

Market Design for Land Trade: Evidence from Uganda and Kenya*

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Abstract

Agriculture in low-income countries is characterized by misallocation of land across farmers, and fragmentation – the separation of farms into smaller plots – which increases costs and limits the use of increasing returns technologies. We argue that a carefully-designed set of trading rules can address these problems, and test this using two lab-in-the-field experiments with smallholder farmers in Uganda and Kenya. First, with survey data, we document that agricultural land markets are thin, prone to exposure risk, and suffer from coordination frictions. These characteristics typically hamper decentralized trade. Market design may improve outcomes by thickening markets, finding chains, and enforcing conditional contracts, but right-in-theory designs may be unfamiliar and hard for farmers to understand. Our first experiment, conducted in Uganda, simulates status quo land markets and confirms severe inefficiency. In a second phase of the experiment we find that a centralization intervention can eliminate direct exposure losses that arise through trade and promote consolidation but does not reduce misallocation. We then test whether designs that are more tailored to the land trade problem, but potentially harder to understand, can further improve outcomes. Our second experiment, in Kenya, finds that a computerized package exchange, which allows traders to specify a sequence of conditional trades as a single transaction, performs particularly well. Our results suggest that improved market design can reduce frictions and lead to important productivity gains among smallholder farmers, and may help unlock gains from complementary programs like titling.

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1 Introduction

Inefficient land allocation reduces productivity in low-income country agriculture. Despite the fact that labor and total factor productivity increase with farm size, farms are small and fragmented (Adamopoulos and Restuccia, 2014; Ali et al., 2018; Foster and Rosenzweig, 2022).¹ Land is also misallocated: there is substantial heterogeneity in farmer productivity but almost no correlation between farmer productivity and land holding (e.g., Chen et al. 2022b). These inefficiencies suggest large unrealized gains from trade, a claim borne out by quantitative and experimental analyses.² We argue that improved market design can help unlock these gains by creating trading rules tailored to address key frictions in the land market. Market design is likely complementary to other institutions, such as property rights, that are more often emphasized (e.g., Besley and Ghatak 2010).

We build our argument in three steps. First, we use a survey of smallholder farmers in Uganda to show that farmers believe there are gains to trade, but that the production environment has characteristics that the market design literature predicts will inhibit trade. We complement this by reviewing existing literature suggesting that the production function in fact has these characteristics. Both beliefs and reality matter. Farmers' beliefs about the benefits of trade determine whether they are likely to attempt to trade, and their beliefs about the environment determine what they will try to do. For example, the Myerson-Satterthwaite problem relies not only on the existence of incomplete information, but also the *belief* in its existence which leads to a strategic response. On the other hand, overcoming frictions will not matter if there are in fact no unrealized gains to trade. Second, we provide lab-in-the field evidence that decentralized trade is indeed inefficient. We build a stylized representation of the environment, consistent with our survey evidence, in which real farmers trade fictitious land titles with strong financial incentives. We let them trade for a week without any formal trading rules, and show that the final allocation is far from efficient. Third, we show that specifying rules targeting the market frictions we highlight improves outcomes in the same land trade game. We tested interventions that range from simple, easy-to-understand rules that would be expected to facilitate trade in a wide range of problems, to rules that are highly tailored to the land trade problem but potentially difficult for our target audience to understand. Overall, we find that increasingly tailored rules, despite their increasing complexity, consistently improve efficiency, and also tend to decrease inequality of outcomes.

Our work complements prior studies that have established a set of missing markets and institutions that matter for land trade, focusing largely on property rights.³ Despite the suc-

¹See also Deininger et al. (2016); Aragón et al. (2022b).

²Acampora et al. (2025) provide experimental rental subsidies, and find positive returns that exceed the payments, consistent with unrealized gains from trade. While showing an improvement, they do not attempt to estimate the total set of gains available, nor to understand what proportion of surplus is unlocked by their subsidy. Our goal is to design a mechanism that can unlock a large proportion of the available gains. Several studies estimate gains from land reallocation using quantitative models. Estimated returns vary widely (from about 20% to over 300%), but are typically positive (e.g. Chari et al. 2020; Chen et al. 2022a,b; Bolhuis et al. 2021; Adamopoulos et al. 2022; Britos et al. 2022). See Gollin and Udry (2021) and Aragón et al. (2022a) for a discussion of some of the empirical challenges in this literature.

³de Soto 2000; Deininger and Feder 2001; Deininger and Jin 2006; Goldstein and Udry 2008; Field 2007; Besley and Ghatak 2010; Galiani and Scharfrodsky 2010, 2011; Fenske 2011; de Janvry et al. 2015; Lawry et al. 2016; Agyei-Holmes et al. 2020 all consider property rights. Other factors include incomplete credit markets (Eswaran and

cess of this literature, recent work suggests that addressing these issues is necessary but not sufficient to achieve efficiency. In particular, property rights reforms such as rental market liberalization and titling programs have been only partially effective in realizing gains from trade (Ali et al., 2014; Bolhuis et al., 2021; Chen et al., 2022a; Chari et al., 2020), and historical studies show that initial misallocation of land can persist for decades even in environments where property rights are well established (Bleakley and Ferrie, 2014; Smith, 2019; Finley et al., 2021). Perhaps recognizing this, governments in many countries have opted for centrally-planned land consolidation and reallocation programs (see e.g., Hartvigsen, 2014). We believe that better land market design can unlock the benefits of land titling. Furthermore markets, which rely on voluntary trade and leverage farmers’ own preferences and information, may be preferable to government land programs when state capacity and trust in government are low, and expropriation risk is high.

In the tradition of the market design literature, our exploration takes place within a simplified, lab-in-the-field, environment. We follow the engineering philosophy advocated by Roth (2002), that suggests using lab experiments to build an understanding of the environment and iterating on design as a first step toward scalable interventions. In the terminology of Harrison and List (2004) ours are *framed field experiments*: we recruit participants who are active or potentially active in agricultural land markets and likely beneficiaries of the kinds of interventions we study, and our experiments strongly invoke the land-trade context.

Section 2 presents our survey evidence from a sample of 1,404 Ugandan smallholder farmers. We document five *facts*: 1. farmers believe there are increasing returns to scale at the *plot level* that are currently unrealized; 2. farmer ability and land quality are heterogeneous and complementary; 3. there are decreasing returns to scale at the *farm level* because farmers predict limits to how much land they can productively cultivate; 4. cultural constraints imply not all plots would be tradeable, even in a well-functioning market; and 5. farmers have private information about gains from trade, but do not believe there is asymmetric information about land quality, i.e. no “lemons” problem. We also show that existing evidence supports facts 1–3, which are essential for determining gains to trade in our experiments.

Section 3 introduces the game that we use to study the land trade problem, which incorporates the facts in a stylized way. Figure 1 gives an example. Gains from trade arise from *consolidation* of multiple non-contiguous plots to a single contiguous unit, benefiting from increasing returns at the plot level (fact 1), and from *sorting*, when higher-ability farmers are assortatively matched to better-quality land (fact 2). But decreasing returns at the farm level (fact 3) imply that surplus can be lost if trade leads some farmers to hold too much land (we call these *exposure* losses because they arise due to exposure risk, as we explain below).

We use the game to illustrate how the five facts jointly imply three *frictions* predicted to impede decentralized trade: I) thin markets; II) exposure risk; and III) coordination frictions. Thin markets (where only a small number of buyers and sellers are willing to trade a particular good) exacerbate two-sided information problems à la Myerson and Satterthwaite (1983). Exposure risk is a generalization of hold-up that occurs when a sequence of trades is needed

Kotwal, 1986; Binswanger and Rosenzweig, 1986; Binswanger and Elgin, 1988; Carter and Mesbah, 1993), low-quality maps (Libecap and Lueck, 2011; D’Arcy et al., 2021), and culture (Platteau, 2015).

to realize a surplus, but later trades cannot be guaranteed (Goeree and Lindsay, 2019). Coordination frictions arise when efficiency requires coordinating the actions of many traders (Milgrom, 2017). Friction I is mostly due to plot-level increasing returns (fact 1), which implies a given plot’s likely buyers are a small set of farmers with adjacent land. Frictions II and III arise because farmers often wish to condition current trades on future trades with other parties, leading to chains with many participants. These frictions mean that in a decentralized trade environment, farms are likely to remain fragmented and poorly sorted.

Section 5 demonstrates using a lab-in-the-field experiment that decentralized trade is indeed inefficient in a setting characterized by our five facts. Following a pair of training games,⁴ our sample of Ugandan farmers played the land trade game, exchanging induced-value land titles and game currency over trading periods lasting one week. Despite strong financial incentives, and high levels of trading activity, they realized only 23% of the potential gains from trade. Furthermore, there is striking heterogeneity across sources: they realized around 61% of potential consolidation gains, but only 25% of sorting gains. This is important, because lack of sorting is the key inefficiency emphasized in the quantitative land-misallocation literature. Exposure losses were also high, indicating failure to complete planned sequences of trades.

The inefficiency of decentralized trade opens the possibility that careful market design could improve outcomes. Design can address the three frictions by increasing thickness (friction I); enforcing conditional contracts (friction II); and helping farmers find chains (friction III). But the designer faces a trade-off between participant understanding, and the value of tailoring a design to the specific setting. Tailored designs are predicted to improve efficiency for rational agents, but they can often be complex and unfamiliar, which might lead to diminished performance. For example, the antique market is thin, so antique fairs likely increase efficiency by centralizing trading at a specific time and place, and are easily understood. Centralization could also thicken the housing market (e.g., through online real estate aggregators), but houses suffer from an acute exposure problem: I only want to buy your house if I can sell mine. A more tailored market design allowing conditional contracts could further increase efficiency, but may in fact reduce efficiency if inexperienced traders find them hard to understand. The trade-off between tailoring and familiarity is critical for our target population of low-numeracy smallholder farmers, and it is an empirical question which effect will dominate.

Therefore, our remaining analysis presents direct evidence on the effectiveness of market design, showing that improved rules can improve efficiency, and that our most-tailored designs perform particularly well. We begin with a simple market centralization intervention. After a week of decentralized trade, all participants in the above-described experiment were given a surprise opportunity to trade together in a single location for about one hour. As noted, this should thicken the market and may also help find chains and enforce conditionality, because agreements to trade will be more observable to others in the social network. We find moderate increases in efficiency.⁵ Decomposing the gains, we find that centralization eliminates most direct exposure losses that arose from trade and led to additional consolidation

⁴These were based on Chamberlin (1948) and gave the participants experience trading (initially-misallocated) tokens and game currency and being paid based on their final allocations. They achieved over 90% efficiency, demonstrating that they were more than capable of efficient trade under standard conditions.

⁵We use independent timing variation to show that these gains are not driven by just having a bit more time.

(reaching 70% of the optimum). However there is zero improvement in sorting, and overall efficiency remains below 50%.⁶

Section 6 studies the impact of further tailoring, using a second experiment, conducted in Kenya. We created a centralized, computerized land exchange on which small groups of farmers played a version of the land trading game. We test three increasingly-tailored designs. First, a general-purpose untailored design: the continuous double auction (CDA), in which bidders could bid to buy or sell a single plot at a time.⁷ The exchange enforces one condition: e.g., “I will sell this plot conditional on receiving at least X shillings”; we refer to it as “Package-1.” Our most tailored design, “Package-4,” is also based on the CDA, but is a package exchange in which farmers could make offers with up to four conditions: e.g., “I will sell these two plots, conditional on receiving those two plots and paying no more than Y.”⁸

Package-4 is highly tailored to our environment: reaching efficiency is possible with just one transaction per participant, potentially eliminating exposure risk, and the platform is responsible for finding chains, setting prices and enforcing all conditions. The market is also thickened because conditioning purchases on sales removes the importance of the initial endowment, leading to more potential purchasers for each plot. By facilitating wholesale reallocation with a single bid, Package-4 may be particularly effective at facilitating efficient sorting. In contrast, Package-1 requires many trades to reach efficiency leaving open the exposure problem, and does little to help find chains or enforce conditions. We also examined an intermediate “Package-2” treatment that permitted swapping one plot for another; we conjectured that this would help with consolidation, but less with sorting.

Efficiency in the benchmark Package-1 condition is quite high, around 70%, indicating that farmers could understand and use the exchange platform. The most-tailored treatment, Package-4, increases efficiency by 7 percentage points relative to Package-1. Moreover, Package-4 is particularly effective at unlocking sorting gains that were not realized by any of our other interventions. Collecting findings, we find that increased tailoring always increased efficiency, a result that initially seemed unlikely in our low-numeracy setting.

More-tailored designs improved allocative efficiency, but their welfare effects and political feasibility will also depend on their distributional effects. A particular concern is that complex rules might enable more sophisticated traders to profit from others’ misunderstanding of the

⁶Why did centralization work when farmers could have done it themselves? Section 7 shows that some informal centralization emerged endogenously, but this seems not to have increased efficiency, perhaps because some farmers who were essential for completing cycles of trade were not included. This points to the value of externally-organized and coordinated market centralization where sequences of trades are easier to coordinate.

⁷Continuous double auctions have a long tradition in experimental research, dating back to the classic work of [Smith \(1962, 1964\)](#). Empirically, the double auction has good efficiency properties even when the number of buyers and sellers is small (e.g., [Smith and Williams \(1981\)](#); [Smith \(1990\)](#)). We chose the double auction as our starting point since it can be implemented both synchronously and asynchronously and does not require an auctioneer to start and stop bid rounds and hence could realistically be used in the village setting with low variable costs.

⁸Our algorithm is based on [Goeree and Lindsay \(2019\)](#). Unlike their design, we imposed XOR bidding which ensures that only one bid from each player is triggered in any transaction. We also allow communication, use a different visualization protocol, and have larger packages, tailored to our setting. While there has been considerable work on package auctions, package exchanges have attracted less attention. Combinatorial exchanges have been explored in the context of airport take-off and landing slots ([Rassenti et al. 1982](#); [Grether et al. 1989](#); [Balakrishnan 2007](#)), native vegetation offset permits ([Nemes et al. 2008](#)), pollution permits ([Fine et al. 2017](#)), housing ([Goeree and Lindsay 2019](#)) and spectrum reallocation ([Milgrom and Segal, 2017](#)). See [Milgrom \(2007\)](#) and [Loertscher et al. \(2015\)](#) for reviews.

mechanism. We use an Atkinson index to measure (in)equality of final outcomes. Surprisingly and encouragingly we find that our more-tailored designs *reduced* inequality.

Finally, Section 7 investigates some of the frictions that impede trade. We experimentally manipulated the presence of non-tradeable plots in our first experiment (a possible consequence of cultural constraints, fact 4), and credit constraints in our second experiment. Both features are predicted to worsen the thin markets and exposure problems. Neither manipulation significantly affected efficiency, but both led to more unequal outcomes. We also provide evidence on second-best trading strategies that participants used in the absence of tailored rules, and show that tailoring crowds them out.

Closely related to our problem but not our setting, our package exchange was inspired by [Goeree and Lindsay \(2019\)](#), who study house reallocation. They propose, and experimentally verify, that a package market can help overcome exposure risk. An important precedent to our work is [Tanaka \(2007\)](#), which compares the performance of different land-consolidation mechanisms that might overcome exposure problems in lab experiments with US college students. We differ from Tanaka by studying a set of trading frictions including the exposure problem, and asking whether market design can work for actual farmers. Less closely related, the design literature related to land has concentrated on the land assembly problem where a single buyer wants to buy complementary plots from a number of small sellers, and in which a holdout problem occurs. Several papers explore solutions (e.g., [Plassman and Tideman 2010](#), [Kominers and Weyl 2012](#), [Grossman et al. 2019](#), [Sarkar 2017](#) and [Sarkar 2022](#)).

A few other studies have investigated efficiency in decentralized trading games in low-income country settings. [Fiala \(2015\)](#) and [Bulte et al. \(2013\)](#) find around 80-90% efficiency in trading games similar to the training games we use in our first experiment. This is slightly lower than our training games and much higher than our decentralized land trade game. [Lowe \(2021\)](#) conducts a game in which participants begin with mismatched goods (e.g. two left gloves) and have 4–5 days to find a partner with whom to swap; 88% succeed. This introduces complementarities so is conceptually related to our land trading game, but does not include the other frictions that we argue make efficient land trade difficult (e.g., there is no need for chains). Overall these findings are consistent with our claim that low efficiency in our decentralized land trade game is due to the frictions we identify, not a general inability to trade.

A small number of papers discuss market design for other development challenges. Many of these expect government to be the main buyer, for example, incentives for vaccines ([Kremer, 2001a,b](#)), refugee allocation ([Delacrétaz et al., 2020](#)), and antiquity protection ([Kremer and Wilkenning, 2015](#)). Closer to our motivation, [Hussam et al. \(2022\)](#) explore how revelation mechanisms might be used to select quality borrowers.

