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Asymmetric Information and Middleman Margins: An Experiment with Indian Potato Farmers\*

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#### **Abstract**

West Bengal potato farmers cannot directly access wholesale markets and do not know wholesale prices. Local middlemen earn large margins; pass-through from wholesale to farm-gate prices is negligible. When we informed farmers in randomly chosen villages about wholesale prices, average

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farm-gate sales and prices were unaffected, but pass-through to farm-gate prices increased. These results can be explained by a model where farmers bargain *ex post* with village middlemen, with the outside option of selling to middlemen outside the village. They are inconsistent with standard oligopolistic models of pass-through, search frictions or risk-sharing contracts. (JEL Codes: O120, L140)

### 1 Introduction

It is generally believed that middlemen in agricultural value chains in developing countries appropriate significant margins (Morisset 1998). However there is little evidence on how large these margins are, and why they occur. Trading mechanisms between farmers and traders are also not well understood. Do farmers and traders enter into *ex ante* risk-sharing contracts, or do they bargain only at the time of sale? What are farmers' outside options? Do farmers know less about price movements in downstream markets than traders do, and does this worsen their bargaining position? A better understanding of these issues may explain the observed low and unresponsive farmgate prices that arguably perpetuate poverty and limit agricultural growth. It could also explain why the gains from export growth do not "trickle down" to the ultimate producers, and whether increasing farmers' access to price information could affect these outcomes.

We examine these questions in the context of the supply chain for potatoes, a high-value cash crop in the Indian state of West Bengal (WB, hereafter). Farmers in our study area sell most of their potatoes to village middlemen, who aggregate purchases and then re-sell them at wholesale markets (*mandis*) to bulk buyers from distant cities or neighbouring states. Not only do farmers lack direct access to *mandis*, they are also unaware of the prices at which their potatoes are resold there. The gaps between these resale prices and farmgate prices are large: in the year of our study, farmgate prices were 44-46 percent of wholesale prices. Our calculations suggest that middlemen earned 50-71% of this gap. The pass-through from retail prices to farmgate prices was a statistically insignificant, negligible 2 percent, while pass-through to wholesale prices was a much

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Recent theoretical contributions include Chau, Goto, and Kanbur (2009), Antras and Costinot (2010), Antras and Costinot (2011) and Bardhan, Mookherjee, and Tsumagari (2013).

larger 81 percent.

The lack of direct access to wholesale markets is a distinctive feature of the WB potato supply chain. In some other Indian states farmers sell directly to wholesale buyers, and middlemen play no role (Goyal 2010, Fafchamps and Minten 2012, Jensen 2007). Increased access to price information in such environments improves spatial arbitrage across markets, reducing price dispersion (Jensen 2007) and increasing average prices (Goyal 2010).<sup>2</sup> In yet other contexts, farmers enter into advance contracts with middlemen but are also able to sell directly in a spot market; the resulting moral hazard problem limits the amount of risk-sharing (Blouin and Machiavello 2013, Machiavello and Morjaria 2015 and Saenger, Torero, and Qaim 2014). However WB potato markets resemble other vertical structures such as Ugandan coffee (Fafchamps and Hill 2008) and Mozambican cashews (McMillan, Rodrik, and Welch 2002).

A key goal of our paper is to understand the nature of trading relationships between middlemen and farmers. Do middlemen enter into *ex ante* risk-sharing relationships with farmers (as in Hart 1983, Ligon, Thomas, and Worrall 2002, Machiavello 2010)? Could these account for the low pass-through rates, and can middleman margins be understood as insurance premiums? Or do middlemen engage in oligopolistic competition, with or without search frictions, as in most models of pass-through in the trade and IO literature? Our surveys indicate that many farmers engage in repeat transactions with the same traders. However they rarely report being bound by an advance contractual arrangement, either explicit or implicit. Instead, most farmers say that they receive daily price offers from village middlemen and then respond by either selling rightaway, holding out for a future sale, or transporting their potatoes to a neighboring small market (called a *haat*)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Aker (2010), Nakasone (2013) and Hildebrandt et al. (2015) investigate the effect of mobile phones on prices in similar market contexts in Niger, Peru and Ghana, respectively.

to sell to a different middleman. This suggests that they engage in spot bargaining, and that village middlemen and middlemen in *haats* compete sequentially.

This paper develops a model of such a trading mechanism, and uses a field experiment to discriminate empirically between this model and other competing models. In our model, village middlemen collude, but compete with middlemen located in the haats. While bargaining with the village middleman, the farmer's outside option is to sell to this haat middleman. The price that the haat middleman offers is higher than the price that village middleman would offer under monopsony. It also varies with the actual wholesale price. In this way this outside option generates competitive pressure on the village middlemen. Price offers from the village middleman inform the farmer about the price offer they will receive if they hold out and approach the *haat* middleman instead. While this bargaining game has many equilibria, we focus on equilibria that generate the largest profits for the village middleman: these are fully non-revealing (or pooling), so that the village middleman's price offer does not vary at all with the wholesale price.<sup>3</sup> In this way the model explains the observed negligible pass-through from wholesale to farmgate prices. The model also predicts that an intervention informing the farmer about prevailing wholesale prices would increase the pass-through of wholesale prices to farmgate prices. This intervention changes the farmer's information about his outside option, and so changes the price that the village middleman offers him. Whether the effect is positive or negative depends on the content of the information: when a treated farmer learns that his outside option is high, the middleman offers him higher prices. When instead he learns that it is low, the middleman offers him lower prices. On average, these heterogeneous effects on farmgate prices tend to cancel out.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Fully non-revealing equilibria maximize the village middleman's profits if self-consumption of potatoes is relatively unimportant, and if farmers are risk-averse with respect to the price they receive.

To test these predictions, in 2008 we conducted a field experiment in 72 randomly chosen villages from two potato-growing districts of West Bengal. The villages were randomly assigned to either one of two treatment groups, or to a control group. In the treatment groups, we provided farmers with daily information about the prevailing potato prices in neighboring wholesale and retail markets. In one variant, called the private information treatment, four randomly selected farmers in each of 24 villages received the information through phonecalls from our team of telecallers. In the public information treatment, the information was posted publicly in 24 villages. In the control villages, no information was provided. Concurrently, we collected high-frequency data on potato cultivation, harvest, sales and related revenues and costs from a random sample of potato farmers in each village. Our analysis of the annual average quantity sold and price received by farmers validates our theoretical predictions: the intervention increased the pass-through from wholesale to farmgate prices, and that there was no average effect on farmgate prices and sales.

In the context of our model, these results imply that *ex ante*, the information interventions did not change farmers' welfare, and reduced traders' welfare. *Ex post*, the welfare effects depend on the actual realizations of wholesale prices.<sup>4</sup>

Our experimental findings contrast sharply with the predictions of contracting or search friction models. Contracts where farmers and middlemen share risk predict that better information would *increase* trading volumes when the wholesale price is *low*, since improving farmers' price information reduces screening distortions in low price states. Also, contrary to models of risk-sharing contracts, WB potato middlemen did not make net losses *ex post* at any wholesale price realization. Finally, we do not observe a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Welfare effects also depend on farmers' storage decisions. These are analyzed in Section B in the online Appendix. We find that information increased storage only for a small minority of treated farmers.

decrease in the dispersion of farmgate prices, as would be predicted by models of search frictions.

Our results suggest that policy interventions that improve farmers' information about resale prices are unlikely to average middleman margins or enhance farmer welfare. The deeper problem is that middlemen wield considerable market power, because WB potato farmers lack direct access to wholesale markets. This lack of market access merits further investigation.

