	-8.939 (26.74)
	Exposure to Other Villages		-36.15** (15.91)	-12.96*** (3.917)
	First Stage F-Stat	45.33	47.82	44.55
	Number of Obs	3,437	3,437	3,437
	Any Member of Household Has Ever Sold through E-Commerce (Yes=1)	Treat Dummy	-0.0129 (0.0104)	-0.0135 (0.0101)
Exposure to Terminals Outside the Village			-0.00142 (0.0102)	-0.00233 (0.00202)
Exposure to Other Villages			-0.00335*** (0.00102)	-0.000285 (0.000363)
First Stage F-Stat		45.30	47.63	44.61
Number of Obs		3,504	3,504	3,504
Household Has Ever Bought Something through E-Commerce Terminal (Yes=1)		Treat Dummy	0.0886*** (0.0271)	0.0786*** (0.0266)
	Exposure to Terminals Outside the Village		0.0655** (0.0311)	-0.00611 (0.00568)
	Exposure to Other Villages		-0.00245 (0.00538)	0.00252** (0.00111)
	First Stage F-Stat	45.56	48.11	44.91
	Number of Obs	3,518	3,518	3,518
	Share of E-Commerce Terminal in Total Retail Expenditure	Treat Dummy	0.0124*** (0.00434)	0.0101** (0.00398)
Exposure to Terminals Outside the Village			0.0159* (0.00834)	-0.00128 (0.000923)
Exposure to Other Villages			-0.000594 (0.000523)	0.000506** (0.000228)
First Stage F-Stat		44.03	46.57	43.50
Number of Obs		3,434	3,434	3,434
Log Local Retail Prices (All Prices)		Treat Dummy	0.0352 (0.0263)	0.0338 (0.0258)
	Exposure to Terminals Outside the Village		0.00353 (0.0314)	0.00382 (0.00562)
	Exposure to Other Villages		-0.00318 (0.00314)	-0.00135 (0.000950)
	First Stage F-Stat	41.66	43.89	43.95
	Number of Obs	6,877	6,877	6,877

Notes: Table reports point estimates from specification (5). The first column reports the baseline TOT. The second column adds exposure to other intent-to-treat villages within a 3 km radius, controlling for the total number of eligible villages within this radius. The third column adds exposure to other intent-to-treat villages within a 10 km radius, controlling for the total number of eligible villages within this radius. See Section 4 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of villages. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table 11: Average Effects On Household Economic Welfare

	Un-Weighted (Effects in Sample)			Weighted (Effects in Village Population)		
	Durables Consumption	Non-Durables Consumption	Total Retail Consumption	Durables Consumption	Non-Durables Consumption	Total Retail Consumption
Reduction in Retail Cost of Living for All Households	3.298% (0.027)	0.478% (0.004)	0.812% (0.005)	2.908% (0.031)	0.419% (0.003)	0.714% (0.005)
Reduction in Retail Cost of Living Among Users	19.331% (0.215)	3.722% (0.029)	5.464% (0.035)	16.599% (0.215)	3.267% (0.024)	4.764% (0.032)

Notes: Table reports average household gains in terms of percentage point reductions in household retail cost of living for different consumption categories and groups of households. Estimates are based on equation (8) using treatment effects on household substitution into e-commerce following average effects reported in Tables 4 and 10. The left panel reports unweighted results, and the right panel adjusts the weight of each household to account for oversampling in the inner zone. Standard errors are bootstrapped across 1000 iterations with random re-sampling. See Section 6 for discussion.

Appendix - For Online Publication

A Additional Figures and Tables

Table A.1: Extended Descriptive Statistics: Individual Level

		Full Sample at Baseline	Treatment Villages at Baseline	Control Villages at Baseline	P-Value (Treat-Control=0)	Control Villages at Endline
Age	Median	44.000	44.000	43.000	0.208	46.000
	Mean	38.950	39.329	38.407		39.943
	Standard Deviation	23.580	23.658	23.460		23.759
	Number of Obs	8491	5001	3490		4194
Gender (Female=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.025	1.000
	Mean	0.534	0.526	0.546		0.537
	Standard Deviation	0.499	0.499	0.498		0.499
	Number of Obs	8484	5001	3483		4188
Employed (for age>15) (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.882	1.000
	Mean	0.767	0.766	0.769		0.762
	Standard Deviation	0.423	0.424	0.422		0.426
	Number of Obs	6070	3590	2480		3015
Peasant (for age>15) (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.971	1.000
	Mean	0.527	0.527	0.526		0.513
	Standard Deviation	0.499	0.499	0.499		0.500
	Number of Obs	6369	3760	2609		3144
No Schooling (for age>15) (No School=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.745	0.000
	Mean	0.270	0.273	0.266		0.319
	Standard Deviation	0.444	0.446	0.442		0.466
	Number of Obs	6368	3758	2610		3132
Completed Junior High School (for age>15) (Yes=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.419	0.000
	Mean	0.437	0.429	0.449		0.422
	Standard Deviation	0.496	0.495	0.498		0.494
	Number of Obs	6368	3758	2610		3132
Completed Senior High School (for age>18) (Yes=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.969	0.000
	Mean	0.104	0.104	0.104		0.097
	Standard Deviation	0.305	0.305	0.305		0.296
	Number of Obs	6286	3719	2567		3096

Notes: See Section 2 for discussion.