2 Describing the land trade problem

We start with descriptive evidence from a survey of 1,404 farmers from 68 villages (LC1s) in Masaka district, Uganda. We had two aims in fielding the survey: to understand the environment and whether it has features that theory predicts will hinder trade; and to validate the design of our experimental games. We first discuss the characteristics of the sample, before

documenting five key facts about the production technology and trading environment.

We began with a sample of rural villages selected to ensure that agriculture was an important part of the economy.⁹ In each village we asked the village leader (LC1 chairperson) for a list of households that would likely be willing to play our trading games three times over three weeks.¹⁰ From that list, we randomly selected 22 households subject to the household cultivating some land, and deriving at least 50% of household income from farming.¹¹ We invited household heads but households could send another member if the head was unavailable. Table B1 describes the resulting sample, and provides comparable national averages for farm households in the World Bank's Living Standards Measurement Study ([Uganda National Bureau of Statistics, 2020](#)). Our sample is reasonably representative, but slightly more educated (education levels are low: 7 years on average) and with higher farm incomes.

Fact 1: Consolidation Gains due to Increasing Returns at the Plot Level

Our survey evidence strongly suggests that farms are fragmented and that farmers believe that there are increasing returns at the plot level. Table 1 summarizes the data. Fragmentation is clearly present. Over 60% of our sample owns two or more fragmented plots, which are on average 24 to 41 minutes' walk from one another. Inherited plots are much closer to home than those that are purchased or received as a gift, which is consistent with a poorly-functioning land market in which it is hard to purchase new plots close to existing ones.

Farmers recognize that this fragmentation is costly.¹² When directly asked, 91% of respondents stated that they would prefer a consolidated 2-acre plot to two 1-acre plots. Restricting to participants who own fragmented plots, about 88% of them believe their earnings would increase if all of their land was consolidated, and estimate an average earnings gain of 53%. We also asked all participants their beliefs about the returns to adding a third acre to an initially-consolidated 2-acre farm. If the third acre is contiguous with the others, 66% of participants believe in increasing returns to scale, while 33% believe returns would be constant. If the third acre is not contiguous, only 30% believe there would be increasing returns, 37% expect constant returns, and 33% predict decreasing returns.

These beliefs on the farmers parts will motivate them to try to consolidate their land. Existing evidence from India also supports the claim that there are increasing returns. [Foster and Rosenzweig \(2022\)](#) argue that data from the ICRISAT villages in India supports the idea that increasing returns occur through two channels: labor is only available in lumpy units so can be used more efficiently on larger plots; and larger farms can take advantage of mechanization.

⁹We excluded coastal villages and those with very high or low population density, to focus on agricultural villages. We then selected a random sample of villages stratified by parish. See Appendix A for more details.

¹⁰We briefly described the games to the chairperson and showed some of the materials, to give them enough context for their recommendation. We did not explain the mechanics of the experiment nor any treatments.

¹¹There were zero exclusions in 93% of villages. We also required participants to have access to a mobile money account (theirs or a friend's or family member's) so that they could be paid. This did not lead to any exclusions.

¹²Although it doesn't appear to be the case in our setting, fragmentation can be used to mitigate risks when insurance markets are poor since weather shocks are often local. An advantage of the market design approaches that we propose is that trade is voluntary and farmers can use the tools as they see fit to adjust land holding in response to changes in auxiliary institutions. We chose an experiment where consolidation increased returns since it aligns with farmers' desires in our environment and is likely to be efficiency enhancing in the long run once insurance markets become better developed.

Fact 2: Sorting Gains due to Farmer-Farm Complementarity

Our sample also believes there is heterogeneity in farmer ability and farm quality, and that these are complements, implying gains to sorting. Evidence is provided in Table 2. 99% of farmers believe there is ability heterogeneity in the village. On average, they believe the best farmer in the village produces more than three times as much per acre as the worst, a very substantial difference. Further, 100% of participants believe total output in the village would increase if the best farmers cultivated a larger share of the village's land indicating both gains from matching, and that the current allocation of land does not maximize production.

Again, the existing empirical evidence also supports the existence of farmer-farm complementarity. Gollin and Udry (2021) show that Tanzanian and Ugandan farmers use more, and higher quality labor and inputs on land that is estimated to have a higher TFP, implying that farmers act as though there is a complementarity.

Fact 3: Limited Agglomeration Gains due to Decreasing Returns at the Farm Level

Our sample also strongly believes that farmers face limits to the amount of land they can cultivate. Table 3 shows that only 60% believe they could farm more land than they have now. In addition, 99% believe that there is heterogeneity in these limits; some people could manage larger farms. On average, (assuming no hired labor) they estimate that the best farmer could manage nearly 5 acres while the worst could manage less than 1 acre. Farmers do not typically believe that they are the best farmer. On average, they consider their own household's maximum capacity to be 2.5 acres, or about 1 acre per adult member.¹³

Again, the evidence from Foster and Rosenzweig (2022) supports the notion that there are some decreasing returns to scale. They estimate that the optimal farm size in their setting is just over 20 acres, much larger than the average farm size in their Indian data of just 2 acres, but not the infinite optimal size that would be implied by strict increasing returns to scale. They argue that DRS sets in once IRS from mechanization has been exhausted and the usual diminishing returns come to dominate.

Fact 4: There Are Cultural Constraints to Trade, but Trade is Possible

Table 4 confirms that a thin land market already exists. All farmers in the sample are aware of land trade occurring. Leases are more common than sales: in the last 12 months 17% of farmers leased in some land while only 8% bought.¹⁴ The final panel shows that while there are only a small number of trades per year, these accumulate and 45% of land that is currently owned was purchased rather than inherited or gifted. We also see that farmers report making purposeful attempts to consolidate land through trade, with 24% reporting an attempted consolidation,

¹³These findings suggest limited gains from agglomeration but there may still be gains from better farmers cultivating more land and it might be efficient for some to leave farming altogether. As discussed below, our respondents are reluctant to exit farming and move to the city and there appears to be some stigma about farmers leaving the village. To avoid such sensitive issues, we did not explore this type of agglomeration in our experiments.

¹⁴There is asymmetry, with fewer people claiming they sold or rented out than those claiming they bought or rented in. This could reflect missing larger landlords in our sample, or plot fragmentation at the time of sale.

but only 50% of these attempts are successful. Overall, the table provides direct evidence that trade is possible, although markets appear to be quite thin.¹⁵

However, there are cultural and institutional constraints that limit trade. Table 5 summarizes the evidence. From above, we know that the first-best allocation likely involves sorting the best farmers to the best land. However, the survey suggests that more than 60% of farmers think that this would be unfair or very unfair. This is a potential strong constraint to trade, and highlights the importance of appropriate compensatory transfers when implementing such an allocation. There is also strong agreement that families should not sell ancestral land (i.e. land that has been passed down in the family). However, participants are more equivocal when asked if a family should be free to trade land to improve their situation, with more than 50% suggesting this is okay. Thus there is not a strong general taboo against land trade, but some plots may not be available for trade.¹⁶

Farming is an important part of our respondents' identity. They strongly agree that it is important to them to own land, they would like their children to remain farmers, and they are generally unwilling to migrate even if they could fetch a good price for their land. Such attitudes may be more permissive toward land reallocation between farmers than toward reallocation that moves some people off the land altogether.

Fact 5: Private Information but No (Perceived) Adverse Selection

The information structure of the trading environment is important for determining what frictions apply and what solutions may be appropriate. A particular concern is *asymmetric* information. If potential buyers believe that sellers have private information about land quality, the market may completely unravel as in [Akerlof \(1970\)](#)'s lemons problem. Strikingly, our respondents do not believe this is a concern. Table 6 shows that 99% of farmers believe they know how to identify the best land in the village, and farmers have multiple strategies for evaluating land quality. Farmers also do not hold strong beliefs that people sell or rent poor quality land, and do not believe that it is hard to assess the quality of other farmers' land. Thus our participants do not believe there is an adverse selection problem.

Bargaining-based frictions as in [Myerson and Satterthwaite \(1983\)](#) arise from two-sided private information, meaning that farmers do not know one another's potential gains from a given transaction. Is that a reasonable assumption in our setting? Table 2 shows that 98% of respondents believe that everyone agrees on who the best farmers are, suggesting that at least some information about gains is not private. But there is substantial heterogeneity in the predicted productivity increase from sorting, implying uncertainty of the exact gains from a given transaction. In general, it seems implausible that farmers know all of their trading

¹⁵We asked some additional questions that sought to establish whether complementary markets and institutions were functional (not shown in the table). Land registries and credit markets appear to be well functioning in the region. Most farmers know how to register land sales and there appears to be a formal way to transfer property rights. Credit markets also appear to function and 50% of farmers believe that they could borrow to purchase land. Over 70% of participants have participated in some kind of auction, suggesting familiarity with the kinds of solutions we are interested in, but these types of markets do not seem to exist for land trade.

¹⁶Some of the cultural constraints could potentially be alleviated by using long-term leases rather than sales as the basis for the transaction. Such leases would allow individuals to sort while still ensuring a flow of payments to owners of high-quality land and their descendants. For our experiments, it was easiest to describe transactions as sales. Thus, we do not address this potentially important contracting issue.

counterpart’s outside options, investment plans, or the value they might assign to a given plot for idiosyncratic cultural and non-pecuniary reasons.

3 An Experimental Model of the Problem

We now describe a simplified experimental model of the land trade problem, which mirrors the facts set out in section 2. This has two purposes, first, it can help us to gain a theoretical understanding of why land trade is difficult, and second it forms the basis for our experiments, which help us to understand empirically whether land trade is difficult, and how better market design can improve the situation. Further details about the setup can be found in Appendix A.

Figure 1 describes a land trading game consisting of a map of 72 plots. Land is divided into three regions corresponding to low, medium, and high *quality*, indicated by symbols (🌱, 🌱🌱, 🌱🌱🌱). There are 18 farmers, each described by a different color and number, and each with an initial allocation of three plots. Colors indicate *farmer ability*, which is low (blue), medium (orange), or high (green). Participants in the experiment take on the role of a farmer, and begin the game with endowments of land and game currency. Through trade, they can earn money by improving the value of their endowments.

We model increasing returns at the plot level (Fact 1) through *adjacency bonuses*. Farmers earn an additional return when they own two or three plots in the same quality region that are adjacent to one another. We model farmer-farm complementarity (Fact 2) by setting the return to a given plot equal to the product of its quality and the owner’s ability. Better farmers therefore earn higher returns from any given plot. Note that while we always refer to quality, we could equivalently think of the quality dimension as capturing different plot sizes, in which case better farmers produce more from a given *quantity* of land. We model decreasing returns at the farm level (Fact 3) in a simple way by imposing that each farmer can cultivate at most three plots. If they have more they only earn the return to their best three. The combined implication of these three features is that in an efficient allocation, all farmers should hold three consolidated plots, and farmer ability and land quality should be assortatively matched.

We capture cultural constraints (Fact 4) by assuming 18 plots on the map, represented by white space, are not available for trade at any price (for example, these could represent ancestral land). We also created a version of each map without nontradable plots in order to better understand the impact of cultural constraints of this type (See Figure 2). We will refer to maps with nontradable plots as “complex,” and maps without nontradable plots as “simple.”

We assume that all farmers know their own value of any plot or combination of plots, i.e. there is no adverse selection (Fact 5). However, these values are private to them and in our experiments participants are asked not to share this information with other participants.

Figure 1a shows an example initial allocation, featuring fragmentation and misallocation of land. Figure 1b shows an efficient allocation.

3.1 Why is Land Trade Hard?

We now discuss why Facts 1–5 imply three *frictions* that could impede efficient land trade.

Friction I: Thin Markets and Private Information

A thin market is one with only a small number of buyers and sellers willing to trade a particular good. In our setting, decentralized markets are likely to be thin due to increasing returns at the plot level (Fact 1) and farmer-farm complementarity (Fact 2). In our maps, the complementarity between farmer and land type implies that there are only ever 6 efficient buyers for each quality of plot. In a real world market heterogeneity is likely to be more continuous, but the matching requirement created by complementarity will still reduce thickness relative to a homogeneous goods market. Increasing returns at the plot level exacerbates the problem because a given plot is of relatively low value to those who do not already have nearby plots. For instance, if farmer 16 wishes to sell her plot of low-quality land, only farmers 3 and 18 would benefit from the increasing returns, meaning the market may only contain two interested buyers. Market thinness means that competitive prices may not emerge and transactions must instead be bargained over (Rustichini et al., 1994).

Thin markets combine with two-sided private information (Fact 5) to inhibit ex-post efficient trade. For a single buyer and a single seller, Myerson and Satterthwaite (1983) show that when valuations and costs are private and drawn from continuous distributions that overlap, it is impossible to construct an incentive compatible and individually rational mechanism that generates ex-post efficient trade, without generating a deficit. This result has been shown to extend to all problems where trade is one-to-one, and to a wide array of many-to-many allocation problems (Vickrey, 1961; Gresik and Satterthwaite, 1989; McAfee, 1992; Segal and Whinston, 2016; Delacr  taz et al., 2019). While it is difficult to directly tackle the private information problem through market design, a key implication of this discussion is that farmers would do better if it were possible to thicken markets.

The problem may be worsened by the presence of nontradable plots (due to cultural constraints, Fact 4). A benchmark for identifying the extent to which private information is likely to prevent trade is to calculate the expected deficit that would be generated when using the Vickrey-Clarke-Groves (VCG, Vickrey (1961); Clarke (1971); Groves (1973)) mechanism to reallocate units. The VCG mechanism is useful since it is the cost minimizing way to induce truthful reports in a large class of problems (Williams, 1999). In our setting, the deficit that results from the VCG mechanism being run on a complex map (with nontradable plots, Figure 2a) is always larger than its paired simple version (no nontradable plots, Figure 2b).¹⁷

Consolidation is easier than sorting. This literature gives us an important additional prediction: it is easier to realize gains from consolidation than from sorting. The consolidation problem has strong similarities to the case of partners who own an asset in common and wish to dissolve the partnership. This is an important exception to the general inefficiency of trade with two-sided private information, and Cramton et al. (1987) and Loertscher and Waser (2019) show it is possible to reach ex-post efficiency in a variety of partnership problems. Consider a

¹⁷The intuition is as follows. In the VCG mechanism, each individual's compensation is related to the difference in surplus that other players receive when this individual participates in the mechanism, versus when the player opts out and retains his original land. In the simple map, the adjacency bonuses of others are almost never impacted by one individual being excluded from the mechanism, because they can always trade with someone else. This is not the case in the complex map because an individual's plot may act as a bridge between two components of the network and may be necessary to assign players to contiguous sets of land. Hence, in the complex maps many individuals must receive a high compensation, so we expect a large deficit.

situation where farmer 16 and farmer 6 have each sold one piece of land and are negotiating over who will hold the two plots in the north-east corner of the high-quality region. We can think of this as a partnership with a single asset (the consolidated plot) and an outside option to keep the original allocation. Intuitively, the adjacency bonus means that it is common knowledge that there are gains to trade, and so efficiency is easier to achieve.¹⁸ In contrast, trades that aim to improve sorting, for example farmer 16 purchasing the disjointed plot owned by farmer 7, are closer to the original [Myerson and Satterthwaite \(1983\)](#) setting. For all of our analysis we show results for overall efficiency, but also decompose them into gains from consolidation and sorting.

Friction II: Exposure Risk

Exposure risk arises when at least one party stands to make a loss if a chain of trades (a sequence of purchases and sales) is not completed ([Goeree and Lindsay, 2019](#)). A leading example is hold-out, where a trader toward the end of a chain realizes they can capture most of the gains from the chain by holding out for higher price. Exposure can be thought of as a more general form of hold-out, including such strategic behavior but also any other reason the later trade may not take place, such as an exogenous financial shock to a buyer late in the chain.

Exposure risk arises in our setting due to increasing returns at the plot level, farmer-farm complementarity, and decreasing returns at the farm level (Facts 1–3). Decreasing returns at the farm level guarantee chains will form, because a farmer that buys land will also need to sell land, and vice versa. Increasing returns at the plot level mean that dividing up a previously-consolidated farm in order to relocate entails a risk of not being able to reconsolidate later (e.g., Farmer 17 in [Figure 1](#)). The gain to the initial buyer may not be sufficient to cover the loss of an adjacency bonus, so one party must make a loss on the first trade. Alternatively, if farmer 5 attempts to purchase the low-quality plot owned by farmer 10, but fails to form a consolidated farm, that initial transaction might be unprofitable. Turning to the role of farmer-farm complementarity, consider the case where farmer 16 wishes to first sell her low-quality plot and then buy the plot owned by farmer 6 in the north-east corner of the high-quality region. Farmer 3 is a natural initial trade partner for farmer 16, but farmer 3 has lower productivity than farmer 16 and cannot fully compensate 16 for 16’s initial loss of value. Thus, farmer 16 must take a loss from this first trade, in anticipation of a gain upon completion of the chain.