#### 2 The Context: Potato Production and Sales

Potatoes generate the highest value-added per acre of all cash crops produced in West Bengal (Bardhan and Mookherjee 2011, Maitra et al. 2017). The crop is planted between October and December, and harvested between January and March. The farmer might sell part of his output immediately, place some in home stores to be sold at any time in the next two or three months, and place the rest in cold stores, to be sold at any time until the cold stores are emptied in November.<sup>5</sup>

#### 2.1 Farmer-Trader Transactions and Market Structure

Farmers sell more than 90% of their marketed potatoes to traders operating within the same village (see Table 1).<sup>6</sup> The average village has about 10 such middlemen. They make price offers to local farmers on a daily basis. Farmers who choose not to sell

<sup>6</sup>We restrict our analysis to the *jyoti* and *chandramukhi* varieties. Together these made up 90 percent of the potatoes grown by sample farmers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Due to cold store technical constraints and government regulations, potatoes cannot be carried over from one year to the next. Own-consumption accounts for less than 5% of the harvest.

to them, can instead sell to traders at local markets (*haats*) located an average of 5 km from the village. Traders check the quantity and quality of potatoes that they buy, transport them to wholesale markets (*mandis*) located 8 km away on average, where they negotiate sales to traders from city markets or neighboring states.<sup>7</sup> Most potatoes are sold ultimately to consumers in retail markets in Kolkata or neighboring states.

In a 2007 survey, farmers reported selling 72% of their potatoes to buyers whom they had been selling to for a year or more, and 32% to buyers whom they had been selling to for two years or more. However this does not necessarily imply that they have prior contractual arrangements. In fact, our surveys indicate contracts are not common. In 2007, farmers sold only 21% of their potatoes to buyers from whom they had an outstanding loan. Farmers also told us that they were not bound to sell to the trader who had provided them inputs or credit, but were free to sell to someone else and to use the proceeds to repay the loan. In surveys we conducted in 2012, only 33% of the 144 randomly selected middlemen who purchased potatoes in our study villages reported a prior agreement to buy from their oldest supplier that year. A mere 6% reported an explicit arrangement about the quantity that they would buy, and 16% reported either an explicit or implicit understanding about the price they would pay.

Trader survey results are consistent with the hypothesis of collusion among village middlemen: 43 to 51% of traders admitted that they exchanged information about recent price offers with other traders before making offers to farmers, and about 40% said they checked recent sale prices with farmers. However they are less likely to collude with traders operating at the local *haat*, since they meet them less frequently and are unable to monitor their transactions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Village middlemen also trade in other seasonal produce and often sell agricultural inputs and provide credit; many of them have a shop in the village. Thus search costs are negligible.

The evidence also indicates that farmers lack access to wholesale buyers. Direct sales at the wholesale market are extremely rare: they account for less than 2% of sales (Table 1). In informal interviews, wholesale buyers told us that it was "not worth their while" to negotiate small trades and to monitor the quantity and quality of potatoes from many different farmers whom they did not know personally.

Ultimately, the market power of middlemen rests on barriers to entry into their line of business. In our 2012 survey, traders told us that capital was the important requirement to enter the potato trade. The median capital requirement reported was ₹50,000 (mean = ₹94472).<sup>8</sup> They also said it was important to have had a prior apprenticeship with a trader for an average of 3.5 years, and 3 years of experience cultivating potatoes. Prior contacts with at least 25 farmers, and large buyers in at least 3 distant markets were other important requirements. This suggests that entry requires financial investments as well as investments in relationships, which take time to build.

In addition, the regulatory environment in West Bengal restricts entry into the potato trading business. The West Bengal Agricultural Marketing Committee (APMC) Act requires any large firm seeking to buy directly from farmers to obtain a license from the state government. Cohen (2013) documents the fact that the West Bengal government rarely provides such licenses. No agri-retail firms were purchasing potatoes in our sample villages at the time we conducted our study. Thus the only competition that village traders face is from traders located in the neighbouring *haat*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The average agricultural loan for planting potatoes in these villages is about ₹8000 (data collected through informal interviews). Thus ₹50,000 is a forbiddingly large amount of capital for the average farmer in this village to raise.

#### 2.2 Farmers' Price Information

Transactions between the traders and buyers from distant markets are often bilateral. Therefore, information about the price that the trader receives is not in the public domain. In our 2007 baseline farmer surveys, 46% said their only source of wholesale price information was the trader they sold to. Only 13% reported asking friends and neighbours, and 6% received information through the media (See Appendix Table A2). Although public telephone booths, landline phones and mobile phones were all available to varying extents, farmers told us that they had no contacts at *mandis* who would tell them the prevailing *mandi* price.

Responses to our farmer surveys suggest there is substantial information asymmetry between farmers and traders. Every fortnight from February to November 2008, we asked farmers to tell us the recent price in their neighboring market. Their reports (average ₹2.57 per kg) were very different from the village traders' resale prices that week (average ₹4.82 per kg). Instead, they were quite similar to the prices that *farmers* received if they sold at a *haat* in that week (average ₹2.55 per kg). In other words, they (mis-)interpreted the term "market price" to mean the price they would receive if they took their potatoes to the *haat*, not the price at which middlemen resold their produce at the *mandi*. The mean absolute deviation between wholesale prices reported by farmers and actual wholesale prices was 42.5% of the mean actual price. In Section 3.2 we present evidence that our information intervention significantly reduced this error.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>The media tends not to cover this layer in the supply chain: only three of the *mandis* in our sample exist in the official database on wholesale prices.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The gross price at which a farmer sold at a market is computed by dividing the total revenue he received from selling at a market across all weeks in the year, by the quantity sold. ₹2.55 is the average of this number across all farmers who sold at *haats*.

#### 2.3 Price Transmission & Middleman Margins

To what extent do fluctuations in retail prices pass through to traders and farmers? The first column in Table 2 presents the result of a regression of weekly *mandi* prices from 2007, 2008, 2011 and 2012 (only from weeks 13 and beyond for years other than 2008), on the weekly retail price in the relevant destination city market (Kolkata for *mandis* in Hugli districts, and Bhubaneswar for *mandis* in West Medinipur district). After controlling for *mandi*-specific annual potato yields, and year, *mandi* and week fixed effects, the pass-through from city prices to the *mandi* prices is considerable: a ₹1 increase in the city price is associated with a ₹0.81 increase in the *mandi* price. We confirm that the pass-through is large and significant within 2008, the year of our study (column 2). However, as column 3 of the table shows, in 2008, when city prices increased by ₹1, the change in farmgate prices was a statistically non-significant ₹0.02. Column 4 shows that the pass-through from *mandi* prices to farmgate prices is also small (0.04) and non-significant.

We can use our farmer survey data together with the wholesale price information to make an estimate of the margins that middlemen earn. Since we do not have data on traders' actual selling costs in 2008, we use as estimates the unit cost data for transport, handling and storage reported by farmers. Traders might exploit economies of scale and connections with store owners to reduce their unit costs below these numbers; if so, using farmer reports for unit costs gives us a lower bound to trader net margins. Details of the calculation are provided in Table A1 in the Appendix. The lower bounds on mean net trader margins in 2008 are ₹1.85 per kg at harvest time, and ₹1.36 per kg after harvest time. Middlemen therefore earned at least 28 to 38 percent of the *mandi* price, and 64 to 83 percent of the farmgate price, depending on the season when they bought and sold the crop.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Basu (2008) estimated that middlemen margins net of transactions costs in this re-

## 3 The Experiment and the Data

Our experiment was conducted in a stratified random sample of 72 villages from the potato growing blocks of Hugli and West Medinipur districts. To reduce information spillovers, we ensured that sample villages were at least 10 kilometres apart from each other. In each block, sample villages were randomly assigned to three groups. In two groups of 24 villages each, we conducted two different information treatments, while in the third group, we provided no information. In the two treatment groups, we delivered daily information about the price in the *mandis* where potatoes from this village were generally re-sold. This was the price at which traders had re-sold potatoes to large buyers at these *mandis*, the previous day. In our analysis below we refer to this as the *mandi* price. <sup>12</sup> In addition, we also delivered information about the previous day's price at the nearest city market.