Table A.2: Extended Descriptive Statistics: Household Level

		Full Sample at Baseline	Treatment Villages at Baseline	Control Villages at Baseline	P-Value (Treat-Control=0)	Control Villages at Endline
Age of Primary Earner	Median	50.000	50.000	50.000	0.634	52.000
	Mean	49.824	49.953	49.631		51.395
	Standard Deviation	12.673	12.710	12.621		13.547
	Number of Obs	2548	1530	1018		1348
Gender of Primary Earner (Female=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.457	0.000
	Mean	0.288	0.295	0.276		0.295
	Standard Deviation	0.453	0.456	0.447		0.456
	Number of Obs	2547	1530	1017		1348
Primary Earner Went to School (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.874	1.000
	Mean	0.815	0.814	0.817		0.750
	Standard Deviation	0.388	0.389	0.386		0.433
	Number of Obs	2550	1531	1019		1342
Primary Earner Is Peasant (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.620	1.000
	Mean	0.590	0.600	0.577		0.587
	Standard Deviation	0.492	0.490	0.494		0.493
	Number of Obs	2549	1531	1018		1348
Primary Earner Self-Employed (Yes=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.036	0.000
	Mean	0.073	0.087	0.053		0.072
	Standard Deviation	0.261	0.282	0.224		0.259
	Number of Obs	2549	1531	1018		1348
Household Size	Median	3.000	3.000	3.000	0.075	3.000
	Mean	3.114	3.053	3.205		2.987
	Standard Deviation	1.422	1.420	1.421		1.397
	Number of Obs	2740	1647	1093		1405
Household Monthly Income Per Capita in RMB	Median	350.000	339.000	375.000	0.365	466.667
	Mean	876.412	841.198	929.473		1028.960
	Standard Deviation	1717.456	1687.169	1761.560		2005.311
	Number of Obs	2740	1647	1093		1405
Household Monthly Retail Expenditure Per Capita in RMB	Median	381.000	372.833	400.500	0.135	364.000
	Mean	732.017	663.034	835.966		686.616
	Standard Deviation	2304.540	1139.788	3368.220		1512.058
	Number of Obs	2735	1644	1091		1405
Household Monthly Expenditure on Business Inputs Per Capita in RMB	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.981	0.000
	Mean	123.417	123.007	124.033		128.464
	Standard Deviation	1033.757	1076.656	966.070		1069.516
	Number of Obs	2736	1644	1092		1405
Any Member of the Household Has Ever Used the Internet (Yes=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.249	0.000
	Mean	0.368	0.354	0.390		0.427
	Standard Deviation	0.482	0.478	0.488		0.495
	Number of Obs	2739	1646	1093		1402
Household Owns a Smartphone (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.153	1.000
	Mean	0.526	0.509	0.552		0.551
	Standard Deviation	0.499	0.500	0.498		0.498
	Number of Obs	2731	1642	1089		1400

Notes: See Section 2 for discussion.

Table A.3: Extended Descriptive Statistics: Household Level – Continued

		Full Sample at Baseline	Treatment Villages at Baseline	Control Villages at Baseline	P-Value (Treat-Control=0)	Control Villages at Endline
Share of Household Monthly Expenditure on E-Commerce Deliveries	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.693	0.000
	Mean	0.007	0.006	0.007		0.008
	Standard Deviation	0.050	0.046	0.057		0.049
	Number of Obs	2720	1637	1083		1397
Share of E-Commerce Sales in Household Monthly Income	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.103	0.000
	Mean	0.003	0.001	0.006		0.003
	Standard Deviation	0.052	0.030	0.074		0.051
	Number of Obs	2055	1244	811		1161
Distance in Meters to Planned Terminal Location	Median	231.556	232.891	231.454	0.789	203.629
	Mean	290.346	293.364	285.797		286.631
	Standard Deviation	243.450	247.778	236.820		267.061
	Number of Obs	2740	1647	1093		1405
Share of Retail Expenditure Outside of Village	Median	0.553	0.489	0.623	0.193	0.598
	Mean	0.500	0.470	0.545		0.531
	Standard Deviation	0.395	0.402	0.379		0.385
	Number of Obs	2720	1637	1083		1397
Share of Business Input Expenditure Outside of Village	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.916	1.000
	Mean	0.613	0.610	0.618		0.633
	Standard Deviation	0.465	0.470	0.457		0.463
	Number of Obs	926	558	368		544
Travel Time One-Way to Main Shopping Destination Outside Village (minutes)	Median	20.000	20.000	20.000	0.962	20.000
	Mean	29.892	29.941	29.826		28.862
	Standard Deviation	27.825	27.380	28.429		26.187
	Number of Obs	2234	1284	950		1188
Travel Cost One-Way to Main Shopping Destination Outside Village (RMB)	Median	2.000	2.000	1.500	0.715	1.000
	Mean	3.739	3.847	3.591		4.236
	Standard Deviation	10.092	11.774	7.196		16.780
	Number of Obs	2216	1278	938		1185
Household Owns a PC or Laptop (Yes=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.631	0.000
	Mean	0.283	0.276	0.295		0.284
	Standard Deviation	0.451	0.447	0.456		0.451
	Number of Obs	2731	1642	1089		1400
Household Owns a Car (Yes=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.851	0.000
	Mean	0.108	0.107	0.110		0.131
	Standard Deviation	0.311	0.309	0.313		0.337
	Number of Obs	2731	1642	1089		1400
Household Owns a Motorcycle (Yes=1)	Median	0.000	0.000	1.000	0.031	0.000
	Mean	0.486	0.456	0.532		0.467
	Standard Deviation	0.500	0.498	0.499		0.499
	Number of Obs	2731	1642	1089		1400
Household Owns a TV (Yes=1)	Median	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.953	1.000
	Mean	0.977	0.977	0.977		0.977
	Standard Deviation	0.149	0.148	0.150		0.150
	Number of Obs	2731	1642	1089		1400

Notes: See Section 2 for discussion.