We conjecture that nontradable land (due to cultural constraints, Fact 4), increases exposure risk by reducing the number of potential adjacencies. A farmer who initiates a chain thus has a smaller set of potential trading partners later on, weakening their bargaining power.

Exposure risk could play out in two ways. First, it may lead farmers to avoid initiating chains, reducing the efficiency of decentralized markets. Alternatively, some farmers may decide to take on the risk by making a first trade, but end up holding inefficiently more land than they can cultivate. This second outcome is particularly important for market design considerations, both because it reduces efficiency, but also because it could amplify inequality among potentially vulnerable individuals, which would be ethically problematic. These observations

¹⁸Further, the initial ownership is exactly split, which [Cramton et al. \(1987\)](#) show is a case where it is always possible to construct a mechanism that allows for efficient trade.

motivate us to evaluate both efficiency and inequality in our empirical analysis and to further separate out “exposure losses” when decomposing gains from trade.

Exposure risk implies that farmers may prefer to make conditional offers, which could grow into long chains involving many farmers. To illustrate, in the example above, 16 would like to sell her low quality plot to farmer 3 *conditional* on being able to purchase a high quality plot from farmer 6. This is a chain of three farmers that that will move toward an optimal allocation so long as farmer 16 can be convinced that the conditionality will be enforced. Hence, exposure risk creates demand for conditionality.

Friction III: Coordination Frictions

Increasing returns at the plot level, farmer-farm complementarity, and decreasing returns at the farm level (Facts 1–3) combine to imply that reaching efficiency likely requires long chains of trade involving many farmers. In total, to get from the initial allocation in Figure 1a to the efficient allocation in Figure 1b requires 45 plots to change hands, and many of these will be conditional trades because of the exposure problem. As highlighted by Milgrom (2017), when many complex transactions are required to reach efficiency, even small transaction costs can make it difficult for decentralized markets to function well.

Because land is inherently immovable, initial allocations or trades can create “packing” problems where an individual who begins to assemble land in the wrong place can make it impossible for others to assemble land efficiently without additional trades occurring. These problems arise even in the simplest case but are exacerbated by the presence of nontradable plots (due to cultural constraints, Fact 4) because this further reduces the number of potential efficient assignments.¹⁹ We conjecture that this contributes to low efficiency, and may make it harder for individuals to consolidate land once others have begun to do so. We explore these issues with our complex and simple map treatments in experiment 1.

Existing empirical evidence also supports the claim that the problem is complex to solve. ? report on an experiment in which they subsidized trade of leases. In their data, owners that are successful in making a trade take on average three weeks to find a renter and 87% of those who are not successful in making a trade report that they searched, but failed to find a renter, despite large estimated gains from trade.

Credit Constraints Worsen the Problem

Although our survey evidence suggested that farmers have some access to credit, poorly functioning credit markets are a common feature of low-income economies (e.g., Banerjee, 2003). They can play a particularly important role in land markets, where large cash payments are required upfront and the benefits accrue mostly in the future. If our farmer cannot borrow, the only way for her to raise funds for a land purchase may be to first sell some land. But then the problem simply passes along the chain: her buyer must also raise funds and may also be constrained, and so on. This exacerbates the need for chains, potentially worsening exposure risk

¹⁹Two examples: (1) it is not possible to consolidate the high-quality region without trading with farmer 17; (2) If farmer 10 buys farmer 4’s neighboring medium-quality plot he blocks consolidation of the medium-quality region.

and coordination frictions. We explore the issue of credit constraints in experiment 2 where we vary participants' initial cash balances.

4 Experiments: Implementation and Analysis

We conducted two experiments based on the game described in Section 3. Experiment 1 was conducted in Masaka district, Uganda, in Fall 2019. It was designed to measure the efficiency of trade in a decentralized setting, the role of nontradable plots, and the effectiveness of a simple market centralization intervention. Experiment 2 was conducted in Kiambu country, Kenya, in Summer 2016. It studies the effectiveness of two increasingly tailored package exchanges, relative to a benchmark centralized land exchange. We also investigated the role of credit constraints. In our analysis we present experiment 1 first because although chronologically it was conducted later, it provides clear conceptual motivation for experiment 2.²⁰

Our analysis of experiment 1 follows a pre-analysis plan posted to the AEA trial registry. We follow the plan closely, with minor deviations.²¹ In keeping with the approach advocated by [Athey and Imbens \(2017\)](#), our pre-specified regression specifications always control for the full set of strata fixed effects within which our treatment variation occurs; we specify these in the table notes to all regressions. Experiment 2 did not have a pre-analysis plan but we implement the same regression specification, decomposition, and analysis strategy, to ensure comparability. In both experiments we used blocked randomization of treatments and, within treatments, the different maps that formed the basis of the games.

Our main specifications regress efficiency, measured as the fraction of gains from trade realized by participants, on treatment dummies. We also decompose efficiency into three components: consolidation, sorting, and (avoided) losses due to exposure. Our tables report the decomposition measured in efficiency units (i.e., the three components add up to total efficiency), and also express consolidation and sorting as a percentage of the values they would take at an efficient allocation. For the decomposed analyses we report q-values ([Anderson, 2008](#)) that adjust for multiple testing across the three components.

5 Experiment 1: Decentralized and Centralized Trade

Our first experiment uses the game described above and depicted in Figure 1. Appendix A provides full implementation details, and Appendix E provides the instructions.

²⁰A key finding from experiment 2 was high efficiency in the benchmark treatment, which prompted experiment 1's investigation of efficiency in decentralized trade. We worked in different locations for pragmatic reasons based on our access to suitable implementation resources and partners, given our complex experimental designs.

²¹The plan can be found at <https://doi.org/10.1257/rct.4581>. The main difference between paper and plan is the order in which we present our findings. We pre-specified our analysis of simple versus complex maps (presented in Section 7) as primary hypotheses, and our analysis of the centralization intervention in Section 5 as secondary. We subsequently combined experiments 1 and 2 into this single paper, at which point it was narratively more logical to describe the intervention effects first, and the complexity effects later. Our pre-analysis plan also stated that we would adjust for multiple testing over two outcomes: efficiency, and consolidation (a subcomponent of efficiency). Ex post we concluded it made more sense to treat the efficiency analysis as a standalone hypothesis test, and then adjust for multiple testing when we decompose into its three subcomponents. Appendix B contains additional exploratory analyses from the pre-plan.

The distinguishing feature of this experiment is that in each week of play we gave participants seven days to trade amongst themselves within the community, without input from the research team. We therefore interpret outcomes as reflecting what is achievable under *decentralized* trade. At the end of the second week, we surprised participants with a simple *centralization* treatment; giving them additional time to trade with everyone in the same room. We argue that this is informative about the benefits of simple market design interventions that centralize the market, without imposing additional structure in the form of trading rules.

In each of 68 participating villages we recruited a group of 18 farmers to play our experimental games over a two week period, plus four reserve farmers who would step in if a participant dropped out. Recruitment and sample characteristics are as described in Section 2. We conducted three meetings, with seven days in between each.

Meeting 1 (start of week 1): we introduced the study, and played two training games. We publicly explained the main games, privately distributed participants' materials, and dismissed them, giving them seven days to trade.

Meeting 2 (start of week 2): we collected final endowments from week 1, and calculated earnings. We conducted the survey from Section 2. We privately distributed materials for a new week of play, and dismissed participants for seven more days.

Meeting 3 (final meeting): we collected endowments from week 2, then surprised participants with the opportunity to continue trading for one more hour. We measured their final endowments, conducted an exit survey, and dismissed them.

We paid participants for every game they played, plus a show-up fee for each meeting. Games involved beginning with an allocation of land and cash, plus an amount of debt. Payments were always based on the value of net assets at the end of trade, meaning the value of their landholdings, plus their final cash balance, minus their debt. Debt equalized initial net asset values, and sharpened incentives because it meant that a larger share of participants' earnings were derived from gains from trade, rather than just the value of their initial assets.

5.1 Training games

We use two training games to introduce the idea of trading fictitious land titles, demonstrate earnings calculations, and provide a benchmark against which to compare the outcomes of the main games. They were played by the main participants and reserves in each village.

Training Game 1 followed the spirit of Chamberlin (1948) and introduced the concepts of heterogeneous ability and the potential value of trade. Participants were assigned a type corresponding to their payoff from owning a single land title; holding more than one land title yielded no additional payoff. Types were uniformly spaced and land titles were initially assigned to odd-numbered types. Everyone began with the same cash balance, and debt such that initial net assets were worth 4,000 UGX (\$3.05 PPP) per player. Trade was free-form but, unlike Chamberlin (1948), resale was allowed so players could buy and sell as many times as they liked. Play continued until nobody wished to trade any more. Efficiency was reached if all titles were owned by the highest-type players. Average earnings at an efficient allocation were worth 7,000 UGX (\$5.34) per player, a 75% gain.

Training Game 2 introduced the concepts of heterogeneous land, the possibility of holding

multiple plots, and scale limits. Participants were assigned to one of three ability types, and there were three land quality types. Players earned payoffs on their best three plots, capturing the idea of decreasing returns at the farm level. Everyone began with one title, a cash balance, and debt, with initial net assets equal to 4,000 UGX (\$3.05 PPP). Efficiency was reached if all titles were owned by high types, with at most three plots each. Mean net assets at an efficient allocation were worth 6,727 UGX (\$5.13 PPP), a 68% gain.

5.2 Main games

The main games used the game introduced in Section 3. For each round of play we randomly assigned each village to a “map,” which consisted of an initial allocation of three land titles for each player. We used a set of randomly-generated maps where the gains from trade were divided approximately 50–50 between consolidation and sorting. In addition to their three titles, each player was given an (identical) cash balance in the form of printed paper bills, and debt such that their initial net assets were worth 14,000 UGX (\$10.67 PPP).²² Mean net assets at an efficient allocation were worth 21,940 UGX (\$16.73 PPP), a 57% gain.

We explained the rules of the game in public, but told farmers their type privately, and instructed not to share this information with others. We gave them a card that showed them the value for each type of land and the adjacency bonus they would receive from farming two and three contiguous plots. We also gave them a map of all potential plots, marking their initial allocation and the (initial) owners of all other plots. Figure A1 shows example materials.

Most players knew one another but we added measures to ensure they could find one another. Each participant had a player ID (from 1–18, uncorrelated with type), and was given a sheet on which they could record the others’ names and IDs. The village chief (LC1 chairperson) was also given the same sheet, and was available if participants needed help (most people were socially connected to the chief in some way, so this was a natural role for them to play).

5.3 Outcome Measures

As noted in Section 3.1, the theoretical literature on two-sided trade suggests that consolidating land may be easier than sorting. Further, the exposure problem may influence both efficiency and inequality. Our outcome measures reflect both these insights. We compute outcomes separately for each village and trading week. In the case of week 2 we compute outcomes both before and after the centralization treatment.²³

Efficiency. Efficiency is the fraction of possible gains from trade realized. Define *surplus* as the sum of the land values and adjacency bonuses of land owners, then:

$$\text{Efficiency} = \frac{\text{Final surplus} - \text{Initial surplus}}{\text{First-best surplus} - \text{Initial surplus}}.$$

²²In principle participants could exchange real money or non-game goods for land titles, which would affect our inequality measure but not efficiency. Nobody reported doing so.

²³We pre-specified the construction of these outcome variables for this experiment. Appendix B shows that our results are similar when we calculate consolidation and sorting gains without first adjusting for exposure, or when focusing on the high-quality region of the map.

Efficiency equals 0 if no trade occurs, and 1 if a first-best final allocation is reached. Negative realizations are possible if trade decreases total surplus. Note that the final allocation of game currency does not affect efficiency (but will matter for our analysis of inequality).

Efficiency has three components: Efficiency = Exposure + Consolidation + Sorting.

Exposure. Recall that we have defined exposure as a situation where one party stands to make a loss if a chain of trades is not completed. In our setting, individuals who end up with too much or too little land could unambiguously improve their outcome with one additional trade and thus participants ending the game with too much or too little land is a direct loss attributable to exposure.²⁴ To compute these direct exposure losses, we identified all plots that were uncultivated in the final allocation, and reassigned these plots to individuals who owned less than three pieces of land, in such a way as to maximize total surplus. We define *exposure value* and *exposure bonuses* as the additional land value and adjacency bonuses generated by this hypothetical reassignment. The (direct) loss due to exposure is calculated as:

$$\text{Exposure} = - \frac{\text{Exposure value} + \text{Exposure bonuses}}{\text{First-best surplus} - \text{Initial surplus}}.$$

Exposure is weakly negative and normalized by the same denominator as efficiency. Thus, it can be interpreted as the percentage of the overall potential gains from trade lost to exposure.

We note that our exposure measure measures only the direct exposure losses that arise from individuals who accumulate too much land or too little land across trades but does not include the indirect costs that arise if (i) individuals choose not to initiate a sequence of trade for fear of exposure or (ii) inequality that might arise from individuals who complete a sequence of trades but that are held up. These indirect costs of exposure are captured in the consolidation, sorting, and inequality measures explored below.

Consolidation. Our measure of gains from consolidation is:

$$\text{Consolidation} = \frac{(\text{Final bonuses} + \text{Exposure bonuses}) - \text{Initial bonuses}}{\text{First-best surplus} - \text{Initial surplus}},$$

where *final bonuses* is the sum of the value of landowners' adjacency bonuse values in the final allocation and *exposure bonuses* is defined above. Exposure bonuses are added back so as to decompose gains from consolidation from gains from (avoided) exposure losses.

Sorting. Our measure of the gains achieved through sorting is:

$$\text{Sorting} = \frac{(\text{Final land value} + \text{Exposure value}) - \text{Initial land value}}{\text{First-best surplus} - \text{Initial surplus}},$$

where *final land value* is the sum of landowners' plot values and *exposure value* is the additional values that would be attained if exposed plots were reassigned.

²⁴The sharp penalty for owning more than three plots was included in the game to capture decreasing returns without avoid overwhelming participants with parameters and difficult calculations. The downside is that it can amplify losses due to exposure, relative to a smoother decreasing-returns production function.

Inequality We use a version of the Atkinson index to measure to inequality, with the auxiliary assumption of log utility over income. Letting $\{y_1, y_2, \dots, y_n\}$ represent the earnings of each player and μ representing the mean of these values, the Atkinson index is:

$$I^A(f) = 1 - \exp \left[\sum_i \frac{(\ln y_i - \ln \mu)}{n} \right]. \quad (1)$$

A nice feature of this specification is that the Atkinson index represents the proportion of lost social welfare that is due to inequality. For example, if $I^A = 0.3$, then it would be possible to reach the same social welfare with 70% of the income, but with equally distributed payoffs. We compute the Atkinson index of players' final assets net of debt. As we set debt values to equalize initial net assets, the initial allocation features perfect equality. Ex post, around 7% of participants had negative net assets after trade in the treatments with decentralized trade.²⁵ A consequence is that $\ln y_i$ is not defined for these participants. Our analysis explores a range of (non-pre-specified) adjustments to deal with this unanticipated issue.

5.4 Treatment variations

Centralization intervention. After the second week of the game was completed and we had recorded the players' post-trade holdings of land and cash, we surprised them with an additional hour to continue trading, this time in a centralized location. We think of this as a very simple market centralization intervention.²⁶

We conjectured that centralization would have two effects. First, the task of searching for chains of trade is much less cumbersome, reducing coordination frictions and potentially increasing market thickness. Second, the presence of everyone in the same room may make it easier for people to commit to conditional trades, as any renegeing will be observed by a large part of the community. Being able to enforce conditionality will tend to reduce exposure risk, increasing efficiency and improving inequality.

Nontradable plots. Our theoretical discussion suggests that cultural constraints on trade, leading to nontradable plots on the map, will reduce trading efficiency and/or increase inequality of outcomes. As explained in Section 3 we constructed each map with a complex and simple form where simple maps had no nontradable plots but identical initial payoffs and potential gains from trade. Each village played a complex map in week 1 and a simple map in week 2, or vice versa. We use variation in map complexity to explore the importance of cultural constraints, which the theory above suggests will reduce trading efficiency, or create inequality. We further conjectured that the centralization intervention would be more effective in the complex treatment, because the problems of thin markets, exposure risk, and coordination frictions are more severe in the complex treatment.

²⁵ As seen below, exposure losses were common in the decentralized treatments and are the main driver of negative assets. In these decentralized treatments, an individual who ended a session with at least one surplus plot had negative earnings in 29.5% of cases, while those who had three or fewer plots had negative earnings in only 3.6% of cases. Negative net assets were observed in only 2.0% of cases in the centralized treatment, where direct exposure losses were rare.

²⁶ Since this treatment was applied in all villages at the end of week 2, an alternative explanation is that its effects come simply from more time to trade. We show below that this is unlikely to explain our findings.

In this section of the paper we focus on the effects of the centralization intervention, and discuss the effects of nontradable plots in section 7.