In the 24 private information villages, the price information was delivered individually to 4 households selected randomly from our survey households. Every morning for 11 months, the "tele-callers" based in our Kolkata information center relayed the *mandi* prices to each of these farmers via mobile phones that were given to them for the purpose of the project. The phones were merely a device by which to deliver the information. To ensure that they did not improve the farmers' connectivity more generally, we worked with the service provider to block outgoing calls from the phones, and changed the phone settings so that farmers could not view their own number. We did not inform the farmers of their mobile phone numbers, and all phone bills were delivered gion were 25 percent of retail price in the busy season, and 20 percent in the lean season.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>The total volume of potatoes sold by our sample farmers in 2008 was less than 1 percent of the total volume traded in the large *mandis* in this area, so it is unlikely that our interventions changed *mandi* prices.

to us. As we verified, farmers did not receive any incoming calls except from us. Our telecaller records indicate that 62% of all calls to private information recipients were received, and in 92% of the villages at least one cell phone recipient answered the call.

In the 24 public information villages, we delivered the *mandi* price information to a local shopkeeper or phone-booth owner (called the "vendor") in the village. For a nominal fee, he wrote the price information on charts and posted them in three public places in the village.<sup>13</sup> Through random checks we were able to verify that the price information was posted regularly.

The information interventions were piloted in the sample villages during June-November 2007. The actual experiment began in January 2008 and continued daily until November 2008. All villages and households were in the same treatment or control group in 2008 as they were in 2007. All empirical estimates of the interventions on farmer quantities and revenues will be presented for the 2008 data.

### 3.1 Data and Descriptive Statistics

We conducted surveys with a stratified random sample of 24 potato-growing households in each of the 72 villages in our study. We restrict the analysis to the 1545 sample farmers who planted either of the two main varieties (*jyoti* and *chandramukhi*) of potatoes in 2008. A production survey was conducted in February, followed by a trade survey each fortnight between February and November. Table A2 in the Appendix shows a number of village and households characteristics by treatment groups, based on data collected before the pilot information interventions began in June 2007. Across all household characteristics, the pre-intervention differences across treatment groups were jointly insignificant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Telecallers and vendors were instructed to say that they did not know why the information was being delivered, or how it could be used.

#### 3.2 Effect of Information on Farmers' Price Information

In the fortnightly trade surveys, we asked farmers how frequently they tracked prices in wholesale and retail potato markets, and whom they collected the price information from. To analyse whether the interventions changed farmers' price tracking behavior, we run a regression according to the specification

$$y_{ivt} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Private Information}_v + \beta_2 \text{Phone Recipient}_{iv} + \beta_3 \text{Public Information}_v + \beta_4 X_{ivt} + \epsilon_{ivt}$$

where  $y_{ivt}$  measures whether farmer i in village v tracked wholesale prices in fortnight t (Table 3, Panel A, Column 1), the number of days since he last tracked prices (Column 2), and his source of information (Column 3). Accordingly, we use a logit specification in Column 1, and a Poisson regression in Column 2. Private information and Public information are dummy variables indicating the treatment group that the farmer's village is assigned to. In the villages that received the private information treatment, the four randomly chosen households who received information directly via mobile phone received a value of 1 for the Phone recipient dummy, as well as a value of 1 for the Private Information dummy. Hence the coefficient on Private information should be interpreted as the effect on farmers whose village received the private information treatment, but who did not personally receive phonecalls. Their outcomes would presumably be affected through the spread of information within the village. Control variables include the household's landholding, indicator variables for the potato variety, district, and the survey month. For convenience we report exponentiated coefficients in all three columns.

The results indicate that the intervention worked as planned. Farmers who received the interventions were significantly more likely to say that they track market prices and to have tracked them recently (columns 1 and 2). They were also more likely to report that they received the information through the intervention (column 3). The magnitude of

the effects were larger in the public information treatment than in the private information treatment, and within the private information treatment, were larger for phone recipients.

Table 4 shows that the intervention improved the precision with which farmers tracked prices. When we match the prices that farmers reported with the actual prices in the markets that they tracked, the average sum of squares of the normalized error in reported price is 0.18-0.19 for intervention households, which is significantly lower than the 0.22 for control households. This represents a decrease of 13.9 percent in the mean absolute deviation from the true price.<sup>14</sup>

## 4 Theory: Bargaining with Asymmetric Information

Consider a game with a single farmer F with an exogenous stock of potatoes Q, a single village trader VT (or equivalently, a collusive group of village traders) and a set of market traders located in a *haat* outside the village. F cannot sell potatoes directly at the *mandi* located outside the village. He can sell either to the VT, or to a market trader. Every trader can resell the potatoes at the *mandi* at the prevailing price w, which they observe, and take as given. The farmer does not observe w, but he believes it follows a prior distribution G on support  $[\underline{w}, \overline{w}]$  where  $\infty > \overline{w} > \underline{w} \geq 0$ .

the *haat* with a quantity  $q_2 \leq Q - q_1$  to sell to a market trader. He expects to receive at the *haat* a price h(w), which is strictly increasing in w and satisfies h(w) < w for all w. The price h(w) is determined through oligopolistic competition between market traders.

Let the total quantity the farmer sells be denoted by  $q \equiv q_1 + q_2 \in [0,Q]$ ; the remainder Q-q is consumed. His net sales revenue is  $R \equiv p_1q_1 + I[h(w)q_2 - s]$ , where  $I \in \{0,1\}$  denotes the decision to visit the *haat*. His payoff is  $W(R+\beta U(Q-q))$  where W is a strictly increasing, smooth concave function satisfying  $W'' \leq 0$ , and U is a strictly increasing, smooth and strictly concave function satisfying  $U'(0) = \infty$ . The parameter  $\beta \geq 0$  represents the importance of self-consumption in the farmer's payoff function. Our data show that farmers consume no more than 5% of their harvest, so we shall focus on the case where  $\beta$  is small. We assume throughout that  $\underline{w} > \beta U'(Q)$ , so there are always gains from trade. In the limiting case where  $\beta = 0$ , the farmer either sells his entire harvest or nothing at all, and the problem reduces to selling an indivisible good.

Let q(p) denote the farmer's supply function, which maximizes  $pq + \beta U(Q - q)$ , and define  $\Pi(p) \equiv pq(p) + \beta U(Q - q(p))$ . Clearly q(p) is strictly positive at any price p satisfying  $p > \beta U'(Q)$ , strictly increasing and approaches Q as p becomes arbitrarily large. Our first assumption is that the supply function is weakly concave  $(q''(\cdot) \leq 0)$ .

Second, we assume that  $W(\Pi(p))$  is concave, so that an increase in farmgate price risk lowers F's welfare. In the limiting case where  $\beta$  is zero, this requires W to be weakly concave, and includes the case where the farmer is risk-neutral. Hence we assume at least a mild level of risk-aversion, with the required lower bound vanishing as  $\beta$  approaches zero.

Finally, if VT faced no competition from other traders, he would behave monopsonistically, and select monopsony price  $m(w) = \arg\max(w - m)q(m)$  which solves

 $w=m+\frac{q(m)}{q'(m)}$ . We assume that if F knew the realization of w, then VT would have to offer him more than the monopsony price, to prevent him from exercising his option to visit the *haat*. Specifically, for all  $w\in [\underline{w}, \overline{w}]$ 

$$M(w) > m(w) \tag{1}$$

where F's reservation price M(w) is defined by

$$\Pi(M(w)) = \Pi(h(w)) - s \tag{2}$$

We also assume that  $\Pi(h(\underline{w})) > s$ , to ensure that M(.) is well-defined and positive-valued.