Table A.4: Extended Descriptive Statistics: Local Retail Prices

		Full Sample at Baseline	Treatment Villages at Baseline	Control Villages at Baseline	P-Value (Treat-Control=0)	Control Villages at Endline
Number of Stores at Village Level	Median	3.00	3.00	2.00	0.33	2.00
	Mean	4.15	4.38	3.79		3.61
	Standard Deviation	2.94	2.91	2.98		2.99
	Number of Obs	99	60	39		38
Establishment Space in Square Meters	Median	50.00	50.00	40.00	0.35	50.00
	Mean	99.07	74.42	146.76		121.33
	Standard Deviation	320.38	89.60	532.73		375.35
	Number of Obs	361	238	123		126
Number of Establishment's New Products Added Over Last Month	Median	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.57	0.00
	Mean	1.43	1.56	1.17		0.63
	Standard Deviation	7.44	8.88	3.42		2.26
	Number of Obs	330	215	115		126
Prices of All Retail Consumption (9 Product Groups) in RMB	Median	7.00	7.00	6.00	0.47	6.00
	Mean	71.03	76.74	61.43		71.23
	Standard Deviation	411.24	433.67	370.33		390.31
	Number of Obs	9382	5884	3498		3259
Price Was Not Displayed on Label (Needed to Ask=1)	Median	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.97	1.00
	Mean	0.67	0.66	0.67		0.73
	Standard Deviation	0.47	0.47	0.47		0.44
	Number of Obs	8977	5597	3380		3370
Prices of Business or Production Input in RMB	Median	10.00	10.00	8.80	0.76	9.00
	Mean	45.63	42.88	49.78		43.84
	Standard Deviation	195.09	206.23	177.46		97.92
	Number of Obs	444	267	177		111
(1) Prices of Food and Beverages in RMB	Median	4.38	4.60	4.00	0.73	4.00
	Mean	11.58	11.81	11.21		10.05
	Standard Deviation	24.35	23.31	25.99		17.75
	Number of Obs	4853	3021	1832		1834
(2) Prices of Tobacco and Alcohol in RMB	Median	12.00	13.00	12.00	0.46	13.00
	Mean	28.81	30.35	26.36		29.32
	Standard Deviation	53.97	59.45	43.77		55.16
	Number of Obs	1331	818	513		531
(3) Prices of Medicine and Health Products in RMB	Median	10.00	10.00	9.98	0.66	8.40
	Mean	26.13	24.40	29.31		18.50
	Standard Deviation	43.35	38.46	51.11		33.77
	Number of Obs	399	258	141		90
(4) Prices of Clothing and Accessories in RMB	Median	15.00	12.00	20.00	0.90	22.00
	Mean	46.31	45.69	47.79		57.00
	Standard Deviation	74.71	71.49	82.13		85.66
	Number of Obs	401	282	119		65
(5) Prices of Other Everyday Products in RMB	Median	10.00	10.00	9.00	0.93	9.00
	Mean	14.68	14.53	14.93		13.10
	Standard Deviation	31.03	32.69	28.06		18.17
	Number of Obs	1462	916	546		626
(6) Prices of Fuel and Gas in RMB	Median	5.00	5.00	5.00	0.26	5.83
	Mean	11.65	15.36	8.08		5.82
	Standard Deviation	21.46	28.88	9.59		0.23
	Number of Obs	53	26	27		4
(7) Prices of Furniture and Appliances in RMB	Median	110.00	85.00	187.00	0.95	398.00
	Mean	1009.49	1001.66	1026.34		1167.30
	Standard Deviation	1504.81	1583.03	1333.52		1350.70
	Number of Obs	183	125	58		43
(8) Prices of Electronics in RMB	Median	449.00	609.50	17.50	0.59	1799.00
	Mean	917.05	976.41	782.14		1782.71
	Standard Deviation	1224.37	1242.82	1184.20		871.58
	Number of Obs	144	100	44		45
(9) Prices of Transport Equipment in RMB	Median	1440.00	1980.00	30.00	0.71	2800.00
	Mean	1700.66	1794.74	1534.21		2578.24
	Standard Deviation	1822.07	1770.33	1922.34		1697.82
	Number of Obs	108	69	39		21

Notes: See Section 2 for discussion.

Table A.5: Test for Effects on Attrition and Migration

Dependent Variables		Intent to Treat	Treatment on Treated	Log Distance (IV using Treat)
Attrition (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	0.0138 (0.0239)	0.0258 (0.0445)	-0.00740 (0.0127)
	R-Squared	0.000		
	Number of Obs	2,629	2,629	2,629
	First Stage F-Stat		44.24	35.90
Number of Household Members Who Moved Back to the Village	Treat or Log Dist	0.0255 (0.0400)	0.0472 (0.0734)	-0.0129 (0.0199)
	R-Squared	0.001		
	Number of Obs	3,526	3,526	3,526
	First Stage F-Stat		45.27	42.71
Number of Household Members Who Moved Away from the Village	Treat or Log Dist	-0.00345 (0.0184)	-0.00637 (0.0338)	0.00174 (0.00922)
	R-Squared	0.012		
	Number of Obs	3,523	3,523	3,523
	First Stage F-Stat		45.44	43.84
Would You Be Willing to Migrate to a City If a Good Job Opportunity Presented Itself? (Yes=1)	Treat or Log Dist	-0.0249 (0.0191)	-0.0458 (0.0348)	0.0125 (0.00953)
	R-Squared	0.025		
	Number of Obs	3,527	3,527	3,527
	First Stage F-Stat		45.76	44.15

Notes: Table reports point estimates from specification (3). The first column reports ITT and the second column TOT. The third column replaces the binary TOT with log residential distances to the nearest e-commerce terminal (using village-level ITT as instrument as for second column). See Sections 2 and 4 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of villages. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table A.6: Role of Program Implementation