5.5 Results

We begin by benchmarking efficiency in the main experiment against training games 1 and 2. This helps us to understand the relative difficulty of the land trade problem compared to more standard lab trading games. We then decompose efficiency into consolidation gains, sorting gains, and exposure losses. As discussed in section 3.1, we might expect the consolidation problem to be easier to solve than the sorting problem.

Our first result establishes that the land trade problem is hard relative to the training games, that sorting is harder than consolidation, and that exposure risk is a significant problem.

Result 1 *Relative to the training games, efficiency in the main experiment is low. Farmers are able to capture some of the gains from consolidation but capture very little of the potential gains from sorting. Further, many farmers end up with sub-optimal amounts of land leading to large exposure losses.*

Figure 3 shows that efficiency in the two training games is around 90%. The high level of efficiency demonstrates that farmers understand how to trade induced-value land titles and are able to achieve high efficiency in regular trading environments.

In contrast, efficiency is below 40% in weeks 1 and 2 of the land trade game (Table 7, Panel A) and below 50% after the Centralization intervention. This low efficiency is not due to inactivity. Around half of all plots changed hands in each week. In our exit survey around 95% of farmers reported trying to buy at least 1 plot over the course of the games, and 87% reported that they successfully traded at least one plot.

Panel A of Table 7 decomposes efficiency into consolidation, sorting, and exposure losses, averaged over weeks 1 and 2 of the game. Farmers perform substantially better on the consolidation than the sorting dimension, realizing 61% and 25% of the potential gains from each, respectively, suggesting that efficient consolidation may be easier than sorting. However, exposure losses are large, equalling roughly 20% of total potential gains from trade.

We repeated our experiment across two consecutive weeks which enables us to investigate learning effects. Learning could in principle increase or decrease efficiency. Experience in the game might help farmers more easily identify and actively pursue good trading opportunities, increasing efficiency. However, farmers might also learn about trade *frictions*, especially exposure risk, and become more hesitant to initiate chains of trade. The data suggest that both forces may be at play. Figure 3 and Appendix Table B3 show that efficiency *fell* between weeks 1 and 2, and this fall in efficiency was primarily due to increased exposure losses, as well as a fall in consolidation. Looking at changes in asset allocations, we observe that only 5.6% of farmers chose not to trade any land in week 1, while in week 2 this proportion increased to 14.0%. As we argued in Section 3.1, with fewer trading partners, those who did choose to trade will be at greater risk of exposure and struggle to consolidate their land. At the same time, sorting gains, while remaining low, improved somewhat in week 2, suggesting that those who did actively trade performed better on this particularly difficult margin.

Next, we study how our centralization intervention affects efficiency. Based on the theoretical discussion we would predict that centralized trading reduces exposure risk since trades can be conducted synchronously.

Result 2 *The centralization intervention delivers higher efficiency and lower inequality. Efficiency gains are primarily due to the unwinding of exposure losses and improvements in consolidation. There are essentially no additional sorting gains.*

Panel B of Table 7 shows that efficiency improves markedly during the short period of centralized trade at the end of week 2. Efficiency at the start of the centralized trading period was around 12%. After around 1 hour of centralized trade it had increased to 47%.

These gains come predominantly from participants unwinding their exposure losses, which fall from 32% to just 3% over the course of centralized trade. They also do substantially more consolidation. From a baseline level equal to 57% of all gains from consolidation, they increase to 70%. In contrast, the effect on sorting is a precise zero.

Panel A of Table 8 shows that the centralization intervention also reduced inequality (and this conclusion is robust to four different approaches to adjusting for negative net assets). The reduction in inequality is likely driven by the mitigation of exposure losses, which particularly hurt farmers left with too much land.

The main concern with our interpretation of the effects of centralization is that this intervention also increased the time available to trade. To rule out this explanation, we exploit plausibly exogenous variation in the morning/afternoon scheduling of village meetings that generated up to 8 hours' variation in the time each village had to trade prior to the centralization intervention. If the gains we see come from increased time we would predict that (i) villages that had more time during week 2 would do better prior to the centralization intervention, and (ii) the impact of the centralization intervention would be smaller for villages that had more time before the intervention (because the remaining realizable gains are smaller). Figure B2 graphs efficiency against the number of hours available to trade during week 2. Neither prediction holds in the data. For prediction (i) we find the relationship between efficiency and time to trade is essentially flat and nowhere close to the large efficiency increase during centralized trade. For prediction (ii) we see that, if anything, the returns to the centralization intervention were larger for villages that had already had more time to trade.

Taken together, the results from our first experiment suggest that land trade is hard and that farmers often trade to inefficient allocations when trade is decentralized. Realizing gains from consolidation appears substantially easier than sorting. Bringing farmers together helps to unwind exposure losses and unlocks further consolidation gains, but has no effect on sorting. This suggests that there may be additional gains from more tailored market design interventions. We explore this possibility in our second experiment.

6 Experiment 2: Tailored Package Exchanges

Our first experiment showed that the land trade problem is hard and that a simple centralization intervention can generate considerable efficiency gains on some, but not all dimensions. In particular, farmers found optimal sorting difficult, and market centralization did not help.

Our second experiment uses a simplified version of the same game to study more tailored market design interventions. As a benchmark we set up a centralized computer-based land exchange in which farmers can trade individual plots in a Continuous Double Auction (CDA) mechanism, which we call “Package-1.” Our more-tailored interventions add the possibility of package bids, allowing farmers to condition transactions on one another. For example in “Package-2” they can bid to sell a plot simultaneously with buying another, while “Package-4” allows for still-larger combinations. The exchange platform is responsible for finding feasible trades and setting prices. The theoretical discussion in Section 3.1 argued that more tailored interventions could improve the efficiency of trade by thickening the market for any individual plot; finding chains; and enforcing conditionality. But whether they do depends on farmers’ comprehension and behavior, and is an empirical question.

6.1 Design

We used a simplified version of the land trade game, with 6 farmers and 12 plots of land. Figure 4 gives an example, and Figure C1 shows all eight maps we used. Each farmer was initially allocated two plots. We imposed that they could cultivate at most two, if they had more they received the return from their best two. Otherwise the game structure was essentially the same as experiment 1. See Appendix C for all details, and Appendix F for the instructions.²⁷

We set up two labs in a town in southern Kiambu County, Kenya, and recruited land-owning farmers from a census of the local area. Table D1 provides summary statistics and compares our sample characteristics to national averages from the Kenya DHS (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics et al., 2015).

We conducted 48 experimental sessions, each consisting of 6 farmers and 8 auction rounds. At the beginning of each session, farmers were randomly assigned a computer and an enumerator or “bid assistant” whose role was to train them on the game and then assist with the computer interface.²⁸ An additional assistant was available in each session to pass messages between farmers. Assistants were explicitly told not to suggest or actively organize trades. We allow for oral communication in this experiment since we are interested in developing exchanges that can be used in conjunction with current institutions. Given that communication is a feature in our target environment we consider it an important part of our design.

After the instructions and a 15 minute practice auction, we conducted eight 10-minute auction rounds, each using a different initial allocation, in blocked random order. Participants knew their types and that there were three ability types of farmers, but not the other players’ payoffs (they were assigned to a new ability type after the 4th auction). As discussed in more detail in the appendix, participants could see their current allocation and bids on their screen,

²⁷The main remaining differences were that (1) we did not target a 50-50 split of gains from consolidation and sorting (the realized split is 73/27), (2) we did not use debt, and (3) adjacency bonuses were calculated as 40% of the plot’s value – meaning higher-quality plots earned larger bonuses, whereas in experiment 1 each participant had a single fixed adjacency bonus irrespective of land quality.

²⁸Bid assistants are a common feature of real-life combinatorial auctions when the target population may have difficulty with the interface, and have been used, for instance, in the auction of slot machines and taxi medallions in Australia. In our experiment the assistants read the instructions in the participant’s preferred language, answered questions, helped with calculations, and entered bids into the system. To reduce the influence that an individual bid assistant might have on the experiment, we randomized bid assistants across participants and treatments.

and a centralized screen showed the map with labels for each current plot owner and icons indicating plots with active bids. Figure C2 shows the interface.

Participants were informed of their outcome at the end of each auction and paid for all eight auctions. Mean initial assets were worth 47 KES per auction, (\$1.20 PPP) while efficient play would result in average earnings of 55 KES (\$1.40 PPP), a 17% gain. Proportional gains were smaller than in experiment 1 because we did not use initial debt (see footnote 27). The average participant earned 418 KES (\$10.61 PPP, around 1.5 days' wages).

Our efficiency, sorting, consolidation, and inequality measures are the same as in experiment 1, apart from a slight adjustment to how we compute sorting and consolidation.²⁹

6.2 Treatment variation

We implemented a three-by-two design where we varied the trading mechanism between sessions and varied initial cash balances between auctions within a session. Our main analysis centers on the trading mechanisms, and we discuss effects of the cash treatment in section 7.

Trading Mechanisms. We consider three trading mechanisms based on the package market of Goeree and Lindsay (2019): the benchmark treatment, "Package-1," permits bids to buy or sell one plot at a time. The second treatment, "Package-2," adds the possibility of bids to buy one plot conditional on selling a second one. The third treatment, "Package-4," allows packages consisting of up to two buy orders and up to two sell orders. In our game, two buys and two sells would be sufficient for every participant to move to an efficient allocation.

A package bid specifies which plots are to be traded (e.g., buy plot 1 and sell plot 4) and a willingness to pay or willingness to accept. Bids are submitted in continuous time and the computer searches for the existence of a set of bids where (i) supply equals or exceeds demand for all plots; (ii) only a single bid is used for each farmer; and (iii) there is a non-negative surplus of cash (i.e., total willingness to pay is weakly positive). If more than one set of bids satisfies these criteria, the computer triggers the set with the largest cash surplus. Plots that were offered but not purchased stay with their original owners, all other plots are transferred accordingly. Prices are set by dividing surplus among the winning farmers as equally as possible, subject to revealed-preference constraints generated by the bids of non-trading bidders.³⁰

²⁹The reason is that in this experiment, consolidation bonuses scale with land quality (see footnote 27). We therefore compute consolidation gains holding constant the quality of a farmer's land endowment, and attribute to sorting all gains that come from changes in quality. Formally, let y_i denote the value associated with farmer i 's two best plots (ignoring consolidation bonuses), and let $c_i \in \{0, 1\}$ indicate whether these plots are fragmented ($c_i = 0$) or consolidated ($c_i = 1$). The total profit on farmer i 's land is $s_i := (1 + 0.4c_i)y_i$. The change in surplus from a farmer's initial allocation to their final allocation can be written as:

$$s_i^{final} - s_i^{initial} = \underbrace{0.4[c_i^{final} - c_i^{initial}]}_{\text{Consolidation}} y_i^{initial} + \underbrace{(1 + 0.4c_i^{final})}_{\text{Sorting}} [y_i^{final} - y_i^{initial}].$$

³⁰These require that a non-trading party would not prefer to be part of the transaction given their expressed bids and the realized prices. See Kwasnica et al. (2005) for a broader discussion of revealed-preference constraints. We explain our surplus division rule to participants using the logic of a farmer who has buy offers from either one or two farmers. If there is only one buyer, we split the surplus evenly between the two farmers. If there are two buyers, the buying price must exceed the bid of the non buyer.

Bids are exclusive-OR (XOR), meaning that only one bid from a farmer could be used in any given transaction. When a farmer makes a trade, their other bids become inactive. They then have the option to reactivate any inactive bid if they like. This ensures that farmers do not accidentally buy or sell too much land, or consolidate land and then break up land, in the same cycle of transactions or in quick succession.

We describe the algorithms used to trigger trades (the winner determination problem) and to allocate surplus formally in Appendix C. Here we note that our mechanism is a near real-time auction based on [Goeree and Lindsay \(2019\)](#) modified to impose XOR bidding. Bids were entered by the bidding assistants through the computer interface described in the Appendix.

Credit Constraints. Section 3.1 discussed how credit constraints can exacerbate exposure risk: a chain must form when a buyer does not have enough liquid assets to compensate the seller. To mimic the effect of credit constraints we varied participants' initial cash balances across auctions. In "high cash" auctions they began with enough money to induce any farmer to sell any single plot. In "low cash" auctions they were given one-third of this amount, which should be enough to buy an unconsolidated low-quality plot from a high-ability farmer, a medium- or low-quality plot from a medium-ability farmer, or a high-, medium-, or low-quality plot from a low-ability farmer.

6.3 Data Issues

Due to the complexity of our experimental design we encountered two implementation challenges. First, our lead enumerators raised concerns that the other enumerators did not initially fully understand the rules of the experiment (we gave them three days of training including practice sessions, in retrospect we should have had more). As the enumerators were responsible for translating the instructions and teaching farmers, it is likely that farmers also did not fully understand the mechanisms in the early sessions. Sessions were block-randomized to treatment in blocks of six sessions, and in the data we observe substantially lower efficiency in the first assignment block (for instance, 63% of auctions in which efficiency was negative occurred during this first block), plus a general tendency for efficiency to be higher in later blocks. We always control for block fixed effects since treatment was stratified at this level, and in addition our preferred specification drops the first block due to these comprehension issues. Appendix Tables D2 and D3 report results for the full sample. We find qualitatively similar results, but the treatment effect on overall efficiency is somewhat weaker.

Second, we lost some data: one session due to accidental reformatting of our server computers, one session where the wrong treatment was used, and two auctions where the wrong map configuration was used. In total our main analysis dataset consists of 40 sessions, 318 auctions, 240 farmers, and 1908 farmer-auction observations.

6.4 Results

What should we expect to be the effects of our more tailored trading mechanisms? First, our package mechanisms, especially Package-4, have the potential to thicken markets. Un-

der Package-4, a bidder can easily offer to exchange any two plots for any other pair in a different location, independent of where they started. In principle this should make it easier for potential buyers to compete for different pairs of plots. Second, they reduce exposure risk by enforcing chains: a farmer can condition every purchase on a sale and vice-versa. Third, packages should reduce coordination frictions, because farmers only need to enter their bids (as many as they like) and let the algorithm search for the necessary chains.

Thus, in principle we should expect higher efficiency in the more tailored package mechanisms. Moreover, we would predict that Package-2 reduces the complexity associated with consolidation, while Package-4, by facilitating wholesale relocations, can unlock sorting gains.

However there are good reasons to be concerned that these theoretical gains will not be realized in practice. It is very unlikely that any of our participants had ever participated in a computer-based auction before, and this unfamiliarity could lead to them making mistakes or not trading at all. The richer mechanisms may exacerbate these effects. We will particularly struggle to find chains if some participants focus on bidding on packages while others only bid on single plots. Finally, richer mechanisms may enable sophisticated participants to profit at the expense of the less-sophisticated, potentially exacerbating inequality.

Our first result paints a strongly optimistic picture for the potential of tailored mechanisms to facilitate efficiency-enhancing trades.

Result 3 *Average efficiency is 70 percent or higher in all three mechanisms. Package-4 achieves 7 percentage points higher efficiency than Package-1, and does not exacerbate inequality.*

Column (1) in Panel A of Table 9 regresses overall efficiency on our package treatments. Average efficiency is high under all three mechanisms, so our concerns about the platform overwhelming our participants seems unfounded. From a base of 70% efficiency in the Package-1 treatment, Package-4 increases efficiency, by 7 percentage points, or 10%. This difference is significant. Efficiency is 3 percentage points (5%) higher in Package-2 than Package-1, but the difference is not significant.

Table 10 shows that the efficiency gains from more tailored designs do not come at the cost of higher inequality. We split the analysis by the amount of cash available because the Atkinson index is not invariant to total assets. We find no evidence that our package mechanisms increased inequality, and some evidence that they *reduced* inequality when cash balances are low. It could be that when buyers are credit constrained they can only offer low prices, so the distribution of surplus becomes more unequal. Packages ameliorate this effect by allowing buyers to compensate their sellers with land instead of cash.

Farmers continue to find the sorting problem harder than the consolidation problem. In the baseline Package-1 treatment they realize 86% of the potential gains from consolidation. The high consolidation rate is in line with our findings from experiment 1, especially in the centralized market. This is consistent with our theoretical observation that consolidation is more like a partnership problem and so less subject to information problems.

In contrast, participants only achieve 44% of the potential gains from sorting in Package-1. However, as predicted, our Package-4 mechanism unlocks significant additional sorting gains.

Result 4 *Relative to Package-1, the Package-4 treatment unlocks an additional 12 percent of the potential gains from sorting. In contrast, Package-2 unlocks just 3 percent of the potential gains, and this increase is not statistically significant.*

Columns (2) and (3) in Panel A of Table 9 report the impact of our treatments on consolidation and sorting. We see some (non-significant) improvements in consolidation. The absolute gains on the sorting dimension are larger, substantially so when expressed as a percentage of total potential sorting gains.

Finally, there are low levels of exposure losses in this experiment when compared to experiment 1, and no significant difference across treatments. This is similar to what we saw in the centralized market in experiment 1, where farmers effectively eliminated exposure losses.