We use Weak Perfect Bayesian Equilibrium (WPBE) as the equilibrium concept. Suppose  $V \equiv W(\Pi(.))$ . Then, formally, the equilibrium is a price-offer by VT and an acceptance strategy for F p(w), a(p), with supporting posterior beliefs G(.|p) that obey Bayes rule on the equilibrium path, where:

- 1. p(w) maximizes a(p)[w-p]q(p)
- 2. a(p) maximizes  $aV(p) + (1-a)E_{G(.|p)}[V(M(w))]$  over [0,1]

The outcome of any WPBE is a pattern of state-dependent trades, where in state w, F sells:

$$F \text{ sells} \begin{cases} q(p(w)) \text{ to } VT \text{ with probability } \alpha(w) \equiv a(p(w)) \\ q(h(w)) \text{ to } F \text{ otherwise} \end{cases}$$

## 4.1 Classes of Equilibria

Different classes of equilibria vary in terms of how much information VT's price offers convey to F about the realization of w. We first describe equilibria that reveal w entirely,

then those that convey no information at all, and finally hybrid forms that convey some information. We then present the main results and explain the intuition behind them. Formal proofs can be found in the online Appendix.

#### 4.2 Fully Revealing Equilibrium

An equilibrium is said to be *fully revealing* or separating if the associated price offer function p(.) is strictly increasing in w.

**Proposition 1** When (1) holds, there exists a fully revealing or separating equilibrium, where VT offers p(w) = M(w) in state w, and the offer is accepted by F with probability  $\alpha(w) \in [0,1]$  which is a strictly increasing function satisfying the differential equation

$$\frac{\alpha'(w)}{\alpha(w)} = \frac{M'(w)}{w - M(w)} \left[1 - \frac{(w - M(w))q'(M(w))}{q(M(w))}\right]$$
(3)

with endpoint constraint  $\alpha(\bar{w}) \leq 1.^{15}$ 

Along the equilibrium path, F can infer the exact realization of w from the observed price offer. The price offer equals F's reservation price corresponding to state w, so that F is indifferent between accepting and rejecting it. F accepts with probability  $\alpha(w)$ , which by construction creates an incentive for VT to offer the price M(w) when the state is w. Since M(w) > m(w) and VT's payoff function is concave in the price, he is tempted to offer a price lower than M(w). However the price offer reveals w to F, and, and given F's outside option of selling at M(w), a lower price offer is less likely to be accepted. This offsets the larger profit that VT obtains if it is accepted. The possibility

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>The equilibrium is supported by off-equilibrium path beliefs wherein any price offer below  $p(\underline{w})$  leads F to believe  $w=\underline{w}$  with probability one, and any price offer above  $p(\bar{w})$  leads him to believe  $w=\bar{w}$  with probability one.

that trade does not occur is a deadweight loss arising from VT's incentive compatibility constraint: VT is worse off when the price offer is not accepted, while F is indifferent.

#### 4.3 Fully Non-Revealing Equilibrium

At the other extreme, if VT offers the same price  $\bar{p}$  irrespective of the realization of w and F accepts the offer with some positive probability  $\bar{\alpha}$ , then the equilibrium reveals no information to F. When such a fully non-revealing equilibrium (FNRE) exists, and  $\bar{\alpha} \in (0,1)$ , F must be indifferent between accepting and rejecting. Any such equilibrium is Pareto dominated by an equilibrium where the pooled price  $\bar{p}$  is identical, but F instead accepts with probability one. For this reason we focus on FNRE with  $\bar{\alpha}=1.^{16}$ 

**Proposition 2** The following conditions are sufficient and (almost) necessary for the existence of a fully non-revealing equilibrium, where VT offers the same price  $\bar{p}$  irrespective of the realization of w, and this price offer is accepted by F with probability one:  $^{17}$ 

(FP1) 
$$\underline{w} \geq \bar{p}$$
, where  $\bar{p}$  satisfies  $W(\Pi(\bar{p})) = E_w[W(\Pi(M(w)))]$ .

(FP2) If the state is  $\bar{w}$ , VT does not deviate from price offer  $\bar{p}$  to price offer  $M(\bar{w})$ , where  $M(\bar{w})$  is also accepted with probability one.

<sup>17</sup>It is supported by the following off-equilibrium-path beliefs: if the price offer is  $p \le \bar{p}$ , then F does not update his beliefs. If  $p \ge \bar{p}$ , F believes  $w = \bar{w}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>There may also exist FNRE involving a pooled price above  $\bar{p}$  where F is strictly better off accepting than rejecting, and where the price offer is accepted with probability one. Such an FNRE cannot be compared in the Pareto sense with the one we focus on below, because it makes F better off but makes VT worse off. In what follows we ignore such FNRE by assuming that the equilibrium that maximizes VT's payoff is selected.

Note that while the fully revealing equilibrium always exists, the fully non-revealing equilibria can fail to exist if the support of the distribution of w is sufficiently wide. However, when this happens, partially revealing equilibria generally exist. We describe these next.

#### 4.4 Partially Revealing Equilibrium

In a step-function partially revealing equilibrium (SPRE) the price offer is a step function. The support of w is partitioned into a set of consecutive intervals  $I_i \equiv [w_i, w_{i+1}], i = 1, \ldots, n$  with  $w_1 = \underline{w}$  and  $w_{n+1} = \bar{w}$ . VT offers a constant price  $\bar{p}_i$  when w is in  $[w_i, w_{i+1})$ , with  $\bar{p}_i > \bar{p}_{i-1}$ . On the equilibrium path, F accepts offer  $\bar{p}_i$  with probability  $\alpha_i$ . The fixed price  $\bar{p}_i$  satisfies  $W(\Pi(\bar{p}_i)) = E_{w|w \in I_i|}[W(\Pi(M(w)))]$ , and F is indifferent between accepting and rejecting  $\bar{p}_i$  after learning that  $w \in [w_i, w_{i+1}]$ .

**Proposition 3** The following conditions are sufficient and (almost) necessary for a step-function partially revealing equilibrium to exist. <sup>18</sup> For each i:

$$(PP1) w_i \geq \bar{p}_i.$$

(PP2) If the state is  $w_{i+1}$ , VT is indifferent between offering  $\bar{p}_i$  and  $\bar{p}_{i-1}$ .

(PP3) If the state is  $\bar{w}$ , VT does not deviate from price offer  $\bar{p}_n$  to price offer  $M(\bar{w})$ , where  $M(\bar{w})$  is accepted with probability one.

A partially revealing equilibrium is intermediate between a fully non-revealing and fully revealing equilibrium. VT's price offer varies in a coarse way with w: rising when

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>When he receives an offer in the interval  $I_i=(\bar{p}_{i-1},\bar{p}_i]$ , F updates the support of his beliefs to  $I_i$ . Offers below  $\bar{p}_1$  induce the same beliefs as  $\bar{p}_1$ , while any offer above  $\bar{p}_n$  induces F to believe that  $w=\bar{w}$ . F rejects any offer in the interval  $(\bar{p}_{i-1},\bar{p}_i)$ .

w moves from one interval to the next, but constant within any interval. As in a separating equilibrium, all price offers except the highest have to be rejected with some probability, and acceptance probabilities must rise with the price offer. In any interval  $I_i = [w_i, w_{i+1}]$ , when w is close to  $w_i$ , VT is tempted to lower the price offer from  $\bar{p}_i$  to  $\bar{p}_{i-1}$ , since  $\bar{p}_i > M(w_i) > m(w_i)$ . However the penalty for lowering the price is that the lower price will be rejected with a higher probability. Within any given interval  $I_i$ , the price offer is constant, and trade takes place with some probability. The ratio of the probabilities that F accepts  $\bar{p}_i$  and  $\bar{p}_{i-1}$  is selected to ensure that condition (PP2) holds. This is analogous to (3) in a fully revealing equilibrium.