Type of Heterogeneity		Intent to Treat	Treatment on the Treated	Log Distance (IV Using Treat)
Dependent Variable: Household Has Ever Bought Something through E-Commerce Terminal (Yes=1)				
Average Effects	Treat or Log Dist	0.0480*** (0.0169)	0.0886*** (0.0271)	-0.0241*** (0.00721)
	R-Squared	0.008		
	First Stage F-Stat		45.56	43.80
	Number of Obs	3,518	3,518	3,518
Terminal Manager Test Score	Treat or Log Dist	0.0594 (0.147)	0.104 (0.242)	-0.0297 (0.0679)
	Treat or Log Dist * Score	-0.000214 (0.00164)	-0.000384 (0.00270)	0.000114 (0.000755)
	R-Squared	0.006		
	First Stage F-Stat		8.786	8.133
Terminal Manager Test Score Above the Median	Treat or Log Dist	0.0314 (0.0295)	0.0616 (0.0501)	-0.0172 (0.0136)
	Treat or Log Dist * Above Median	0.0191 (0.0347)	0.0182 (0.0583)	-0.00504 (0.0158)
	R-Squared	0.006		
	First Stage F-Stat		8.654	7.210
Terminal Installation Delayed	Treat or Log Dist	0.0392 (0.0247)	0.0656* (0.0357)	-0.0180* (0.00941)
	Treat or Log Dist * Delay Dummy	0.0167 (0.0335)	0.0486 (0.0554)	-0.0131 (0.0149)
	R-Squared	0.009		
	First Stage F-Stat		10.93	11.46
	Number of Obs	3,518	3,518	3,518

Notes: Table reports point estimates from specifications (3) and (4). The first column reports ITT and the second column TOT. The third column replaces the binary TOT with log residential distances to the nearest e-commerce terminal (using village-level ITT as instrument as for second column). See Section 4 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of villages. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table A.7: Fraction of Market Access to Other Rural Markets in County

Measure of Market Size:	Fraction of Market Access from Rural Markets in Same County						Fraction of Market Access from Participating Rural Markets in Same County					
	Access to Population			Access to GDP			Access to Population			Access to GDP		
	Median	Mean	Std Dev	Median	Mean	Std Dev	Median	Mean	Std Dev	Median	Mean	Std Dev
<i>Panel A: Distance Elasticity of -1</i>												
All Rural Townships in East, Middle and Southwest China (10,214 Townships)	0.0082	0.011	0.01	0.0031	0.0044	0.005	0.0014	0.0018	0.0017	0.0005	0.0007	0.0008
Rural Townships in 3 RCT Provinces (2,291 Townships)	0.012	0.016	0.014	0.0037	0.0059	0.0062	0.0020	0.0027	0.0023	0.0006	0.0010	0.0010
Rural Townships in 8 RCT Counties (58 Townships)	0.011	0.012	0.006	0.0031	0.0041	0.0029	0.0018	0.0020	0.0010	0.0005	0.0007	0.0005
<i>Panel B: Distance Elasticity of -1.5</i>												
All Rural Townships in East, Middle and Southwest China (10,214 Townships)	0.027	0.037	0.042	0.01	0.016	0.024	0.0045	0.0062	0.0070	0.0017	0.0027	0.0040
Rural Townships in 3 RCT Provinces (2,291 Townships)	0.036	0.049	0.055	0.012	0.02	0.028	0.0060	0.0082	0.0092	0.0020	0.0033	0.0047
Rural Townships in 8 RCT Counties (58 Townships)	0.034	0.038	0.033	0.011	0.014	0.013	0.0057	0.0063	0.0055	0.0018	0.0023	0.0022

Notes: Table reports the mean, median and standard deviation of the fraction of trade market access coming from other rural markets in the same county. Market access is computed using equation (6). See Sections 2 and 4.4 for discussion.

Table A.8: Are Sample Villages Representative?

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Full Sample			3 Provinces		
Dependent Variables:	Number of Users	Number of Transactions	Sales (RMB)	Number of Users	Number of Transactions	Sales (RMB)
<i>Panel A: Purchase Database</i>						
RCT_Sample Dummy	-4.110 (7.751)	0.0605 (25.33)	-6,034 (4,061)	0.149 (7.734)	12.65 (25.32)	-3,747 (4,066)
Months Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Control for Months Since Program Entry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	125,204	125,204	125,204	100,098	100,098	100,098
R-squared	0.037	0.047	0.029	0.031	0.046	0.03
Number of Village Clusters	11,731	11,731	11,731	8,471	8,471	8,471
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)		
	Full Sample		3 Provinces			
Dependent Variables:	Number of Transactions	Weight (kg)	Number of Transactions	Weight (kg)		
<i>Panel B: Out-Shipments Database</i>						
RCT_Sample Dummy	1.712** (0.753)	5.154 (4.332)	1.364* (0.752)	4.68 (4.333)		
Months Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Control for Months Since Program Entry	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Observations	120,483	120,483	95,744	95,744		
R-squared	0.06	0.023	0.067	0.026		
Number of Village Clusters	11,904	11,904	8,591	8,591		

Notes: Table reports point estimates from a regression of the reported outcomes on a dummy equal to one if a village is one of our 100 RCT villages in addition to month fixed effects and the number of months since program entry. Columns 1 to 3 and 7 to 8 report results for all participating villages in the five provinces of Anhui, Guangxi, Guizhou, Henan, and Yunnan over the period November 2015 to April 2017. The sample in columns 4 to 6 and 9 to 10 are all villages in our three survey provinces Anhui, Guizhou, and Henan. The upper panel presents point estimates from regressions based on the purchase transaction database over the period November 2015 to April 2017. The lower panel presents point estimates from regressions based on the sales transaction database over the period January 2016 to April 2017. See Section 5 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of village terminals. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table A.9: Role of Seasonality