7 Additional Results

In this section we discuss a sequence of additional results that shed further light on the frictions that constrain optimal trade, and the strategies farmers use to work around them.

Cultural constraints and nontradable plots. Experiment 1 was designed to test how non-tradable plots, by complicating the problem of packing consolidated farms onto the map, would affect efficiency and the distribution of outcomes. This is important to understand because cultural considerations (Fact 4) suggest it is unlikely that all plots will be available to trade. As explained in Section 3.1, the presence of nontradable plots has the potential to exacerbate information and coordination problems and increase exposure risk.

Each village played the game twice, once with a “complex” map (as in Figure 2a and once with a “simple” map (Figure 2b), in random order. We exploit this within-village variation to estimate the effect of nontradable plots.³¹

Table 7 Panel C finds that simpler maps yielded 4.4 percentage points higher efficiency, but this is not statistically significant (we pre-specified a one-sided test; the one-sided p-value is 0.08). This decomposes into a (marginally significant) 2 percentage point improvement in consolidation, a similar decline in sorting, and a 4 percentage point decrease in exposure losses. None of these components is significant after adjusting for multiple testing.

Map complexity seems to matter more for inequality. Table 8 Panel B shows that inequality of outcomes was around 15–30% lower on simple maps (depending on how we adjust for negative net asset positions). The difference is significant in three out of our four specifications. This may be driven by the reduction in exposure losses that we saw in Table 7.

We do not find that the centralization intervention helped more on the complex maps. Table 7 Panel D shows that if anything it caused larger efficiency gains on simple maps (though all point estimates are small, nonsignificant, and swamped by the overall gains from centralization). For inequality, our estimates in Table 8 Panel C point to larger gains from centralization on complex maps, but again the differences are relatively small and not significant.

³¹ As explained in Section 3 we had eight simple maps each constructed from one of our eight complex maps, with an identical payoff structure. Each village played one simple map and one *different* complex map.

Overall, the impact of eliminating nontradable plots in our game was relatively modest, not contributing meaningfully to low overall efficiency, but potentially relevant for inequality.

Other measures of map complexity. In Experiment 1, our complex maps varied in how many welfare-equivalent efficient allocations existed, averaging between 1.67–5.33 ways to assign six consolidated blocks in a given quality region (one assignment is a unique combination of L- and I-shaped consolidated three-plot units). In the simple maps there are 134 such assignments. Figure B1 graphs efficiency, and its decomposition, against the number of potential solutions, within the complex treatment, based on the conjecture that maps with more potential solutions are less complex. Consistent with our finding that the main simple/complex map treatment did not have large effects, we do not see any clear relationship in these graphs.

Experiment 2 used eight hand-generated maps, which we ordered *ex ante* according to our own judgment of complexity (see Appendix C and Figure C1). Figure D1 plots efficiency against this ordering. We find a decreasing but non-monotone relationship, with near-perfect efficiency on the easiest map (solvable by each player swapping one plot with their neighbor). The Package-4 intervention appears to have helped most on the more complex maps.

Credit constraints. In Experiment 2 we varied initial cash balances across auction rounds, to mimic missing credit markets. This might worsen the exposure problem. Table 9 Panel B shows that this had no discernible effect on efficiency or its subcomponents, and we see no significant interactions with the different package mechanisms. The main effects of the package mechanisms remain very similar.

However, Table 10 shows that low cash appears to have been important for inequality, and interacts with the package mechanisms. It is hard to directly compare the *levels* of inequality across low and high cash because the Atkinson index is sensitive to total assets, but we see proportionally larger and statistically stronger reductions in inequality under Package-2 and Package-4 when cash balances are low, and significant interactions between the low cash and package treatments in the pooled specification (column (3)). This might reflect, as discussed in section 3.1, that our package mechanisms relax the effects of low cash balances on exposure risk. In the Package-2 and Package-4 mechanisms, plots can be swapped, facilitating transactions that require only small monetary transfers. By contrast, in the Package-1 mechanism, farmers are constrained to buying and selling land for cash, which could lead to sellers being unable to fully capture the value of their land from cash-constrained buyers.

Coordination frictions and verbal bargaining. Both experiments allowed participants to bargain verbally over trades, either directly or through a mediator, since this is likely to be a natural feature of any solution implementable in the field. But verbally coordinating on chains of trade may be very difficult, whereas package bids allow participants to express preferences to the system and let the algorithm search.

The transactions data in Experiment 2 provide indirect evidence for this conjecture. We see many transactions with zero cash surplus, meaning that total willingness to pay and willingness to accept were identical (e.g., farmer 1 demands 300 and farmer 2 offers exactly 300). We

assume that these reflect “brokered” trades that were verbally agreed before being entered into the system. Figure D2 shows that 39% of transactions in the Package-1 treatment are brokered, but only 21% of in Package-2 and 16% in Package-4. All these differences are significant in a regression following our main analysis specification (p -value $< .001$ for all comparisons).

Endogenous centralization. An additional benefit of market design may be to help *coordinate on rules*. In general, there are many potential land trading “rules” that farmers might need to agree on. How does the community feel about people who renege on conditional trades? Should trade be bilateral or organized in groups? When should trade take place? Settling on rules adds an additional level of complexity to decentralized exchange.

As an illustration, if centralization is so effective, why didn’t communities in Experiment 1 do it themselves? They had good incentives to do so: the average participant’s earnings increased by 16% or 2,450 UGX during the period of centralized trade. In fact, they did try to: 89% said that they gathered in groups during the weeks of trade. However, Table B2 shows that the intensity of “endogenous centralization” is not associated with efficiency. More endogenous centralization is associated with more consolidation and sorting, but offset by greater exposure losses. We conjecture that even when everybody is trying to centralize the market, they were not able to all coordinate at the same time, leading to more chains forming and not completing. This points to the value of an external market designer exogenously defining where and when the market will be centralized.

8 Conclusion

Fragmented, misallocated plots are a hallmark of the agricultural sector in less-developed countries, and there is evidence of high potential returns to land consolidation and reallocation. To help understand how market design might improve the land allocation, we conducted a survey and two lab-in-the-field experiments in Uganda and Kenya.

Our results suggest that the production technology and institutional environment have characteristics that theory predicts would restrict trade. Our lab-in-the-field-experiments, using a game that reflects these characteristics, confirm this conjecture. We find significant support for the hypothesis that more tailored market design can improve efficiency, without increasing inequality. We see our results as providing a first step toward better-functioning, more equitable land markets that leverage farmers’ preferences and information to reshape the rural landscape.

We believe our designs capture the key constraints that market design can address, and have abstracted from problems that are best addressed elsewhere. For example, we do not allow for risk of fraud. While fraud also constrains land trade, we think that this is best addressed through complementary policies, rather than directly in the market design.³² The

³²Other concerns that we think matter but do not address include: dispute and uncertainty of titling (best addressed through the legal system, but also perhaps not that important e.g., [Ali et al. 2014](#)), savings constraints that impede sales because land is the preferred store of value (best addressed through improved financial access), preferences for fragmentation as risk mitigation (e.g., [McCloskey 1975](#), best addressed by insurance markets, and likely less important as technology improves ([Foster and Rosenzweig, 2022](#))), and cultural considerations such as taboos

upshot of this is that our estimates of the impact of market design should be seen as conditional on getting other institutions right. Whether real world gains would be larger or smaller depends on the extent of complementarity between market design and other programs.

When thinking about possible applications we highlight two points. First, the combinatorial double auction used in the second experiment is an asynchronous mechanism with broad application. It can be used both for cases where we might bring farmers together and attempt to facilitate trade, and for other use cases where the system is left in the village (e.g., via a land trade terminal) allowing farmers to enter desired trades over longer periods of time, for example in response to events such as death or divorce. Second, as noted in the main text, we see leases as the type of contract that is most likely to function for centralized interventions, since it is the most common type of transaction, avoids cultural constraints that exist in selling ancestral land, and requires smaller outlays of money in each exchange. Successful leases are likely to be renewed or eventually made permanent via a sale or purchase.

The market design approach relies on voluntary trade and leverages farmers' own preferences and information. As such, we suspect that it may be more politically acceptable than government land programs in low-income countries where state capacity and trust in government may be low. In ongoing work, we have begun to explore using rental swap contracts as the basis of real land trade in Uganda. We have found that interpersonal relationships can matter for willingness to trade, but have thus far not found strong resistance to trade, in contrast with some historical government-led reallocation efforts.

surrounding trade of ancestral land, which may be mitigated by using leases and may weaken as more trade takes place.

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9 Figures

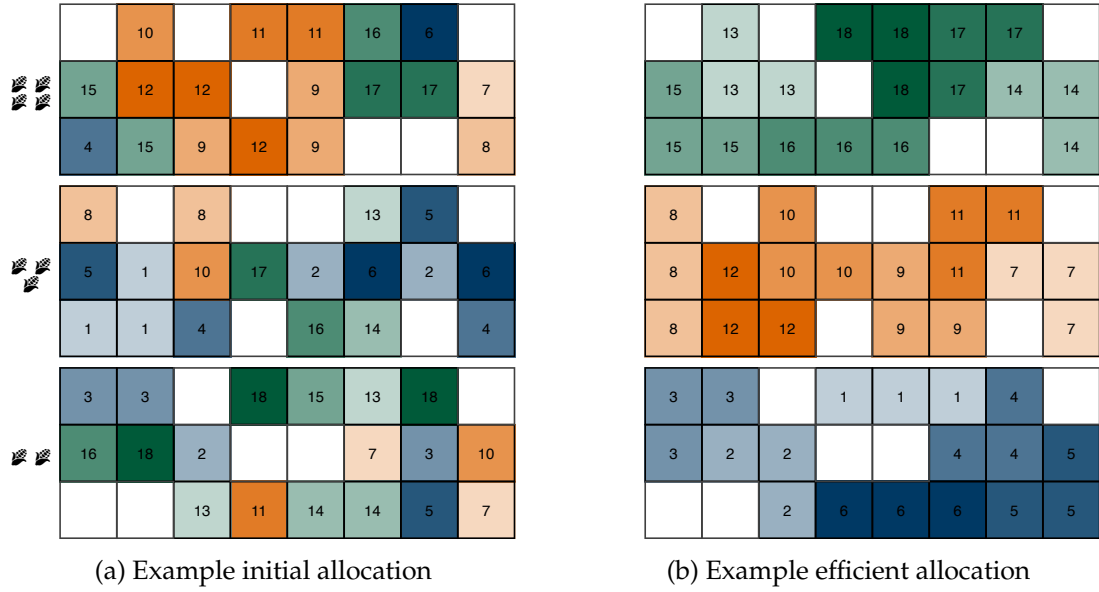


Figure 1: The land trading game

Properties: (1) Players are numbered 1–18 in increasing *ability* order. Blue corresponds to the lowest ability type, Orange to the middle type, and Green to the high type. (2) There are three regions, (1,2,3), (4,5,6,7), (8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18), in increasing *land quality* order. (3) Ability and quality are complements. (4) Contiguous farms earn higher profits than fragmented farms. (5) Farmers cannot cultivate more than three plots.

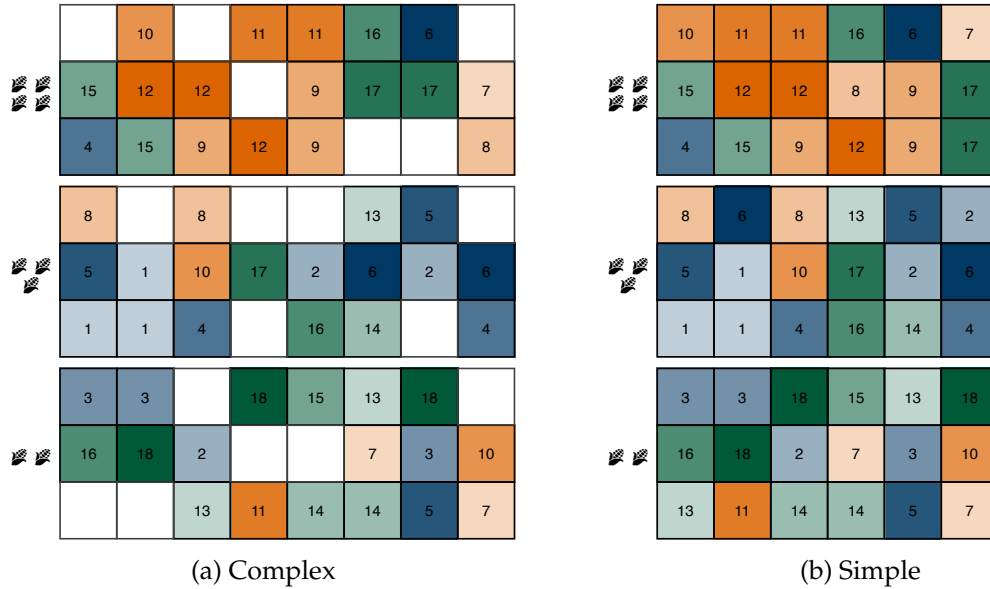


Figure 2: Example map in complex and simple form

Properties: same as Figure 1. Simple map is constructed from Complex by moving plot owners leftwards so as to retain all existing adjacencies between plots of the same owner, while preserving as much as possible of the relative locations of different owners.

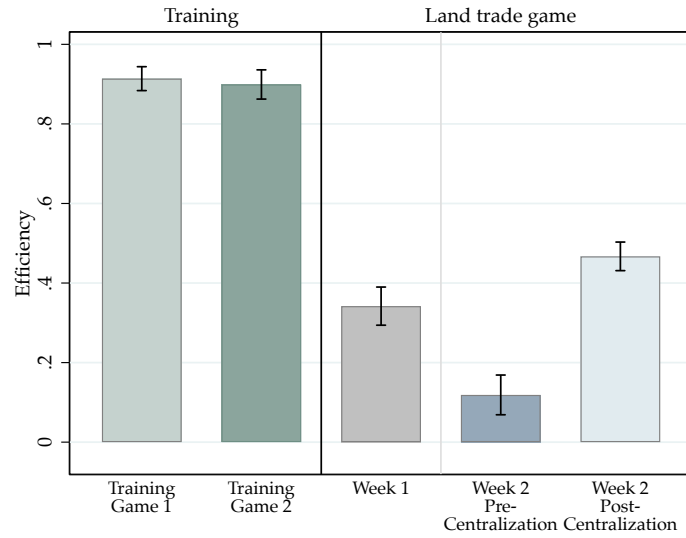
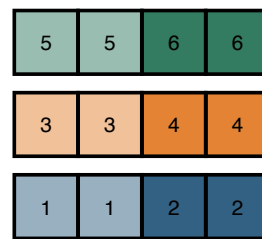


Figure 3: Efficiency in Training Games and in First and Second Week of Experiment 1

The graph shows mean efficiency in each game, with 95% confidence intervals. Confidence intervals are computed from simple standard errors of the mean that do not account for the correlation structure in Week 2 data. Table 7 reports the standard error on the difference between pre- and post-centralization efficiency.



(a) Example initial allocation



(b) Example efficient allocation

Figure 4: Example Map from Experiment 2

Note: numbers correspond to player IDs: 1–2 are low types, 3–4 medium types, 5–6 high types. The top region is high-quality land, the middle region medium-quality, and the bottom region low-quality.

10 Tables

Table 1: Fragmentation

Existence of fragmentation	mean	S.D.	obs
Owens two or more fragmented plots	0.64	0.48	1404
Distance between plots (in min)			
Lower bound	23.81	27.67	801
Upper bound	41.22	46.07	801
Distance from home to plots (in min)			
Purchased plots	19.28	26.63	1234
Inherited plots	11.85	19.22	1345
Plots received as gift	18.09	28.74	119
Costs of fragmentation (yes/no)			
Thinks having two one-acre plots better in same location	0.91	0.28	1404
Suppose that, instead of being separated, all your land was in the same place:			
Think they would earn more	0.88	0.32	896
How much more? (fraction)	0.53	0.28	792
Imagine a farmer with 2 contiguous acres who produces 20 bags of maize			
- He inherits one more acre next to the other two, so now he has three acres.			
Do you think he would be now be able to produce:			
Less than 30 bags	0.01	0.09	1404
30 bags	0.33	0.47	1404
More than 30 bags	0.66	0.47	1404
- He inherits one more acre but far away from the other two, so now he has three acres.			
Do you think he would be now be able to produce:			
Less than 30 bags	0.33	0.47	1404
30 bags	0.37	0.48	1404
More than 30 bags	0.30	0.46	1404

Note: Respondents are participants from Experiment 1, see section 5 for implementation details. We elicited walking distances from the home to each plot, and use these to compute a lower bound and an upper bound on the distance *between* the fragmented plots. The lower bound assumes both plots lie on the same bearing from home, so their separation is the difference between their distances from home. The upper bound assumes they are in opposite directions from home, so the distance between them is the sum of their distances from home.