There can also be equilibria which are partially revealing in other ways: price offer functions that are mixtures of step-functions and strictly increasing segments. Clearly there is a plethora of possible equilibria, varying in the extent of information that is revealed to F.

Since F is always indifferent between accepting and rejecting the price offers in each equilibrium, it is evident that the separating, fully non-revealing and partially revealing equilibria all generate the same ex ante welfare for F. However VT's ex ante welfare could vary. We turn to this issue next.

### 4.5 Comparing Profitability of Alternative Equilibria

We start by comparing the ex ante profits earned by VT in the selected FRE and FNRE, assuming the FNRE exists.

**Proposition 4** If  $\beta$  is sufficiently small, VT earns a larger ex ante profit in the FNRE than in any FRE.

The key force driving the result is that trade may not occur at all in the FRE, whereas the FNRE always results in trade. Besides, the sale price in the FRE varies with the state, resulting in risk that benefits neither VT nor F. Since F has the same expected utility in both equilibria, the constant price in the FNRE is lower than the average price in the FRE. This lower average price in the FNRE also benefits VT, since the farmer's reservation price is higher than the monopsony price. From VT's point of view, the FRE outperforms the FNRE only in one dimension: the quantity he purchases co-moves with the wholesale price, so that he purchases larger (resp. smaller) quantities when the wholesale price is high (resp. low). This benefit is small when F places a low value on personal consumption. At the same time the deadweight loss associated with failure to trade in most states remains bounded away from zero, so the FNRE results in a larger expected profit for VT when  $\beta$  is small enough.

Our final result below considers the limiting case where  $\beta=0$ , and shows that the FNRE is the most profitable equilibrium across *all* equilibria. If the FNRE does not exist, a similar result obtains for the comparison of step-function partially revealing equilibria with more or less information revealed to the farmer (in the sense of Blackwell). Hence profit-maximizing equilibria involve maximal pooling.

**Proposition 5** Suppose  $\beta = 0$ , and an FNRE exists. Then the FNRE where a constant price offer  $\bar{p}$  is accepted with probability one, generates the largest ex ante profit of all WPBE equilibria.

#### 4.6 Effects of Information Provision

Now consider how these equilibria are affected by an information intervention, which changes F's prior beliefs. There will be no effect at all if the equilibrium is fully revealing. Non-revealing equilibria will be affected. Given the results in the previous section, we assume that the fully non-revealing equilibrium exists and is the prevailing equilibrium

rium selected by traders both before and after the intervention. 19

It is easiest to consider the case where the information provided by the intervention is represented by a partition of the set of possible wholesale prices, i.e., farmers receive a price signal  $\sigma(w)$  which takes the form of a step function, taking the value  $\sigma_j$  when  $w \in I_j \equiv [w_j, w_{j+1}]$ , with  $j=1,\ldots,m,$   $\sigma_{j+1}>\sigma_j$  and  $w_1=\underline{w},w_m=\bar{w}$ . The signal alters F's beliefs: signal realization  $\sigma_j$  informs F that  $w \in I_j$ . A fully non-revealing equilibrium conditional on this new set of beliefs now involves a different pooled price  $\bar{p}_j$  satisfying  $[W(\Pi(\bar{p}_j))=E_{w|w\in I_j}][W(\Pi(M(w)))]$ . If j is low (resp. high), F learns that the wholesale price is low (resp. high), so that the pooled price is lower (resp. higher) than if F did not receive the signal. The price that F receives now co-moves more with the wholesale price. We therefore expect to see a significant drop in price and traded quantity when the wholesale price is low, and a significant rise in price and traded quantity when the wholesale price is high. The effects on the average price and quantity may thus be negligible.  $^{20}$ 

Similar predictions obtain when the price signal does not alter the support of the farmer's beliefs, if it satisfies a monotone likelihood property such that low values of w are correlated with low values of the signal. Given a signal  $\sigma$  which induces the farmer's beliefs over w to be updated to  $G(.|\sigma)$ , the intervention results in a pooled price  $\bar{p}(\sigma)$  satisfying  $W(\Pi(\bar{p}(\sigma))) = E_{\{G(w|\sigma)\}}[W(\Pi(M(w)))]$ . If  $\sigma$  and w are positively correlated, high (resp. low) realizations of w and  $\sigma$  tend to occur together with high probability, causing  $\bar{p}$  to co-move with w. Compared to before the intervention, the farmgate price and sold quantity now co-move more with the wholesale price, and are lower (resp. higher) when the wholesale price is lower (resp. higher) than average.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>The results are qualitatively similar when the fully non-revealing equilibrium fails to exist, so that the pre-intervention "maximal pooling equilibrium" is partially revealing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>However, because  $W(\Pi(.))$  is concave, the effects are not necessarily zero.

These predictions are summarized in the first row of Table 5, and turn out to be different from predictions of other competing models of the trading mechanism that we describe in Section 6.

However the model predicts that information provision leaves the farmer's ex ante welfare unaffected. Conditional on signal  $\sigma_j$ , the farmer's welfare is  $E_{w|w\in I_j}][W(\Pi(M(w)))]$ , so the unconditional ex ante welfare is  $E[W(\Pi(M(w)))]$ . This is a general property of all equilibria, both before and after the provision of information. The arguments above indicate that the effect on village trader's welfare is negative if  $\beta$  is sufficiently small. Hence information provision results in an ex ante Pareto inferior outcome!

## 5 Experimental Results

We simplify the empirical analysis by aggregating the data to the annual level. The empirical results are not substantially modified when we extend the model to incorporate dynamic aspects (see Section B in the Appendix).

## 5.1 Average Treatment Effects

We start by estimating the effect of the interventions on the farmers' sales and revenues. Our data include information about the quantity of potatoes of each variety and self-reported quality grade that a given farmer sold in each transaction in 2008, and the gross revenue and the net (of transport, handling and storage costs) revenue and price per kilogram he received. We aggregate the sales of each variety-quality combination by farmer across the year, to compute the annual quantity sold and the annual average of farmgate price.

Table 6 shows the average treatment impacts. The regression specification follows

equation (1), where  $y_{ikqv}$  is the dependent variable: annual quantity of variety k and quality q sold by farmer i in village v, and net farmgate price, which is the ratio of the annual net revenue received to the quantity sold.<sup>21</sup> Besides controlling for the farmer's landholding size, all regressions include dummies for the potato variety and quality.

In alternative columns, we include *mandi* fixed effects to control for fixed differences at the *mandi* level. In column (1) the sign of the coefficient for all three intervention dummies is positive, but none of them are significantly different from zero. Including *mandi* fixed effects in column (2) reverses the sign of the private information and the public information coefficients, and they all remain insignificant, consistent with our theoretical predictions.<sup>22</sup> Columns (3) and (4) show that there is also no significant average impact of the intervention on farmgate prices. In Figure 1 in the Appendix we plot average weekly farmgate prices in the treatment and the control villages, and the corresponding *mandi* prices. In line with our regression results, there is no discernible difference between the different farmgate price series.

### **5.2** Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

The main prediction of the *ex post* bargaining model in Section 4 is that informing farmers about the *mandi* price would increase the quantity they sold and price they received if the *mandi* price was high, and lower it if the *mandi* price was low. To verify this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>We discount the revenue for delays between the time of sale and the date when payment is received.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Since the estimated effects on quantity and farmgate prices with *mandi* fixed effects are negative for the private information treatment farmers who don't receive phonecalls, we think it unlikely that the true effects are positive but simply not detected due to lack of statistical power.

prediction rigorously we use the regression specification:

$$y_{ikqv} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \nu_{ikm} + \beta_2 \text{Private information}_v + \beta_3 \text{Phone recipient}_{iv} + \beta_4 \text{Public information}_v + \beta_5 (\text{Private information}_v \times \nu_{ikm}) + \beta_6 (\text{Phone recipient}_{iv} \times \nu_{ikm}) + \beta_7 (\text{Public information}_v \times \nu_{ikm}) + \beta_8 X_{ikqv} + \epsilon_{ikqv}$$

where  $\nu_{ikm}$  is the realized average price (or price shock) in *mandi* m. As before, standard errors are clustered at the village level.