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Dependent Variables:	Number of Users	Full Sample Number of Transactions	Sales (RMB)	Number of Users	3 Provinces Number of Transactions	Sales (RMB)
<i>Panel A: Purchase Database</i>						
RCT Sample Month Dummy	0.893*** (0.255)	-4.671*** (0.818)	-1,565*** (451.5)	0.568** (0.274)	-5.290*** (0.863)	-585.9 (458.0)
Village Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Control for Months Since Program Entry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	125,204	125,204	125,204	100,098	100,098	100,098
R-squared	0.694	0.68	0.219	0.679	0.667	0.227
Number of Village Clusters	11,731	11,731	11,731	8,471	8,471	8,471
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)		
Dependent Variables:	Full Sample Number of Transactions	Weight (kg)	3 Provinces Number of Transactions	Weight (kg)		
<i>Panel B: Out-Shipments Database</i>						
RCT Sample Month Dummy	-0.387*** (0.0225)	-1.256*** (0.125)	-0.498*** (0.0261)	-1.407*** (0.138)		
Village Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Control for Months Since Program Entry	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Observations	120,483	120,483	95,744	95,744		
R-squared	0.592	0.432	0.57	0.422		
Number of Village Clusters	11,904	11,904	8,591	8,591		

Notes: Table reports point estimates from a regression of the reported outcomes on a dummy equal to one if a village is one of our 100 RCT villages in addition to village fixed effects and the number of months since program entry. Columns 1 to 3 and 7 to 8 report results for all participating villages in the five provinces of Anhui, Guangxi, Guizhou, Henan, and Yunnan over the period November 2015 to April 2017. The sample in columns 4 to 6 and 9 to 10 are all villages in our three survey provinces Anhui, Guizhou, and Henan. The upper panel presents point estimates from regressions based on the purchase transaction database over the period November 2015 to April 2017. The lower panel presents point estimates from regressions based on the sales transaction database over the period January 2016 to April 2017. See Section 5 for discussion. Standard errors are clustered at the level of village terminals. * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1% significance levels.

Table A.10: Quantification Using Alternative Demand Parameters

	$\sigma_D = 2.87, \sigma_N = 2.85$			$\sigma_D = 3.87, \sigma_N = 3.85$			$\sigma_D = 4.87, \sigma_N = 4.85$		
	Durables Consumption	Non-Durables Consumption	Total Retail Consumption	Durables Consumption	Non-Durables Consumption	Total Retail Consumption	Durables Consumption	Non-Durables Consumption	Total Retail Consumption
Reduction in Retail Cost of Living for All Households	5.129% (0.043)	0.735% (0.005)	1.252% (0.007)	3.298% (0.027)	0.478% (0.004)	0.812% (0.005)	2.431% (0.02)	0.355% (0.003)	0.601% (0.003)
Reduction in Retail Cost of Living Among Users	31.47% (0.368)	5.773% (0.046)	8.526% (0.056)	19.331% (0.215)	3.722% (0.029)	5.464% (0.035)	13.942% (0.151)	2.747% (0.022)	4.02% (0.026)

Notes: Table reports average household gains in terms of percentage point reductions in household retail cost of living across alternative parameterizations of household demand. Estimates are based on equation (8) using treatment effects on household substitution into e-commerce following average effects reported in Tables 4 and 10. See Section 6 for discussion. Standard errors are bootstrapped across 1000 iterations with random re-sampling.

B Theoretical Framework for Welfare Evaluation

Following recent work by [Atkin et al. \(2018\)](#), we propose a three-tier demand system to describe household retail consumption across product groups, retail shopping options and products. In the upper tier, shown in equation [A.1](#), there are Cobb-Douglas preferences over broad product groups $g \in G$ (durables and non-durables) in total consumption. In the middle tier, shown in equation [A.2](#), there are asymmetric CES preferences over local retailers selling that product group $s \in S$ (e.g. local stores, market stalls or the e-commerce terminal). In the final tier, there are preferences over the individual products within the product groups $b \in B_g$ that we can leave unspecified for now.

$$U_h = \prod_{g \in G} [Q_{gh}]^{\alpha_{gh}} \quad (\text{A.1})$$

$$Q_{gh} = \left(\sum_{s \in S_g} \beta_{gsh} q_{gsh}^{\frac{\sigma_g - 1}{\sigma_g}} \right)^{\frac{\sigma_g}{\sigma_g - 1}}, \quad (\text{A.2})$$

where α_{gh} and β_{gsh} are (potentially household group-specific) preference parameters that are fixed across periods. Q_{gh} and q_{gsh} are product-group and store-product-group consumption aggregates with associated price indices P_{gh} and r_{gsh} respectively, and σ_g is the elasticity of substitution across local retail outlets. For each broad product group, consumers choose how much they are going to spend at different retail outlets based on the store-level price index r_{gsh} (which itself depends on the product mix and product-level prices on offer across outlets).

While the demand system is homothetic, we capture potential heterogeneity across the income distribution by allowing households of different incomes to differ in their expenditure shares across product groups (α_{gh}) and their preferences for consumption bundles at different stores within those product groups (β_{gsh} and the preference parameters that generate q_{gsh}). As shown by [Anderson et al. \(1992\)](#), these preferences can generate the same demands as would be obtained from aggregating many consumers who make discrete choices over which store to shop in. Building on [Feenstra \(1994\)](#), the following expression provides the exact proportional cost of living effect under this demand system:

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{CLE}{e(\mathbf{P}_T^0, \mathbf{P}_C^0, \mathbf{P}_E^0, \mathbf{P}_X^0, u_h^0)} &= \frac{e(\mathbf{P}_T^1, \mathbf{P}_C^1, \mathbf{P}_E^1, \mathbf{P}_X^1, u_h^1)}{e(\mathbf{P}_T^0, \mathbf{P}_C^0, \mathbf{P}_E^0, \mathbf{P}_X^0, u_h^0)} - 1 \\ &= \prod_{g \in G} \left(\left(\frac{\sum_{s \in S_g^C} \phi_{gsh}^1}{\sum_{s \in S_g^C} \phi_{gsh}^0} \right)^{\frac{1}{\sigma_g - 1}} \prod_{s \in S_g^C} \left(\frac{r_{gsh}^1}{r_{gsh}^0} \right)^{\omega_{gsh}} \right)^{\alpha_{gh}} - 1, \end{aligned} \quad (\text{A.3})$$

where S_g^C denotes the set of continuing local retailers within product group g , $\phi_{gsh}^t = r_{gsh}^t q_{gsh}^t / \sum_{s \in S_g} r_{gsh}^t q_{gsh}^t$ is the expenditure share for a particular retailer of product group g , and the ω_{gsh} s are ideal log-change weights.¹

For each product group g , the expression has two components. The $\prod_{s \in S_g^C} \left(\frac{r_{gsh}^1}{r_{gsh}^0} \right)^{\omega_{gsh}}$ term is a Sato-Vartia (i.e. CES) price-index for price changes in continuing local stores that forms the *pro-competitive price effect*.² The price terms r_{gsh}^t are themselves price indices of product-specific prices p_{gsh}^t within local continuing stores which, in principle, could also account for new product

¹In particular, $\omega_{gsh} = \left(\frac{\phi_{gsh}^1 - \phi_{gsh}^0}{\ln \phi_{gsh}^1 - \ln \phi_{gsh}^0} \right) / \sum_{s \in S_g^C} \left(\frac{\phi_{gsh}^1 - \phi_{gsh}^0}{\ln \phi_{gsh}^1 - \ln \phi_{gsh}^0} \right)$, which in turn contain expenditure shares of different retailers within product groups, where the shares consider only expenditure at continuing retailers $\tilde{\phi}_{gsh}^t = r_{gsh}^t q_{gsh}^t / \sum_{s \in S_g^C} r_{gsh}^t q_{gsh}^t$.

²Notice that the assumption of CES preferences does not imply the absence of pro-competitive effects as we do not impose additional assumptions about market structure (e.g. monopolistic competition).

varieties or exiting product varieties using the same methodology. While we name these price changes pro-competitive, they may derive from either reductions in markups or increases in productivity at local stores (distinctions that do not matter on the cost-of-living side, but would generate different magnitudes of profit and income effects that we capture on the nominal income side).

The $\left(\frac{\sum_{s \in S_g^C} \phi_{gsh}^1}{\sum_{s \in S_g^C} \phi_{gsh}^0}\right)^{\frac{1}{\sigma_{gh}-1}}$ term captures the gains to customers of the e-commerce terminal in the numerator, from both the *direct price index effect* and the *entry effect*, and local store exit in the denominator, i.e. the *exit effect*. As in expression (2) of Section 3, we can decompose the total cost of living effect in equation (A.3) into four different types of effective consumer price changes by adding and subtracting terms.

Consider the case where the program's effect on cost of living is driven entirely by the direct price index effect. In that case, the expenditure share spent on continuing local retailers ($\sum_{s \in S_g^C} \phi_{gsh}^1$) is lower than unity only due to substitution into the new e-commerce terminal (ignoring potential effects on store entry). The gains from the program as a proportion of initial household spending are then:

$$\frac{DE}{e(\mathbf{P}_T^{0*}, \mathbf{P}_C^0, \mathbf{P}_E^{0*}, \mathbf{P}_X^0, u_h^0)} = \prod_{g \in G} \left(\left(\sum_{s \in S_g^C} \phi_{gsh}^1 \right)^{\frac{1}{\sigma_{gh}-1}} \right)^{\alpha_{gh}} - 1. \quad (\text{A.4})$$

The welfare gain from a new shopping option is a function of the market share of that outlet post-entry and the elasticity of substitution across stores. The revealed preference nature of this approach is clear. If consumers greatly value the arrival of the new option—be it because it offers low prices p_{gsb}^1 , more product variety that reduces r_{gsh}^1 or better amenities β_{gsh} —the market share is higher and the welfare gain greater. Hence, these market share changes capture all the potential consumer benefits of shopping through the e-commerce terminal. The magnitude of the welfare gain depends on the elasticity of substitution. Observed terminal market shares will imply smaller welfare changes if consumers substitute between local shopping options very elastically, and larger welfare changes if they are inelastic. A similar logic would apply to effects on the entry of local retailers, or on the exit of local stores (where a large period 0 market share means large welfare losses, again tempered by the elasticity of substitution).

C Data Appendix

C.1 Surveyor Training and Quality Management

This section describes our methodology for surveyor training and quality management.

Piloting and Surveyor Training Our survey supervisors are professionals from the Research Center for Contemporary China (RCCC) at Peking University. All RCCC supervisors have previous experience conducting large scale surveys in rural China. Before each of the two survey rounds, we traveled to Beijing to lead a one-day training workshop targeted at the supervisors and a group of graduate students from Renmin University and Jinan University, who were working with us as research assistants on this project. This training walked the RCCC supervisors and our graduate students through each step of the survey design, data collection protocols and quality control protocols that we had shared with them to study carefully in advance. Given budget and time constraints, the survey was paper based. Prior to our baseline survey, RCCC supervisors and our team of graduate students tested our survey design in a pilot survey of 45 households in two villages located in the rural parts of Hebei Province.