Table 2: Complementarity Between Farmer Ability and Land Quality

Farmer heterogeneity	mean	S.D.	obs
Are there better farmers than others in your village?	0.99	0.09	1404
Does everyone in your village agree with who they are?	0.98	0.12	1393
How do you know these are better farmers? (select all that apply)			
Produce more yield/acre	0.93	0.25	1393
Use innovative farming techniques	0.37	0.48	1393
Have better machinery	0.05	0.21	1393
Have received farm training	0.18	0.39	1393
Are older farmers	0.11	0.31	1393
Do you think your village as a whole would produce more agricultural yield if the best farmers were cultivating more of the village's land?			
Produce the same	0.00	0.06	1404
Produce somewhat more	0.12	0.32	1404
Produce much more	0.88	0.33	1404
Land-crop heterogeneity			
Is some land better quality than other land in this village?	0.99	0.12	1404
Suppose you were thinking of buying or renting in a plot in your village. To what extent do you agree with the following statement:			
Good land is good for all crops, bad land is bad for all crops			
Strongly disagree	0.12	0.32	1404
Disagree	0.15	0.36	1404
Neither disagree or agree	0.20	0.40	1404
Agree	0.41	0.49	1404
Strongly agree	0.13	0.34	1404
Land-farmer complementarity			
Do you think your village as a whole would produce more agricultural yield if the best farmers were cultivating the best land?			
Produce much less	0.00	0.04	1404
Produce somewhat less	0.00	0.04	1404
Produce the same	0.01	0.08	1404
Produce somewhat more	0.16	0.36	1404
Produce much more	0.83	0.37	1404

Note: Respondents are participants from Experiment 1, see section 5 for implementation details.

Table 3: Decreasing Returns at the Farm Level

Could you farm more land than you have now? (yes/no)	0.60	0.49	1404
Are some people in your village better at managing large farms? (yes/no)	0.99	0.09	1404
How much land can best farmer manage (acres) w/o hired labor	4.67	2.55	1403
How much land can worst farmer manage (acres) w/o hired labor	0.73	0.40	1401
Max amount of land that respondent's hh can manage (acres) w/o hired labor	2.53	1.50	1404
Max amount of land per adult in hh (acres) w/o hired labor	1.02	0.75	1404

Note: Respondents are participants from Experiment 1, see section 5 for implementation details.

Table 4: Current Market Institutions: Land Markets

Land markets	Frequently/ very frequently	Occasionally	Rarely/ very rarely	Never
How frequently do people in your village buy/sell land?	0.23	0.33	0.43	0.00
	mean	S.D.		obs
Have you sold any land during the past 12 months?	0.02	0.14		1404
– How many acres did you sell in total?	0.72	0.55		29
Have you bought any land during the past 12 months?	0.08	0.27		1404
– How many acres did you buy in total?	0.92	1.03		110
Have you rented OUT any land during the past 12 months?	0.04	0.19		1404
– How many acres did you rent out in total?	1.44	1.32		53
Have you rented IN any land during the past 12 months?	0.17	0.38		1404
– How many acres did you rent in in total?	1.24	0.86		242
Would you know if someone is selling/buying/renting land?	0.89	0.31		1404
Attempts to consolidate				
Tried to consolidate	0.24	0.43		1404
– Successful? (Conditional on Trying)	0.50	0.50		341
Land owned by people from outside village				
How many out of 10 plots are owned by people outside village?	1.84	1.34		1404
Characteristics of household's own plots				
Do you cultivate this plot? yes	0.96	0.20		2726
If plot not cultivated, is it rented out? yes	0.13	0.33		111
Plot was purchased	0.45	0.50		2726
Plot was inherited	0.49	0.50		2726
Plot was given	0.04	0.20		2726

Note: Respondents are participants from Experiment 1, see section 5 for implementation details.

Table 5: Current Market Institutions: Culture and Attitudes Toward Land Trade

	Var mean	Very unfair (1)	Unfair (2)	Neither unfair or fair (3)	Fair (4)	Very fair (5)
Do you think it would be fair if best farmers cultivate best land?	2.52	0.38	0.23	0.06	0.13	0.19
	Var mean	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither disagree or agree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
A family should never sell their ancestral land	4.53	0.04	0.04	0.01	0.14	0.76
A family should be free to trade their land if it improves their situation	3.06	0.18	0.18	0.14	0.38	0.12
It is very important to me to own some land	4.75	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.20	0.79
If I could sell my land for a good price, I would move to the city	1.62	0.61	0.28	0.04	0.04	0.04
I would like to migrate	1.68	0.53	0.35	0.05	0.05	0.02
I would like my children to be farmers	3.74	0.04	0.16	0.11	0.41	0.28
People shouldn't sell land to people within the family	1.74	0.43	0.49	0.02	0.03	0.03
People shouldn't sell land to people in the village outside their family	2.00	0.26	0.62	0.03	0.05	0.04
People shouldn't sell land to people outside the village	2.38	0.15	0.59	0.05	0.11	0.09
People shouldn't sell land to people from outside the tribe	2.71	0.12	0.49	0.08	0.18	0.13
People shouldn't sell land to foreigners	3.53	0.09	0.22	0.08	0.32	0.30
People shouldn't swap land within the family	2.05	0.33	0.50	0.03	0.06	0.08
People shouldn't swap land with the people in the village outside their family	2.59	0.16	0.53	0.03	0.12	0.15
People shouldn't swap land with people outside the village	3.15	0.07	0.41	0.06	0.24	0.23
People shouldn't swap land with people from outside the tribe	3.39	0.05	0.35	0.07	0.25	0.29
Observations: 1404						

Note: Respondents are participants from Experiment 1, see section 5 for implementation details.

Table 6: Adverse Selection

Adverse selection	mean	S.D.				
Knows how to locate best land	0.99	0.11				
How would you check if a plot is of good quality? (select all that apply)						
Look at what is growing	0.82	0.38				
Look at the soil	0.79	0.41				
Look at the slope	0.14	0.35				
Look at the water resources	0.12	0.32				
Look at weather in location	0.06	0.24				
Ask owner	0.06	0.24				
Ask neighbours	0.04	0.19				
Ask others in village	0.02	0.14				
Look at irrigation	0.00	0.05				
Suppose you were thinking of buying or renting in a plot in your village.	Var mean	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree or agree	Agree	Strongly agree
To what extent do you agree with the following:		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
People only sell or rent out their worst plots	2.91	0.18	0.30	0.14	0.22	0.17
Thinks difficult to assess quality of plot owned by others	1.86	0.28	0.63	0.05	0.02	0.01
Knows how to assess quality of plot owned by others	4.27	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.60	0.34
Thinks difficult to assess quality of own plot	1.72	0.40	0.54	0.03	0.03	0.01
Knows how to assess quality of own plot	4.44	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.50	0.48
Observations: 1404						

Note: Respondents are participants from Experiment 1, see section 5 for implementation details.

Table 7: Efficiency in Experiment 1 (Uganda Decentralized Trade)

		Decomposition		
	(1) Efficiency	(2) Consolidation	(3) Sorting	(4) Avoided exposure loss
<i>Panel A: Average efficiency in decentralized trade</i>				
Mean	0.230	0.306	0.127	-0.202
<i>as % of first best</i>		0.611	0.254	
Observations	136	136	136	136
<i>Panel B: Impact of centralization</i>				
Centralization	0.348***	0.062***	0.001	0.286***
	(0.019)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.019)
<i>as % of first best</i>		0.124	0.001	
FDR q-value: centralization		[0.001]	[0.439]	[0.001]
Control mean	0.119	0.287	0.147	-0.315
<i>Control mean: % of first best</i>		0.574	0.294	
Observations	136	136	136	136
<i>Panel C: Impact of eliminating nontradable plots</i>				
Simple map	0.044	0.022*	-0.018	0.040
	(0.031)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.028)
<i>as % of first best</i>		0.045	-0.036	
FDR q-value: simple map		[0.232]	[0.232]	[0.232]
Control mean	0.208	0.294	0.136	-0.222
<i>Control mean: % of first best</i>		0.589	0.272	
Observations	136	136	136	136
<i>Panel D: Impact of centralization and eliminating nontradable plots</i>				
Centralization	0.342***	0.059***	-0.005	0.287***
	(0.027)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.028)
Centralization × simple map	0.013	0.006	0.011	-0.003
	(0.038)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.037)
FDR q-value: centralization		[0.001]	[0.211]	[0.001]
FDR q-value: centralization × simple map		[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Control mean	0.111	0.284	0.151	-0.324
Observations	136	136	136	136

Note: Panel A shows mean efficiency in the two weeks of decentralized trade, and its decomposition into Consolidation, Sorting, and Exposure losses (due to farmers holding too much land). Panel B examines the effect of the centralization intervention. Panel C examines the effect of “simple” maps that eliminate nontradable plots. Panel D examines how the effects of centralization interact with simple maps. Coefficients are measured in efficiency units, i.e. as a share of total potential gains from trade. “% of first best” instead expresses the consolidation and sorting coefficients as a share of the total potential gains from these components alone. Panels A and C include data from weeks 1 and 2, excluding the centralization treatment. Panels B and D include data from week 2, pre and post-centralization. Control mean in panel B corresponds to week 2 pre-centralization, in panel C: complex maps, and in panel D: week 2, complex maps, pre-centralization. Regressions in panels B and D control for village fixed effects. Regressions in panel C control for village and week 2 × map fixed effects. Standard errors (in parentheses) are clustered by village. q-values adjust for multiple testing across the three components of efficiency.

Table 8: Inequality Experiment 1 (Uganda Decentralized Trade)

	Atkinson Index (log utility)			
	(1) + 5-day wage	(2) + worst score	(3) + show-up fee	(4) rounded
<i>Panel A: Impact of centralization</i>				
Centralization	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.007*** (0.001)	-0.122*** (0.022)	-0.286*** (0.032)
Control mean	0.012	0.020	0.209	0.522
Observations	136	136	136	136
<i>Panel B: Impact of eliminating nontradable plots</i>				
Simple map	-0.003** (0.001)	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.068* (0.036)	-0.090** (0.043)
Control mean	0.014	0.030	0.237	0.551
Observations	136	136	136	136
<i>Panel C: Impact of centralization and eliminating nontradable plots</i>				
Centralization treatment	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.146*** (0.031)	-0.304*** (0.042)
Centralization \times simple map	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.003)	0.048 (0.044)	0.036 (0.064)
Control mean	0.013	0.023	0.255	0.582
Observations	136	136	136	136

Note: Panel A examines the effect of the centralization intervention on inequality. Panel B examines the effect of “simple” maps that eliminate nontradable plots. Panel C examines how the effects of centralization interact with simple maps. The outcome variable is the Atkinson inequality index (equation (1)). Higher values mean greater inequality. Because many participants had negative net assets and the index is based on log assets, we explore four different corrections to ensure that the index is defined. Column (1) uses final net assets adding a five-day wage, column (2) uses final net assets adding the worst score in the sample, column (3) uses final net assets adding the show-up fee and rounds to 1 those with negative assets, and column (4) uses final net assets and rounds to 1 those with negative assets. 5.23% of the sample (player-period level) has negative net assets. Five-day wage is a total of 250,000 game shillings. Worst score is -181,000 game shillings. Show-up fee is a total of 50,000 game shillings. 1.3% of the sample has a negative final net assets after adding the show-up fee. Control mean in panel A: complex maps, and in panel B: week 2 pre-centralization. Regressions in panels A and C use data from week 2, pre and post-centralization, panel B uses data from week 1 and week 2, excluding the centralization treatment. Regressions in panel A control for village fixed effects. Regressions in panel B control for village and week 2 \times map fixed effects. Regressions in panel C control for village fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by village in parentheses.

Table 9: Efficiency in Experiment 2 (Kenya Package Exchanges)

		Decomposition		
	(1) Efficiency	(2) Consolidation	(3) Sorting	(4) Avoided exposure loss
<i>Panel A: Impact of package mechanisms</i>				
Package-2	0.033	0.006	0.008	0.018
	(0.033)	(0.018)	(0.012)	(0.013)
<i>as % of first best</i>		<i>0.008</i>	<i>0.031</i>	
Package-4	0.068**	0.019	0.032**	0.017
	(0.031)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.014)
<i>as % of first best</i>		<i>0.026</i>	<i>0.119</i>	
FDR q-value: Package-2		[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FDR q-value: Package-4		[0.184]	[0.076]	[0.184]
Control mean	0.696	0.628	0.118	-0.050
<i>Control mean: % of first best</i>		<i>0.856</i>	<i>0.444</i>	
Observations	318	318	318	318
<i>Panel B: Impact of package mechanisms and low cash treatment</i>				
Package-2	0.023	-0.012	0.024	0.011
	(0.048)	(0.026)	(0.018)	(0.020)
Package-4	0.067	0.016	0.044**	0.007
	(0.048)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Low cash	-0.003	-0.016	0.015	-0.002
	(0.049)	(0.028)	(0.023)	(0.021)
Package-2 × low cash	0.019	0.036	-0.032	0.015
	(0.056)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.024)
Package-4 × low cash	0.001	0.006	-0.025	0.020
	(0.061)	(0.032)	(0.029)	(0.028)
FDR q-value: Package-2		[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FDR q-value: Package-4		[0.768]	[0.137]	[0.999]
F-test p-value: all low cash effects = 0	0.948	0.471	0.717	0.469
Control mean	0.702	0.640	0.110	-0.048
Observations	318	318	318	318

Note: Panel A shows treatment effects of our package exchange treatments on overall efficiency, and its decomposition into Consolidation, Sorting, and (avoided) exposure losses due to participants holding too much/too little land. Panel B examines the effects of the low cash manipulation, designed to induce the effects of credit constraints, and how it interacts with the trading mechanism. Coefficients are measured in efficiency units, i.e. as a share of total potential gains from trade. “% of first best” expresses consolidation and sorting coefficients as a share of total potential gains from these components. Control mean in Panel A corresponds to the Package-1 treatment, in panel B: Package-1 with high cash. All regressions exclude randomization block 1 (see section 6.3 for discussion). All regressions control for auction round, map, and randomization block fixed effects. Panel A additionally controls for a “low cash” dummy. Standard errors clustered by session in parentheses. q-values adjust for multiple testing across the three components of efficiency. F-test p-values correspond to the null hypothesis that the effects of the low cash dummy and its interactions all equal zero.

Table 10: Inequality in Experiment 2 (Kenya Package Exchanges)

	Atkinson Index (log utility)		
	(1) High cash	(2) Low cash	(3) High & Low
Package-2	0.0004 (0.0006)	-0.0031*** (0.0011)	0.0004 (0.0006)
Package-4	-0.0002 (0.0006)	-0.0019* (0.0010)	-0.0002 (0.0006)
Package-2 \times low cash			-0.0035*** (0.0011)
Package-4 \times low cash			-0.0017 (0.0010)
F-test p-value: all low cash effects = 0			0.006
Control mean	0.012	0.035	0.024
Observations	159	159	318

Note: The table examines the effect of our package exchange treatments on inequality of final outcomes, and how they interact with the low cash treatment (designed to induce the effects of credit constraints). The outcome variable is the Atkinson inequality index (equation (1)). Higher values mean greater inequality. Regressions in column (1) use data from high cash group, in column (2) use data from low cash group and in column (3) use data from both high and low cash groups. Control means correspond to the Package-1 treatment, but are not directly comparable between low versus high cash auctions because the Atkinson inequality index is not invariant to additive changes in total wealth that are induced by the cash variation. All regressions exclude randomization block 1 (see section 6.3 for discussion). All regressions control for auction round, map, and randomization block fixed effects, and in column (3) adds interactions of each of the fixed effects with a low cash dummy to address the level effects of the cash manipulation. Standard errors clustered by session in parentheses. F-test p-values correspond to the null hypothesis that the interactions between the low cash dummy and package treatments both equal zero.

Web Appendix

Market Design for Land Trade: Evidence from Uganda and Kenya

A Appendix A: Implementation Details for Experiment 1

This appendix provides additional implementation details for Experiment 1. See Appendix [E](#) for full instructions.

A.1 Selection of Villages and Participants

We sampled our villages in a two-step process. First, we chose a set of villages to visit for our experiment. Second, we selected the participants to recruit.

Villages: We worked in the Masaka district, Uganda. Masaka was selected because the majority of land in Masaka is owned under freehold, i.e. it is in principle tradable by the owner. Tenure form differs in other parts of Uganda, and landholders do not have the legal or traditional right to trade land everywhere. While our experiment does not involve real land trade, we wanted to work in a region where land trade is imaginable to participants.

We selected villages using an administrative unit-level GIS file, containing census data from 2002 and 2010. We first dropped villages not listed as being in Masaka county, then dropped subcounties that subsequently joined other districts, leaving an initial sample frame of 357 villages, belonging to two counties (Bukoto and Masaka Municipality), 10 subcounties, and 39 parishes.