For these heterogeneous effects to be identified, it must be the case that the *mandi* price is uncorrelated with the error term in the regression. In particular, it is important that variation in *mandi* prices not be correlated with variation in unobserved characteristics that might also affect the pass-through of prices. Note first that our experiment involved only a small fraction of the villages supplying to each market, so wholesale *mandi* prices were unlikely to be affected by our treatments. As Table A3 in the Appendix shows, within any district, *mandis* with average annual prices above and below the median were not significantly different in distance from the retail market, access to metalled roads, agricultural wage rates, or presence of industry/manufacturing. There is some evidence (only in Hugli district) that the average yield was slightly higher in villages under *mandis* with the above-median annual average price, and that the residents of these villages were less likely to have landline phones. However, the *mandi* fixed effects in our regressions control for these differences.<sup>23</sup> Below we also discuss a robustness check where we instrument for the *mandi* price with the city price.

The results in Tables 7 and 8 correspond to quantity sold and price per kilogram, respectively. The different columns in Table 7 use different specifications of the *mandi* price, different samples and different dependent variables. Focus first on Columns 1 through 4, where all 1545 farmers are included in the sample, and the total quantity of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Results are qualitatively similar when *mandi* fixed effects are not included.

potatoes sold (in kilograms) is regressed on the intervention dummies and their interactions with the price regressor. In column 1 the price regressor is the *mandi* price for each farmer-variety combination in the sample, averaged over the weeks when the farmer sold the variety. Thus it represents the average resale price the trader could have received for potatoes he purchased from this farmer, and we estimate how farmer outcomes vary with this price.

We see a positive coefficient on the *mandi* price average, although it is not significant.<sup>24</sup> The intercept effects on both the private and public information treatments are negative, and the interactions of the treatment with the average *mandi* price are positive. In other words, the information interventions caused farmers facing a low *mandi* price to sell a smaller quantity than they would have sold otherwise. However, at higher *mandi* prices, this negative effect was attenuated. The results indicate that in a village facing the 10th percentile of *mandi* price, the private information intervention caused a (phone non-recipient) farmer to reduce sales by 1090 kg (or 28 percent of the control mean, significant at 10%), and the public information intervention caused the farmer to reduce sales by 1189 kg (or 31 percent, significant at 5%). In a village facing the 90th percentile of *mandi* price, the private and public information caused farmers to sell an additional 1158 kg (or 30 percent) and 723 kg (or 19 percent) respectively, although these two positive effects are not statistically significant. From column 1 in Table 8 we calculate that in a village facing the 10th percentile of *mandi* price, the private information intervention lowered the farmgate price received by a phone non-recipient farmer by 18 paise

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>If the baseline equilibrium is FNRE then we expect no relationship between the *mandi* price and the quantity sold or price received. However if the FNRE does not exist, then the baseline equilibrium is partially pooling, in which case a higher *mandi* price causes the village trader to offer the farmer a higher price and the farmer responds by selling more.

(or 9%), whereas in a village facing the 90th percentile of the *mandi* price, it increased his farmgate price by 24 paise (or 12%).

The weights used to compute the farmer-specific *mandi* price average in Column 1 are endogenous to a farmer's decision to sell: if he chooses to sell only when the actual *mandi* price is high, then this average is an overestimate of the true average *mandi* price the farmer was facing. This concern is addressed in Column 2 by instead using an average where the weekly *mandi* prices are weighted by the volume of potatoes sold in that week by sample farmers in control villages in that district. This average is exogenous to the farmer's decision to sell, but may be less relevant to the farmgate price. We continue to see a large and statistically significant negative intercept effect and positive slope effect of the private information interventions. The signs are similar for the public information treatment, although the slope coefficient is not precisely estimated.

Note that in the bargaining model, the information intervention changes the equilibrium because it informs the farmer that the *mandi* price is either higher or lower than the expected price. So in column 3, instead of using the actual *mandi* price as the regressor we use the deviation of the 2008 *mandi* price from the predicted price, using weekly *mandi* prices from other years for which we have data (2007, 2011 and 2012) to generate the prediction. Under standard rational expectation assumptions, this *mandi* price "shock" ought to be orthogonal to farmers' *ex ante* price information and other relevant characteristics. Note the intercept effect of the interventions now measures the effect of the treatment for farmers selling in states where the expected *mandi* price equalled the actual price, unlike previous specifications where the intercept effects pertained to a hypothetical *mandi* price of zero. The model predicts that if the intervention does not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Since the explanatory variable is itself derived from estimates from other regressions, we report cluster-bootstrap standard errors, where the *mandis* are defined as the clusters.

change the farmer's belief about the prevailing price, it cannot change the equilibrium. The interaction term of the treatment with the slope coefficient continues to have the same interpretation: it estimates the effect of the intervention when the actual price is above the expected price.

As expected, we see in column 3 that the intercept terms are non-significant. The effects of the information treatments on the slope coefficient are positive, and the one on the private intervention is statistically significant.<sup>26</sup> In column 4 we instrument the *mandi* price with the interaction of the city price and the distance between the *mandi* and the city. This addresses the concern that *mandi* price changes may be endogenous to the intervention. If the city price is unaffected by the price in any given *mandi*, the exclusion restriction is satisfied. As we know from Table 2, there is considerable pass-through from the city price to the *mandi* price; hence it is unsurprising that the instruments are not weak.<sup>27</sup> Our results for the private information treatment are quantitatively and qualitatively similar when we use the instrumented *mandi* price instead of the actual.

## **6 Testing Alternative Models**

We now discuss whether the experimental results are consistent with alternative models of the farmer-trader trading mechanism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>The effect of the price deviation in control villages (see the first row) turns out to be negative and significant. This is consistent with the model (see the explanation in Appendix C).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>They pass the Kleinberg-Paap test for weak instruments with an F-statistic of 24.17.

#### 6.1 Risk-Sharing Contracts with Full Commitment

An ex ante contract would specify the quantity that the farmer sells and the price the middleman pays, for each realization of w (reported by the trader). This would allow the middleman and farmer to share price risk. In a direct analogy to implicit wage-employment contracts where firms insure workers against privately observed product price shocks (Hart 1983), a risk-neutral middleman would pay the farmer a constant price regardless of the wholesale price. Since the middleman bears all the residual risk, he has no incentive to understate the wholesale price; his private information does not create any distortions. The middleman margins could then represent risk premia on this price insurance. This would generate the observed low price transmission, but also implies that the experiment would have no impact at all. We summarize this prediction in the second row of Table 5. This contrasts with our result that the information provision increased pass-through.

Asymmetric information generates distortions only if middlemen are also risk-averse. A risk-averse middleman wants to understate the wholesale price, so as to persuade the farmer to accept a lower price. To keep the middleman honest, traded quantities are distorted downwards when the wholesale price is low, and are set at the efficient level when the price is at the maximum (the standard no-distortion-at-the-top result). Information interventions that reduce the asymmetry of information would reduce this screening distortion. This would cause the traded quantity to increase at low wholesale prices, but have no effect at high wholesale prices. Thus *risk-sharing contracts with asymmetric information predict a positive average treatment effect on quantity transacted; the treatment effect would especially be positive in low-market-price states, and would vanish in high price states.* This prediction is summarized in the third row of Table 5. In contrast, our experimental results show a significant negative impact on quantity traded in

low-price states.