In the field, each supervisor was in charge of a team of six surveyors. In addition to the supervisors, two of our trained graduate students accompanied each team in the field. The role of the graduate students was to both support and monitor the recruitment and training

of the local surveyors and the data collection, and to report back to us with detailed daily progress reports. Given differences in local dialects and rural conditions, the RCCC recruited surveyors among local university students from the provinces in which the data collection took place. All surveyors were familiar with the local dialect and customs of the rural areas in their home province. Each surveyor completed at least two full days of training and supervised practice questionnaire interviews before joining our field survey team. As part of the training, we provided surveyors with a number of supporting documents. In particular, they received an example of a completed representative survey questionnaire, detailed instructions on how to assist households in answering the questionnaire, a set of cards containing descriptions and examples of consumption products within categories or income-generating activities within sectors, and a set of solutions and best practices for common survey challenges. As described in Appendix C.4 below, we also trained surveyors to use separate pre-prepared spreadsheets to list individual household purchase transactions within product categories or income flows by type of activity. These spreadsheets were used for households to list individual transactions over a given period of time and within categories, before aggregating this information up to complete the final survey questionnaire cells. As part of their training, surveyors were trained to double-check with respondents any answer to the questionnaire that appears inconsistent with a previous answer.

Data Quality Management and Cleaning Surveyors conducted the household survey in teams of two. During the interview, surveyors completed the questionnaire, along with supporting documents used to help households recall, categorize and sum up their consumption expenditures or earnings (we further describe data collection and variable construction for expenditure and earning variables in Appendix C.4 below). As part of quality control, supervisors reviewed one randomly chosen completed questionnaire, supporting documents, and interview audio tape from each surveyor at the end of every day.³ In addition, our graduate students monitored the survey teams by accompanying them for part of their interviews, and reported back to the supervisors and our team in case of concerns. During recruiting and surveyor training, the surveyors had been informed that lack of accuracy, diligence or patience in the interviews would lead to the termination of employment, while a good record guaranteed a letter of recommendation confirming participation in our research project.

We also asked our surveyors to rate each household respondent along a number of dimensions such as cooperativeness, reliability, level of understanding, and level of interest in our survey. Surveyors also recorded the presence of any other household or non-household member whose presence could affect answers to our questionnaire. In our analysis of the data, we paid special attention to the reliability rating: 1. completely reliable, 2. mostly reliable, and 3. sometimes not reliable. Whenever surveyors rated a respondent as “sometimes not reliable”, they also wrote down an explanation for this rating. On the basis of these written explanations, we created a clean household survey dataset. This dataset excludes 0.25 percent of unreliable/uncooperative households entirely from the sample. In other cases, surveyors’ explanation suggested that only answers to a particular section of our questionnaire were unreliable. Using this information, we set all income variables to missing for 1.06 percent of all household respondents, all consumption variables to missing for 0.4 percent of households, and all income and consumption variables to missing for 1.31 percent of households. The descriptive statistics in Tables 1 and 2 and A.1 to A.4 are based on this cleaned household survey dataset. When using total nominal retail expenditure or incomes in RMB as the dependent variables on the left-hand side of the regressions, we censor these reported values at the one-percent level from the left and right tails within the survey round.⁴ The point estimates remain statistical zeros in all cases, as is the case post-censoring, but the standard errors slightly increase. Appendix C.4

³Some households opted out of audio-recording.

⁴Given more than one percent of observations report zero incomes, nominal incomes are only censored at the one-percent level from the right tail.

below provides additional information about variable construction.

C.2 Household Sampling, Response Rates and Attrition

Our team was granted a two-week window for data collection, after receiving the extended candidate list of candidate villages from the local operation team in each county. Given this tight timeline, we were unable to conduct a village census for sampling purposes. Instead, our survey teams created detailed maps of all residences in the village to implement a random walk procedure.⁵

From each village's map, we defined an "inner zone" of residences within a 300 meter radius of the planned terminal location and an "outer zone" outside that radius. In the baseline, the objective was to sample 14 households from the inner zone and 14 households from the outer zone. To randomly sample households within these zones, we selected 24 residences in both inner and outer zones. The household sampling proceeds as follows: we first randomly assign numbers to all residences within the zone on the map from 1 to n , and then define a rounded integer number $n/24$. Starting from household number 1, we then collect survey data from every household number in steps of the integer $n/24$ until we have completed 14 surveys within the zone. For the endline, we implement the same procedure for all households that were not part of the baseline survey to select 10 additional households within the inner zone. In the few cases in which there were fewer than 24 residences within the inner zone, we extended the radius until we obtain at least 24 residences on the map.

After introducing our survey to households, our surveyors asked for the household member with the best knowledge of household consumption expenditures and household incomes to respond to the questionnaire. In case nobody answered the door, or in case this most suited household member was not at home during our surveyors' first visit, the surveyors returned at least twice to complete the interview, often outside of working hours. Surveyors were also instructed to skip households with a most knowledgeable respondent older than 75. Overall, our surveyors found willing and able respondents in two thirds of visited residences (66.1 percent).⁶ In the endline, we sampled 10 additional households from the inner zone. We used the same sampling methodology as in the baseline. Given expected sample attrition and the objective of 10 randomly selected additional households, the survey teams created a list of 22 new residential addresses in the inner zone and 6 new addresses in the outer zone. In the endline, we replaced a household respondent from the baseline whenever either the household had moved, the primary earner was no longer living there or the original baseline respondent was unavailable after three interview attempts. Using this rule, 71 percent of baseline respondents completed our questionnaire in the endline. As documented in Table A.5, this percentage does not differ in treatment and control villages.

C.3 Retail Price Survey

Store Sampling Prior to the field survey, RCCC supervisors performed a census of all retail stores and market stalls ("stores" for short) located in the village and within a 15-minute walking distance of the boundaries of the natural village. Most villages have fewer than five stores, so in most villages we sampled products from all stores and market stalls in the vicinity of the village. If there were more than 15 stores in a village, we instructed supervisors to collect a representative sample of local retail information, giving more weight (i.e. more price quotes) to more popular establishments within product groups.

⁵We use the boundary of the "natural village" as opposed to the "administrative village". Both of these are known delineations in China. The natural village captures a geographically contiguous rural population. Administrative villages are units with a village committee. In some cases, the administrative village includes more than one natural village.