1. Next, we dropped 11 villages with zero population. This left us with 346 villages.
2. We dropped 4 villages with duplicate names, that would be difficult for our field team to identify reliably. This left us with 342 villages.
3. We dropped villages that were densely populated and had limited farmland. While these villages may contain many farming households, we were concerned that recruitment and attrition would be more challenging in these areas. We do this in three ways. First, we dropped villages above the 90th centile for population or population density. Second, we dropped parishes with median village above those thresholds. Third, we dropped Masaka Municipality (the main urban area). The thresholds were tuned by visual inspection of satellite images, inspecting the “marginal” villages around the threshold for whether they had significant farmland. This left us with 274 villages (Masaka municipality accounts for 53 of the 68 villages dropped).
4. We also dropped 7 villages that were previously visited for piloting. This left us with 267 villages.
5. We dropped 26 coastal villages (identified by visual inspection) that were expected to be dominated by fishing and other activities rather than agriculture. This left us with our final sampling frame of 241 villages.

The 241 villages belonged to 31 “parishes” (the next highest administrative unit), which we used for stratification (see section [A.3](#) below).

Participants: In each selected village we first met with the village chief, and asked them to give us a list of as many households as they could think of (excluding the chief’s own family members) that would be expected to be interested to participate in a sequence of trading games on three days separated by one week each.³³ The chief was also asked to attend the meetings and assist with ensuring that selected participants attend, and were compensated for their time.

We selected households randomly from the list and sought the consent of the household head to participate in the experiment. Eligibility criteria were 1) cultivation of some land, 2) reporting that at least 50% of household income was derived from farming, 3) having access to a mobile money account. Criteria 1 and 2 were intended to ensure we sample a relevant population that might be interested in real land trade, 3 ensured that participants can be paid their study earnings. If the household head is interested but not available we allow them to send another household member in their place.

We proceed this way until 22 households had been recruited. The first 18 were our intended “primary” participants, and the remaining 4 acted as reserves. The reserves were asked to attend each session, and paid show-up fees for doing so. If a primary participant did not attend a session, they were replaced by a reserve.

A.2 Payoffs and Maps

Payoffs: Each of our games consisted of 18 players and a map. Each players was assigned a numeric ability type. This ability type was private information and farmers were asked not to share it with others. Consistent with the results from the survey, the payoff function of each farmer had three key properties:

1. Ability-quality complementarities: the return to a given piece of land was the product of the player ability and the land quality. The land quality types were Low, Medium, High: $\{2, 3, 4\}$. The player ability types were Low: $\{0.8, 0.9, 1, 1, 1.1, 1.2\}$, Medium: $\{1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.5, 1.6, 1.7\}$, and High: $\{1.8, 1.9, 2, 2, 2.1, 2.2\}$.
2. Spatial complementarities: players earned an “adjacency bonus” when two of their plots shared a border, and two bonuses when three plots shared two borders (either in a vertical or horizontal strip or an “L”-shaped unit). The adjacency bonus was fixed at the player level to 10% of the player’s value of a high-quality plot (e.g. a player of ability type 1 had an adjacency bonus worth $1 \times 4 \times 0.1 = 0.4$). To limit the number of payoff parameters that participants had to keep track of, the adjacent bonus was independent of land quality. Adjacency bonuses could only be earned within a land quality region.
3. Span of control: each player could farm a maximum of three plots – if they end the game with more than three they earned the return to their best three-plot combination.

Land values on maps and plot titles were represented visually with two, three, or four icons representing heads of maize. Thus, each player had four key payoff parameters to keep track of: their value for each type of land, and their adjacency bonus.

Given the payoff function, the efficient allocation was simple to compute: each player should hold three adjacent plots, positively sorted by quality-ability type. The payoff parameters were calibrated such that the gains from trade were divided approximately 50–50 between sorting and consolidation.

³³In piloting we experimented with fully random sampling of participants (we attempted to obtain a full list of households from the LC1 chief and selected randomly from that list). However, this led to several of the selected participants being quite uninterested in participation, so many would send another household member, or might simply not show up. We therefore settled on giving some guidance to the chief, to suggest “interested” households. The primary goal is to ensure successful completion of the experiment since significant attrition can prevent completion of the three stages. It means the study population may be less representative of the village population, but may conversely be *more* representative of those interested in land trade.

To generate payoff numbers that were similar in magnitude to those used by farmers in day-to-day trades, we multiplied payoffs by 20,000 and expressed values in terms of “game shillings.”³⁴ Each player began each game with 240,000 game shillings in printed paper bills that could be used for exchange.

We also assigned each player an initial “debt,” to be deducted from their final payoff when computing earnings from the games. The debt levels were calculated such that each person began the game with net assets (land value, plus initial adjacency bonuses, plus cash, minus debt) equal to 70,000 game shillings.

Final earnings (in game shillings) were calculated as

$$\text{Earnings} = \text{Final land value} + \text{Final adjacency bonuses} + \text{Final cash} - \text{Initial debt}$$

and then converted to UGX at the rate 5 game shillings = 1 UGX.

The primary role of debt was to calibrate incentives in the game. We wanted the gains from trade (in relative and absolute local currency terms) to be sufficiently large that participants paid attention and participated fully. Final earnings depended on initial assets and gains from trade. For a given average payoff, subtracting debt from initial assets increased the contribution of gains and therefore sharpened incentives. We also used the debt to start all players with the same payoff so that inequality changes could be easily compared across games.

Maps: We used the following procedure to construct the complex map and assign players to it:

1. We began with a grid of three 3*8 blocks of plots,
2. We randomly group plots into 3 groups of 24, corresponding to 18 players and 6 “non-trading” dummy players, such that:
 - Non-trading players own exactly six plots per quality region (otherwise the first-best allocation is not achievable).
 - There were no simple blocking allocations, that is, a single player that holds three plots that isolate a corner, or a combination of non-trading players that hold between them two or three plots blocking a corner.
 - The number of initial “adjacencies”³⁵ and “near adjacencies”³⁶ averaged 0.3–0.4 per player. These thresholds were set to ensure a realistic amount of clustering of initial ownership, based on visual inspection of real-world maps.
 - The contribution of land consolidation and sorting to total gains from trade was balanced, with a relative contribution range between 47.5%–52.5%.

Typically maps generated in this way have no efficient packing solution. We manually identified 10 such that (i) feasibility could be achieved by moving a maximum of 1 plot and (ii) The resulting map had a single contiguous set of land. Of these, 2 were solvable with no edits, and the remaining 8 needed one swap (exchanging a single plot between one trading and one non-trading player). Swaps were implemented so as to avoid breaking or creating new adjacencies. Thus the initial payoffs were unaffected.

³⁴This implied that the minimal land value was 32,000 ($0.8 \times 2 \times 20,000$) and the maximum land value was 176,000. The minimum adjacency bonus was 6,400 and the maximum was 17,600.

³⁵A player with two horizontally or vertically adjacent plots within the same quality region counts 1, a player with three plots sharing two borders counts 2.

³⁶Two plots owned by the same player that are diagonally adjacent, or separated by one plot, count as 1 near adjacency, so long as that player is not already fully consolidated. We allow near-adjacencies to span across quality types.

A.2.1 Making the simple maps

For our “simple” treatment we want to eliminate the non-trading players. We do this by manually “compressing” the complex maps, so as to preserve the adjacency structure of the map. We did this by shifting plots horizontally left, except where doing so would create or break an adjacency. Therefore, the initial payoffs are unaffected. Note that it is not possible to preserve the “near-adjacency” structure. See Figure 2.

A.2.2 Pairing complex and simple maps

Following the above process, we generated 10 candidate maps, each with a complex and simple variant. From these we selected 8 and created four pairs, matched according to the number of possible efficient solutions in the complex form. According to our internal map numbering these are:

- Maps 69 and 148 which have on average 1.67 solutions per quality block, and 8 adjacencies among the trading players.
- Maps 74 and 149 which have on average 3 and 3.67 solutions per quality block, and 5 adjacencies among the trading players.
- Maps 93 and 130 which have on average 3.67 and 4.67 solutions per quality block, and 6 adjacencies among the trading players.
- Maps 28 and 193 which have on average 5 and 5.33 solutions per quality block, and 4 and 6 adjacencies respectively among the trading players.

A.3 Treatment assignment

Each village played the game twice, once on a simple map and once on a complex map. This section details how the ordering and the specific maps were assigned.

A.3.1 Possible assignments

As described in Appendix A.2 our map generation procedure yielded 8 maps (internal IDs 28, 69, 74, 93, 130, 148, 149, 193) each of which had a simple and a complex form. We grouped these 8 maps into 4 matched pairs according to the number of possible efficient packings available in their complex form. Accounting for possible map and complexity orderings this yielded 16 possible assignments. These are listed in Table A1.

Our field plan involved two field teams working simultaneously five days per week, covering 10 villages per week. We intended to sample 68 villages, leaving two vacant “slots” for replacement villages in case a village decides to withdraw (see section A.3.3). The 68 villages constituted four complete blocks of 16 assignments plus one randomly selected block of four (either assignments 1–4, 5–8, 9–12 or 13–16).³⁷

A.3.2 Randomization

- Our primary regression specification exploit the within-village variation in complexity, but to increase power in between-village comparisons we stratified the assignment by parish and study date.

³⁷Our original sampling plan was 64 villages, we later discovered we had sufficient budget to increase to 68.

Assignment	Assignment pair	Map ordering	Complexity ordering
1	1	(69, 148)	(simple, complex)
2	1	(69, 148)	(complex, simple)
3	2	(148, 69)	(simple, complex)
4	2	(148, 69)	(complex, simple)
5	3	(74, 149)	(simple, complex)
6	3	(74, 149)	(complex, simple)
7	4	(149, 74)	(simple, complex)
8	4	(149, 74)	(complex, simple)
9	5	(93, 130)	(simple, complex)
10	5	(93, 130)	(complex, simple)
11	6	(130, 93)	(simple, complex)
12	6	(130, 93)	(complex, simple)
13	7	(28, 193)	(simple, complex)
14	7	(28, 193)	(complex, simple)
15	8	(193, 28)	(simple, complex)
16	8	(193, 28)	(complex, simple)

Table A1: Possible treatment assignments

- Specifically, when selecting study villages we first randomly ordered parishes, then randomly selected pairs of villages from each parish. Each pair of villages was then assigned an *assignment pair* (see Table A1), so they differed only in their {simple, complex} ordering.
- We randomly ordered non-selected villages within each parish to act as backups in case a selected village opted not to participate.
- We had two experimental teams operating, such that each pair of villages participated in the study simultaneously, i.e. we conducted meetings 1, 2, and 3 on the same day for both villages.
- Since we have 31 parishes, we sampled all parishes once and three parishes twice.

We also stratified the assignment by four blocks of 16 assignments, i.e. we played every assignment pair once (in random order) before moving to the next block of 16.

A.3.3 Village attrition

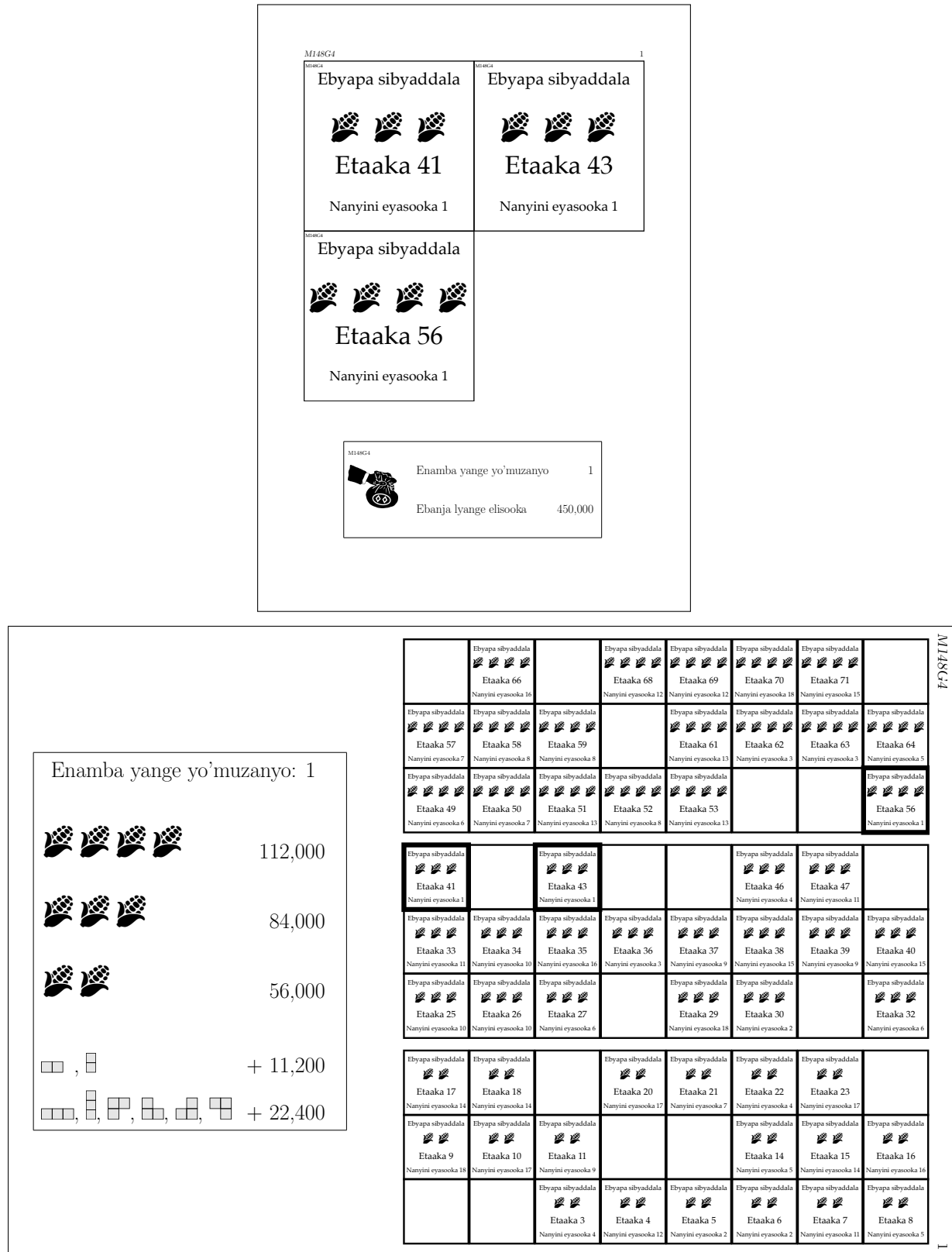
Our protocol was designed to address attrition of individuals by replacement with reserves. We also faced two possible sources of village attrition:

1. The field team was unable to locate a sampled village at mobilization time, or the village chose not to participate. In this case the team moved to another randomly selected village from the same parish.
2. A village chose to withdraw from the study during the experiment. In this case we replaced the village with a randomly selected village from the same parish. To avoid disrupting the field work, these replacement villages were visited at the end of the experiment.

Overall, we had only one village that chose to withdraw. This village was replaced with another village from the same parish.

A.3.4 Materials

Figure A1 gives examples of the handouts that participants received, showing their title cards, debt card, map of inial allocations, and payoff parameters including adjacency bonuses.



B Appendix B: Additional Results from Experiment 1

This appendix contains all additional analysis that was part of the pre-analysis plan for experiment 1. The pre-analysis plan can be found at <https://doi.org/10.1257/rct.4581>.

Week-level analysis and learning Our pre-analysis plan included specifications in which we study (i) learning across the two periods and (ii) compare efficiency, consolidation, sorting, and exposure gains and losses in each week separately. Table B3 provides the details of these regressions.

As can be seen in Panel A, overall efficiency is lower in the second week relative to the first week. This reduction in efficiency is primarily due to much larger exposure losses, which suggest that individuals in the second week traded to intermediate positions that they could not trade out of. There is also weak evidence of slightly lower consolidation gains and slightly higher sorting gains. However, we note that these measures are influenced by the reassignment of unused plots to highest value users and are both lower in the second week if we do not adjust the measures for exposure losses.

As seen in Panel B, there is no strong difference between the simple and complex treatment in the first week, the second week, or after the surprise centralization treatment. As such, the map complexity appears to be second order relative to inefficiencies that exist in both the simple and complex map.

Alternative efficiency, sorting, and consolidation measures Our pre-analysis plan also specified number of alternative efficiency, sorting, and consolidation measures. These are provided in Tables B4 and B5 below.

In Table B4, we provide alternative measures of consolidation (column 2) and sorting (column 3) in which we do not reassign unused lots to their highest value use when calculating gains. There continues to be no significant difference in efficiency between the simple and complex treatments using these alternative values. In column (4), we use an alternative adjusted efficiency measure where we reassign unused plots to their highest value use. The simple treatment is again not significant in this specification.

In Table B5, we analyze efficiency, consolidation, and sorting only in the High-quality region in the first three columns. We then report on an alternative count-based consolidation and sorting measures. For the consolidation measure, we replaced “land value” with the number of plots owned by a player of the efficient type. For the sorting measure, we counted the number of adjacency bonuses rather than using the value of these bonuses.