#### 6.2 Risk-Sharing Contracts with Limited Commitment

Limited-commitment contracting models have widely been used to explain insurance and marketing contracts. These models allow for the possibility of *ex post* moral hazard: when the outside spot market price exceeds the risk-sharing price, the farmer might renege on the contract and sell there instead (Ligon, Thomas, and Worrall 2002, Blouin and Machiavello 2013, Machiavello and Morjaria 2015 and Saenger, Torero, and Qaim 2014). Informing the farmer about market prices increases this hazard, reducing traders' profits in the states when the guaranteed farmgate price is below the spot market price, thereby limiting their ability to pay the guaranteed price when it is above the spot market price. This can unravel the insurance arrangement, increasing the pass-through from the wholesale price to the farmgate price. Accordingly, the farmer would sell less (resp. more) to the middleman when the market price was lower (resp. higher) than average.

Note first that the farmers in our study were unable to sell directly to buyers at the wholesale markets, making *ex post* moral hazard very unlikely. Second, for our results to be consistent with limited-commitment contracting, traders must lose money in some states of the world: in particular, when the *mandi* price is very low, below the farmgate price. Indeed, this is a *sine qua non* of any insurance arrangement. (We summarize this prediction in the fourth row of Table 5.) We do not find empirical evidence supporting this. During the 2008 harvest, the lower bounds of the trader net margin at the four quartiles of the *mandi* price were Rs -0.10, 0.53, 1.94 and 3.21 respectively.<sup>28</sup> In the lowest quartile of the *mandi* price, we are unable to reject the null hypothesis that the true margin is zero. Thus even when *mandi* prices were extremely low, there is no evidence

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Net margins at the harvest time represent a lower bound to traders' expected margins, since they have the option of selling immediately upon purchase.

that the lower bound of the trader net margin was less than zero.<sup>29</sup>

#### **6.3 Standard Oligopoly Models**

Standard trade and industrial organization models of price pass-through in vertical supply chains assume monopolistic competition in the spirit of Dixit and Stiglitz (1977). They involve a simultaneous move game where each middleman selects his price (see e.g., Atkin and Donaldson 2014, Gopinath and Itskhoki 2010, Weyl and Fabinger 2013 and Villas-Boas 2007). Perfect competition and perfect collusion are limiting special cases. This corresponds to a variant of our model where village and market traders make simultaneous price offers to the farmer. The farmer responds by selecting one of the offers and a corresponding quantity to sell, or else remains in autarky. Providing information to farmers would not change anyone's payoff function: farmer payoffs depend only on the price offers of the traders since they cannot sell directly in the market themselves, and traders know their resale price regardless of the intervention. Hence, unlike the significant heterogenous treatment effects that we observe, this class of models predicts that the information interventions should have no effect. (See the fourth row of Table 5.)

Finally, models with costly search frictions à la Salop and Stiglitz (1977) predict that information interventions that lower farmers' costs of searching for traders offering the highest price, would decrease price dispersion across farmers and sales locations. (See the fifth row of Table 5.) However since village middlemen and farmers live within close proximity of each other and meet frequently, we expect these search costs to be negligible. Therefore we do not expect any effects on the dispersion of prices across

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>*Mandi* price realizations were lower than average in 2008. Since we do not find evidence for negative trader net margins even in this year, it is very unlikely that traders make losses in low-price states in most other years.

farmers. As Table A5 in the Appendix shows, there is no evidence that either intervention caused farmgate prices to become more similar within the village or, the *haat* price to become more similar across *haats*.

## 7 Conclusion

Unlike other settings where producers have direct access to markets, large transactions costs and regulations prevent potato farmers in West Bengal from selling to wholesale buyers directly. We have provided evidence that marketing middlemen earn large margins on average. Our surveys as well as experimental evidence provide support for a model of *ex post* bargaining in which wholesale price fluctuations are not passed through to farmers. While by itself this might suggest that farmers and traders enter into insurance contracts, we have shown that the entire set of empirical findings is inconsistent with insurance arrangements. Hence insurance premia cannot account for the large middleman margins. Instead, we argue that the margins reflect barriers to entry into the trading business, and farmers' limited access to markets. Our results also show that in the context of such vertical supply chains, improving farmers' access to price information is unlikely to have positive outcomes on farmgate prices. Hence researchers and policy-makers need to focus greater attention on promoting competition among buyers and enhancing farmer access to wholesale markets.

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Table 1: Potato Cultivation & Sales by Sample Farmers, 2008

	Mean	SE
Area planted (acres)	0.663	0.017
Quantity harvested (kg)	6553.3	177.2
Fraction sold from field	0.428	0.009
Fraction stored at home	0.165	0.007
Fraction stored in cold store	0.285	0.008
Fraction spoiled	0.026	0.001
Quantity sold (kg)	5962.6	184.5
Fraction sold at market haat	0.079	0.006
Fraction sold to village trader	0.908	0.007
Gross revenue (Rs)	12887.2	413.0
Net revenue (Rs)	11974.7	364.6
Gross price received (Rs/kg)		
sold to village trader	2.16	0.02
sold at market haat	2.90	0.05
Net price received (Rs/kg)		
sold to village trader	2.03	0.02
sold at market haat	2.43	0.05
Mandi price (reported by vendor) (Rs/kg)	4.82	0.16
Tracked price (reported by farmer) (Rs/kg)	2.76	0.03

Statistics are computed from farmer survey data collected in 2008. Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 2: Pass-through of City Prices to Mandi and Farmer Prices

	Weekly m	andi price	Weekly far	mgate price
	all years	2008	2008	2008
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
City price	0.81***	0.66***	0.02	
	(0.009)	(0.048)	(0.068)	
Mandi price				0.04
				(0.048)
Local yield ('000 kg/acre)	-0.03			
	(0.020)			
Constant	-0.59***	0.35	1.77***	1.73***
	(0.185)	(0.245)	(0.342)	(0.204)
Year dummies	Yes	No	No	No
Observations	2,691	790	596	596
R-squared	0.977	0.913	0.530	0.531

The unit of observation is a *mandi* in a week. In columns 1 and 2 the dependent variable is the mean weekly *mandi* price, in columns 3 and 4 it is the mean weekly price received by farmers in the catchment area of the *mandi*. Only price data for weeks 13 and beyond are included for 2007, 2011 and 2012. *Mandi* and week dummies are included. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. \*\*\* : p < 0.01,\*\* : p < 0.05,\* : p < 0.1.

Table 3: Effect of Interventions on Farmers' Price Tracking Behavior

	Track Days whole- since		Information through interven-
	price (1)	tracked (2)	tion (3)
	(1)	(2)	
Private information	0.805	0.692***	3.530**
	(0.378)	(0.069)	(2.085)
Phone recipient	1.818**	0.796***	11.161***
	(0.549)	(0.041)	(5.987)
Public information	8.596***	0.736***	52.173***
	(5.696)	(0.081)	(33.083)
Land	1.578***	0.988	0.932
	(0.209)	(0.012)	(0.071)
Constant	8.197***	4.945***	0.005***
	(4.431)	(0.501)	(0.004)
Observations	11,719	10,267	10,267
$Prob > \chi^2$	0.000	0.000	0.000
Pseudo R-squared	0.159		0.302

Columns 1 and 3 present odds-ratios of binary logit regressions and column 2 presents the odds-ratios from a Poisson regression. Dummy variables for potato variety, district and survey month are included in all columns. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the village level.

<sup>\*\*\* :</sup> p < 0.01,\*\* : p < 0.05,\*37p < 0.1.

Table 4: Effect of Interventions on Error in Farmers' Tracked Price

	Mean	N
	(1)	(2)
Control	0.221	3046
Private information:		
Phone non-recipient	0.190	2588
Phone recipient	0.179	688
Public information	0.181	4714
F-test of ratio of sum of squares (p-values)		
Control/Private Info without phone	0.000	
Control/Private Info with phone	0.000	
Control/Public Info	0.000	
Private Info/Public Info	0.112	
Private Info without phone/Private Info with phone	0.151	

The normalized "error" is the difference between the market price the farmer reports for a market in a given week and the average actual price in that market in that week. The reported means are the mean sums of squared normalized errors. \*\*\*: p < 0.01,\*\*: p < 0.05,\*: p < 0.1.