⁶Of the one third of addresses at which our surveyors did not encounter willing and able respondents, 56.6 percent had nobody at home during any of our three visits, 30.5 percent refused to participate in the survey, 7.5 percent had no qualified respondent (due to old age), and 5.4 percent had no one living there.

Product Sampling and Data Collection The data collection for the local retail price survey was conducted by the trained RCCC supervisors. We aim to collect data on 115 price quotes for each village. 100 of these prices are from the same 9 household consumption categories for retail products as in our household survey (food and beverages, tobacco and alcohol, medicine and health, clothing and accessories, other every-day products, fuel and gas, furniture and appliances, electronics, transport equipment), and 15 price quotes are for local production and business inputs. Our protocol for the price data collection closely follows the IMF/ILO standards for store price surveys that central banks collect to compute the CPI statistics. The sampling of products across consumption categories is based on budget shares of rural households in Anhui and Henan that we observe in the microdata of the China Family Panel Study (CFPS) for 2012. Reflecting these consumption weights, supervisors in the baseline survey data aim to collect 47/100 price quotes in food and beverages, 15/100 in tobacco and alcohol, 9/100 in medicine and health, 9/100 in clothing and accessories, 4/100 in other every-day products, 4/100 in fuel and gas, 4/100 in furniture and appliances, 4/100 in electronics and 4/100 in transport equipment. In addition, we collect 15 price quotes for purchases of inputs to production or businesses.⁷

We provided supervisors with pre-prepared price surveys reflecting the number of observations to be collected for each product group. As for the collection of data on household expenses that we discuss above and in Appendix C.4 below, the supervisors were provided with detailed product cards that list product groups within each of the 10 broad categories above, as well as examples of product types within those subgroups of products. They also received instructions on product sampling, for instance about how to evaluate the popularity of an individual product by measuring shelf space and recurrence across different stores. To ensure that we can match identical products in both survey rounds, supervisors saved a picture of each product and recorded product characteristics at the barcode-equivalent level, including packaging type, size, and a detailed product description (name, brand, flavor, etc) wherever possible.⁸ For 78 percent of products collected in the baseline, we were able to find the exact same product in the same store one year later in the endline. As documented in Table 6, this percentage is somewhat smaller in intent to treat villages than in control villages, but this difference is not statistically significant. One challenge of surveying prices in rural China is a frequent lack of price tags displayed in store. As shown in Table A.4, about two thirds of the surveyed products lacked a price tag. In these cases, supervisors asked the store owner for the price that villagers would pay for the product. As part of quality control, we asked supervisors to rate the reliability of store owners' price quotes as good, average or poor. The reported findings in Tables 6 to 8 and 10 do not change in sign, size or statistical significance when limiting the sample to price quotes from labeled products only or excluding reportedly unreliable price quotes.

C.4 Variable Construction

To collect data on household consumption expenditures and incomes from different activities, we trained the surveyors in using separate pre-prepared spreadsheets before filling out the final survey questionnaires. For expenditures, there is one spreadsheet for each of the nine categories that we include in retail consumption, and a separate sheet for business inputs. This allowed households to recall and list all relevant expenses or income flows within a given product group or type of activity over a given period of time. This transaction-level information was then aggregated in the presence of the household to complete the final survey questionnaire sections on expenditures or income flows.

To help respondent recall and categorize their expenditures, surveyors also received cards

⁷Supervisors sometimes failed to find enough products in a given category within the village. This was often the case for the durable goods categories. In such cases, supervisors replaced products in these missing categories with additional price quotes for products in "other every-day products".

⁸Some store owners refused to let supervisors take pictures. In such cases, we identify identical products in the endline data based on the same store and the detailed recorded product description.

with examples of products in each category. The product cards break down the retail consumption space into 169 product types within the 10 broad categories we list above. After recording each item in a given category, surveyors go through the list of items and ask respondents how much they paid for each listed purchase. In addition to allocating transactions to different consumption product groups, the surveyors also recorded the modality of each listed purchase transaction (e.g. online vs offline, in the village vs outside the village). This procedure was implemented covering a two-week time window for non-durable household consumption, and a three-month time window for durable goods categories. To obtain total monthly retail expenditure, we multiply the bi-weekly expenditure on non-durables by a factor of 2 and divide durable good expenditure by a factor of 3, and sum up across the 9 consumption categories. For online expenditures at the terminal, we include both direct use of the terminal interface as well as remote usage by ordering deliveries to the terminal through the firm's app. The majority of terminal usage are done in person at the terminal rather than remotely. In most village cases, deliveries and pickups can be made at the terminal location (90 percent). In about 10 percent of cases, the logistics operators offered delivery to the home address too.

To construct total household income, our surveyors again used a pre-prepared spreadsheet to assist households in recording each of their individual income sources over the last month. We defined four income categories: farm earnings, non-farm earnings, remittances (money or in-kind) from family not living in the home, and all other income (e.g., pension, returns from savings, gifts). In addition, we recorded sector of activity and occupation categories for each economically active member of the household. To help household respondents recall and categorize earnings, surveyors used cards with detailed examples of income sources in each category and proceeded to collect each flow on the spreadsheet before filling out the final survey questionnaire in the presence of the household. Our measure of income per capita is the sum of all income sources in these four categories, divided by the number of household members. Our measure of income net of transfers subtracts gifts and remittances from family not living in the home.⁹ Our measure of income per capita net of costs subtracts the recorded household expenses used to generate the reported flows of income. The income variables exclude the market value of home production for own consumption.¹⁰ Including this as part of household income has no effect on the statistical zeros that we report in the analysis.

⁹Remittances represent on average 13 percent of total household income in our sample.

¹⁰The market value of all food and beverages that the household produces for its own consumption amounts to on average less than 10 percent of household incomes.