Table 5: Predictions of Alternative Theoretical Models

	: : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : :				-Effect of ir	Effect of information intervention-	ntervention–		
	Mıddleman margın	ın margın	Average m	Average <i>mandi</i> price	Low mandi price	ıdi price	High ma	High <i>mandi</i> price	Farmgate
	Low	High		-		<u></u>		1	price
	mandi	mandi	Quantity	rarmgate	Quantity	rarmgate	Quantity	rarmgate	dispersion
	price	price	sold	price	sold	price	plos	price	
Bargaining model			none	none	decrease	decrease	increase	increase	none
Contracts with full commitment &									
risk-neutral middleman	none	none	none	none	none	none	none	none	
risk-averse middleman					increase				
Contracts with limited commitment	negative	positive	none	none	decrease	decrease	increase	increase	
Simultaneous move oligopoly			none	none	none	none	none	none	
Search frictions									decrease
Our empirical reculte	positive	positive	\$	\$	7000	000000000000000000000000000000000000000	90	300	\$
	(weakly)	(strongly)	IIOIIIe	ווסוופ	ueciease	ueciease	IIICIEase	IIICI case	IIOIIE

We assume that in the bargaining model the fully non-revealing equilibrium exists and is selected at baseline.

Table 6: Average Treatment Effects of Information Interventions on Farmer Sales and Price Received

	Quantity sold (kg)		Net price re	eceived (Rs/kg)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Private information	457.64	-30.71	-0.08	0.02	
	(552.92)	(531.37)	(0.13)	(0.11)	
Phone	639.89	567.28	0.09	0.08	
	(417.83)	(433.75)	(0.10)	(0.09)	
Public information	230.54	-289.75	-0.10	-0.05	
	(522.08)	(512.66)	(0.12)	(0.11)	
Land	2252***	2216***	-0.10***	-0.08***	
	(174.77)	(178.39)	(0.02)	(0.02)	
Constant	2817***	3034***	2.17***	2.33***	
	(551.66)	(452.42)	(0.12)	(0.09)	
Observations	2318	2318	2318	2318	
R-squared	0.353	0.387	0.332	0.400	
Mandi fixed effects	no	yes	no	yes	
Mean DV	38	55	2.021		
SE DV	21	3.3	0	.0325	

Columns 1 and 3 include dummy variables for variety, quality and district of farmer's residence. Columns 2 and 4 include dummies for the quality as well as the *mandi* whose catchment area the farmer resides in. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the village level. \*\*\*: p < 0.01,\*\*: p < 0.05,\*: p < 0.1.

Table 7: Heterogeneous Impacts of Interventions on Quantity Sold

Price:	Farmer- sp. average	Weighted average	Deviation from expected	Instrumente	Farmer- ed sp.  Average
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Price	76.6		-252***	205.6	-819*
	(242.8)		(93.6)	(657.7)	(476.0)
Private info.	-3156**	-3911**	562.5	-4109.4*	-5838.1*
	(1,358.7)	(1,774.3)	(676.3)	(2,303.9)	(3,144.5)
Private info. $\times$ Price	708**	914**	828**	932*	1430*
	(320.5)	(429.3)	(344.9)	(534.7)	(815.1)
Phone	1418	-66.8	621.8	-2049	3344
	(1,419.8)	(1,578.9)	(664.6)	(3,706.1)	(4,040.3)
Phone x Price	-200.9	145.0	-68.9	855.7	-724.8
	(332.1)	(411.2)	(338.0)	(1,021.2)	(1,058.4)
Public info.	-2946**	-3174*	-140.1	-4153	-6571***
	(1,263.4)	(1,776.2)	(541.7)	(2,741.3)	(2,435.1)
Public info. $\times$ Price	602.4**	663.5	145.2	829.1	1600***
	(287.9)	(413.2)	(200.6)	(649.9)	(563.6)
Land	2187***	2198***	2253***	2601***	2464***
	(181.7)	(178.2)	(162.3)	(236.9)	(405.4)
Constant	2794**	3084***	3158***	3613	6242***
	(1,078.8)	(423.0)	(558.0)	(3,495.6)	(2,060.1)
				continued or	n next page

Table 7 – Continued

Price:	Farmer- sp. average	Weighted average	Deviation from expected	Instrumented	Farmer- sp. Average
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Observations	2300	2317	2283	1508	443
R-squared	0.392	0.390	0.362	0.447	0.515
					Long-
Sample	Full sample				term
					relns.

In columns 1 & 5 the price regressor is the relevant *mandi* price averaged over the weeks in 2008 when the farmer sold potatoes of that variety. In column 2 it is the relevant mandi price averaged over all weeks in 2008, with each week weighted in proportion to the quantity sold that week by sample farmers in control villages in that district. In column 3 it is the average deviation of the relevant mandi price in 2008 from the predicted mandi price for 2008, where the prediction is from a linear regression of weekly *mandi* prices for 2007, 2011 and 2012 on *mandi* dummies, period dummies, year dummies and their interactions. In column 5 the sample is restricted to farmers who likely were in long-term relationships with buyers, as assessed from their reports in 2010 of selling to a buyer whom they had been selling to for longer than 5 years. In column 4, in the (unreported) first stage we instrument the *mandi* price with the city retail price and its interaction with the distance between the *mandi* and the city. The Kleibergen-Paap F-statistic for weak instruments is 24.17. All columns include dummies for the quality of potatoes sold, and column 3 also includes dummies for the potato variety. Columns 1, 2, 4 & 5 include dummies for the mandi whose catchment area the farmer resides in. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the village level in columns 1, 2, 4, & 5, and are village-cluster bootstrapped in column 3. \*\*\* : p < 0.01, \*\* : p < 0.05, \* : p < 0.1. 42

Table 8: Heterogeneous Impacts of Interventions on Price Received

Price:	Farmer- sp. average	Weighted average	Deviation from expected	Instrumente	Farmer- d sp. Average
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Price	0.2**		0.0	0.5***	0.2
	(0.1)		(0.0)	(0.2)	(0.2)
Private info.	-0.6*	-0.7*	0.1	-0.5	0.4
	(0.3)	(0.4)	(0.1)	(0.4)	(0.7)
Private info. $\times$ Price	0.1*	0.2*	0.2***	0.1	-0.1
	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.2)
Phone	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	-0.3
	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.3)	(0.2)
Phone $\times$ Price	-0.0	0.0	-0.0	-0.1	-0.2
	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.0)	(0.1)	(0.2)
Public info.	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.5	1.1
	(0.3)	(0.3)	(0.1)	(0.4)	(0.8)
Public info. $\times$ Price	0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	0.7
	(0.3)	(0.4)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.7)
Land	-0.1***	-0.1***	-0.1***	-0.1***	-0.1**
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
Constant	1.6***	2.3***	2.2***	-0.4	1.4
	(0.3)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.9)	(0.9)

continued on next page

Table 8 – Continued

	Farmer-	Wai alaka d	Deviation		Farmer-
Price:	sp.	Weighted	from	Instrumented	sp.
	average	average	expected		Average
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Observations	2300	2317	2283	1508	443
R-squared	0.423	0.406	0.356	0.339	0.513
Mean DV	2.015	2.018	2.151	2.015	2.131
SE DV	0.0325	0.0325	0.0203	0.0325	0.111

Notes below Table 7 apply. Revenue (net of transport, handling and storage costs) is discounted to account for the implicit interest cost of delays from the time of sale to the receipt of payment, and is then divided by the quantity sold to arrive at the net price received.