As seen in the table, the results using these alternative measures are similar to those provided in the main text. As seen in panel A, there is weak evidence that consolidation is easier in the simple treatment and no other significant differences between the simple and complex treatments. As seen in Panel B, the centralization treatment improves efficiency and consolidation, but has no impact on sorting. There is also no significant interaction between the centralization treatment and map complexity.

Alternative Inequality Measures Our pre-analysis plan discusses a potential inequality measure based on the Shapley Value. However, the Shapley analysis was sensitive to efficiency and we specified that we would only complete the analysis if efficiency was over 70%. Given the low efficiency observed in both weeks, we did not do the Shapley analysis for Experiment 1.

Alternative complexity measure Our pre-analysis plan proposes to descriptively analyze how efficiency and its decomposition depend on the number of (welfare-equivalent) efficient solutions in complex maps. Figure B1 plots these measures against the number of efficient solutions, averaged across quality regions. Consistent with our finding that the simple/complex

map treatment – which substantially affects how many solutions exist – did not have large effects, we do not see any clear relationship in these graphs.

B.1 Non pre-specified analyses

Figure B2 and Table B2 present additional analysis that we discuss in Section 7.

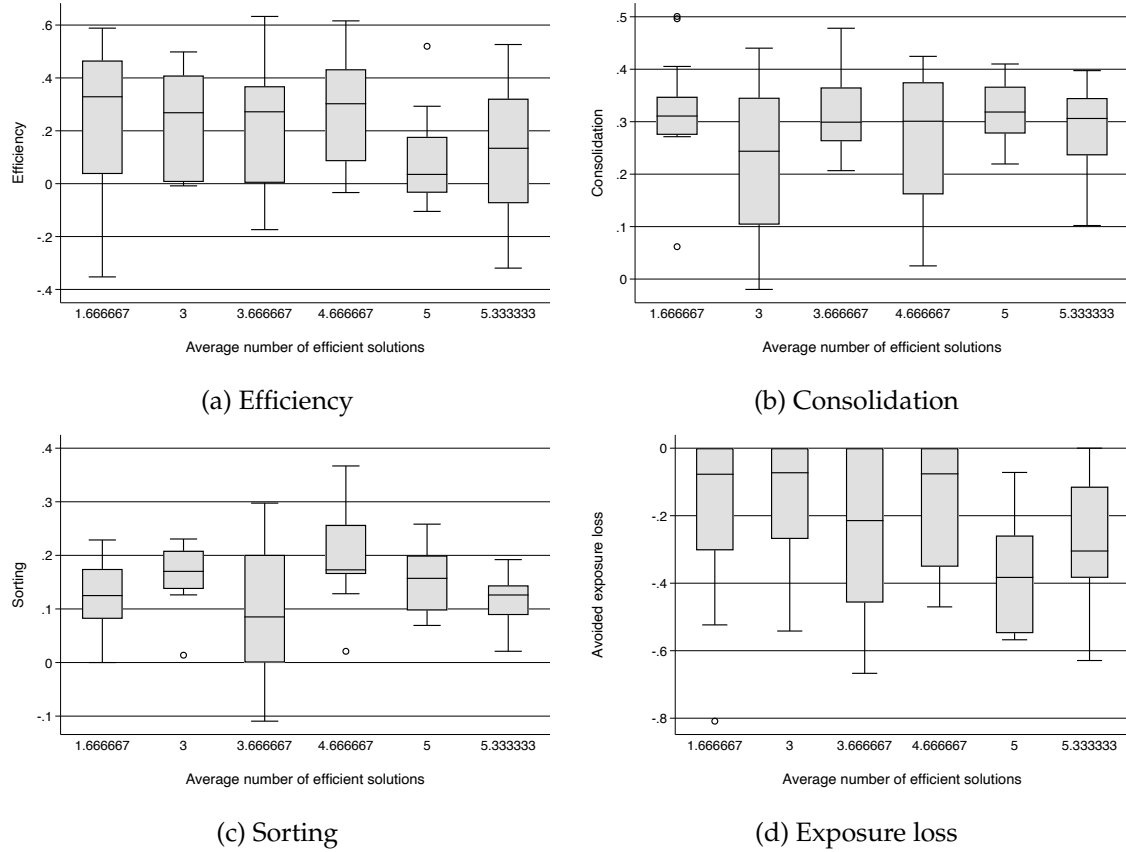


Figure B1: Analysis of alternative map complexity measure in experiment 1

Each plot graphs efficiency (or a subcomponent) against the number of ways to efficiently “pack” consolidated three-plot farms on our complex maps, averaged across the three quality regions.

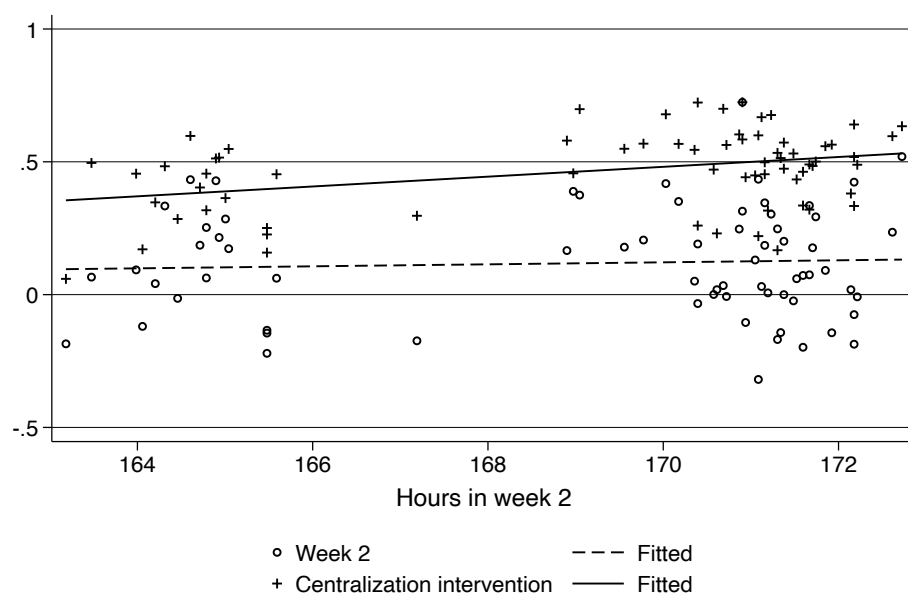


Figure B2: Relationship between time to trade and efficiency

We plot efficiency against the total time available to trade in week 2. We plot the relationship separately for efficiency measured before and after the trading day. There is no apparent improvement in week 2 outcomes for groups that had more time, and no negative relationship between the length of the week 2 window and the improvements attained during the centralization intervention.

Table B1: Summary Statistics: Experiment 1

	Our sample			Uganda		
	mean	S.D.	obs	mean	S.D.	obs
Demographics						
Age	43.76	13.52	1404	39.11	17.48	3338
Female	0.51	0.50	1404	0.51	0.50	3338
Head of household	0.65	0.48	1404	0.38	0.49	3338
Married: monogamous	0.63	0.48	1404	0.49	0.50	3338
Married: polygamous	0.06	0.24	1404	0.11	0.32	3338
Nr adults (inc respondent)	2.99	1.54	1404	2.60	1.27	1246
Nr children in household	3.37	2.07	1404	2.97	2.13	1246
Education						
Education (years)	7.16	3.21	1404	6.34	3.24	2551
Numeracy	0.76	0.37	1224			
Farm size and income						
How many plots do you own and cultivate?	2.10	1.15	1404	1.69	0.93	1246
Total land holdings cultivated (in acres)	2.95	3.32	1349	2.94	4.22	1244
Income from agriculture (1000 UGX/season)	1482	2174	1349	897	1995	847
Income from agriculture (USD PPP/season)	1365	2002	1349	826	1837	847
Farming ability (self-evaluated, relative to best in village)						
Farmer's total production	0.47	0.30	1403			
Max farm size (w/o hired labor)	0.59	0.35	1403			
Preferences (1-5 scale)				GPS		
Patience	4.35	0.66	1404	3.52	1.17	1000
Risk tolerance	4.09	0.90	1404	3.40	0.91	1000

Note: Comparison demographic data is from the Living Standards Measurement Study - Integrated Surveys on Agriculture 2019–2020 ([Uganda National Bureau of Statistics, 2020](#)) and the sample is restricted to respondents aged 18 and older whose main income comes from agriculture, and cultivates one or more plots. Statistics are weighed by household. Time and risk preferences are from a nationally representative sample of Uganda, and are sourced from the Global Preference Survey (GPS) ([Falk et al., 2018](#)). We thank Armin Falk and Markus Antony for sharing the GPS summary statistics needed for this comparison. Numeracy is the average between the following two numeracy questions (dummy = 1 if answered correctly) Q1) If one bottle of milk costs 2.480 and you give 2.500, how much change do you receive? and Q2) If 5 bottles cost 10.400, how much does one cost? Preference measures rescaled to 1–5 scale for comparability, with higher numbers indicating higher patience and lower risk aversion. Productivity relative to “best in village” is the farmer’s total production and maximum farm size relative to what they think the best farmer in the village could produce/farm. Farmer’s total production relative to best farmer is winsorized at the 99th percentile due to an extreme value. Household income from agriculture is the total production per season from all plots owned by household. USD purchase power parity (PPP) was 1085.85 at the end of 2019 (source: NASDAQ Data Link).

Table B2: Endogenous Centralization

	(1) Efficiency	Decomposition		
		(2) Consolidation	(3) Sorting	(4) Avoided exposure loss
Endogenous centralization	-0.008 (0.038)	0.057** (0.024)	0.016 (0.013)	-0.081*** (0.025)
Control mean	0.118	0.262	0.138	-0.282
Observations	136	136	136	136

Note: We regress efficiency and its decomposition on a dummy which equals 1 for the 62% of villages where 100% of respondents said that they got together in groups to trade during the experiment ("Endogenous Centralization") relative to those where less than 100% did. Data from weeks 1 and 2, excluding the centralization treatment. All regressions control for map fixed effects. Standard errors (in parentheses) are clustered by village.

Table B3: Comparison of Efficiency Across Weeks and Week-by-week comparison of the Simple and Complex map treatments

		Decomposition		
	(1) Efficiency	(2) Consolidation	(3) Sorting	(4) Avoided exposure loss
<i>Panel A</i>				
Week 2	-0.223*** (0.032)	-0.037*** (0.013)	0.040** (0.016)	-0.226*** (0.028)
FDR q-value: Week 2		[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.001]
Control mean	0.342	0.324	0.107	-0.089
Observations	136	136	136	136
<i>Panel B</i>				
Simple map × Week 1	0.072* (0.043)	0.039** (0.019)	-0.028 (0.019)	0.061* (0.035)
Simple map × Week 2	0.016 (0.044)	0.005 (0.023)	-0.008 (0.017)	0.018 (0.038)
Simple map × Centralization	0.030 (0.032)	0.011 (0.015)	0.003 (0.017)	0.015 (0.019)
FDR q-value: simple map × Week 1		[0.148]	[0.148]	[0.148]
FDR q-value: simple map × Week 2		[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FDR q-value: simple map × Centralization		[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Control mean	0.208	0.294	0.136	-0.222
Observations	204	204	204	204

Note: Control group in Panel A: week 1. Control group in Panel B: complex maps. Column (1) shows absolute efficiency. Columns (2), (3) and (4) show the decomposition of efficiency in consolidation, sorting and exposure respectively. Panel A uses data from week 1 and week 2 (no Centralization treatment). Panel B uses data from week 1, week 2, and the Centralization treatment. Regressions in panel A control for village fixed effects. Regressions in panel B control for the centralization treatment and village pair, field team and week2 × map fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by village in parentheses.

Table B4: Alternative Consolidation, Sorting, and Efficiency Measures

	Unadjusted			Adjusted
	(1) Efficiency	(2) Consolidation	(3) Sorting	(4) Efficiency
<i>Panel A</i>				
Simple map	0.044 (0.031)	0.021* (0.012)	0.023 (0.026)	0.004 (0.021)
Control mean	0.208	0.286	-0.078	0.430
Observations	136	136	136	136
<i>Panel B</i>				
Centralization	0.342*** (0.027)	0.071*** (0.009)	0.270*** (0.024)	0.054*** (0.011)
Simple map × Centralization	0.013 (0.038)	0.011 (0.016)	0.002 (0.033)	0.017 (0.020)
Control mean	0.111	0.272	-0.161	0.435
Observations	136	136	136	136

Note: Control group in Panel A: complex maps and in Panel B: complex maps and week 2. Column (1) shows absolute efficiency. Columns (2) and (3) show the decomposition of efficiency into consolidation and sorting, unadjusted for exposure losses (this means that most avoided exposure losses are counted as sorting gains). Column (4) shows “adjusted” efficiency (efficiency after adding back all exposure losses). Panel A uses data from week 1 and week 2 (no Centralization treatment). Panel B uses data from week 2 only. Regressions in panel A control for village and week2 × map fixed effects. Regressions in panel B control for village fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by village in parentheses.

Table B5: Analysis of high-quality region and alternative count-based measures

	High quality region			Count-based	
	(1) Efficiency	(2) Consolidation	(3) Sorting	(4) Consolidation	(5) Sorting
<i>Panel A</i>					
Simple map	-0.010 (0.028)	0.007 (0.005)	-0.026 (0.025)	0.049** (0.024)	-0.005 (0.019)
Control mean	0.275	0.081	0.217	0.573	0.116
Observations	136	136	136	136	136
<i>Panel B</i>					
Centralization	0.050*** (0.014)	0.017*** (0.003)	0.004 (0.013)	0.121*** (0.017)	-0.006 (0.009)
Simple map \times Centralization	0.024 (0.025)	0.004 (0.006)	0.026 (0.018)	0.008 (0.031)	0.006 (0.012)
Control mean	0.296	0.080	0.247	0.551	0.143
Observations	136	136	136	136	136

Note: Control group in Panel A: complex maps, and in Panel B: complex maps and week 2. Columns (1), (2) and (3) show measures of efficiency, consolidation and sorting for the high-quality region of the maps. Columns (4) and (5) show measures of count-based consolidation and count-based sorting for all regions of the maps. Panel A uses data from week 1 and week 2 (no Centralization treatment). Panel B uses data from week 2 only. Regressions in panel A control for village and week2 \times map fixed effects. Regressions in panel B control for village fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by village in parentheses.

C Appendix C: Implementation Details for Experiment 2

This appendix contains additional implementation details for Experiment 2. Section C.1 describes the payoffs, variation in starting maps, and procedure for randomizing map orders. Section C.2 describes how we assigned treatments to sessions. Finally, C.3 describes the algorithms and provides details of the computer interfaces used in the exchange. See Appendix F for full instructions.

C.1 Payoffs and Maps

Payoffs: Each of our games consisted of 6 players and a map. Each player was assigned a numeric ability type. This ability type was private information and farmers were asked not to share it with others.

As with the first experiment, we considered an environment where land was fragmented and where additional gains could be achieved through sorting. Land was again divided into three quality regions with high-quality land being twice as valuable as low-quality land and medium quality land 1.5 times as valuable. Farmers were also divided into three farmer types: high ability, medium ability, and low quality. In all sessions there were two of each type of farmer and medium-ability and high-ability farmers were 50% and 100% more productive than low-ability farmers. Participant earnings were calculated based on their type-specific value for their two highest-quality pieces of land, plus an adjacency bonus if their two highest-value land holdings were adjacent.

As seen in Table C1, the return to a given piece of land was the product of the farmer's ability and the land type. Adjacency bonuses were set at 40% of the value of a single piece of land for the farmer and therefore scaled with both the quality of the land and the ability of the farmer.

	Panel A: Land values			Panel B: Adjacency bonuses		
	High Quality	Medium Quality	Low Quality	High Quality	Medium Quality	Low Quality
High Ability	400	300	200	160	120	80
Medium Ability	300	225	150	120	90	60
Low Ability	200	150	100	80	60	40

Table C1: Land and Farmer Types in Experiment 2

Maps: We conjectured that the the initial allocation of plots would affect the ease of achieving consolidation and efficient sorting. To study this issue, we created eight different initial land allocations, which are shown in Figure C1. In each diagram, players 1 & 2 are low, 3 & 4 are medium and 5 & 6 are high ability types.

The allocations are ordered according to our pre-experimental assessment of how difficult it would be to reach full efficiency. We considered four dimensions of difficulty. First, for each player, we determined how many *Package-1* trades were necessary to get to their efficient allocation.³⁸ Second, we considered how many farmers would need to be involved in any efficient *Package-2* trade. Third, we considered whether money was required to reach an efficient outcome. Finally, we considered strategic issues, for example the extent to which one farmer could holdup another farmer.

³⁸Note that if an allocation required two *Package-1* trades, it required only one *Package-2* trade. If an allocation requires four *Package-1* trades, it requires two *Package-2* trades or one *Package-4* trade.

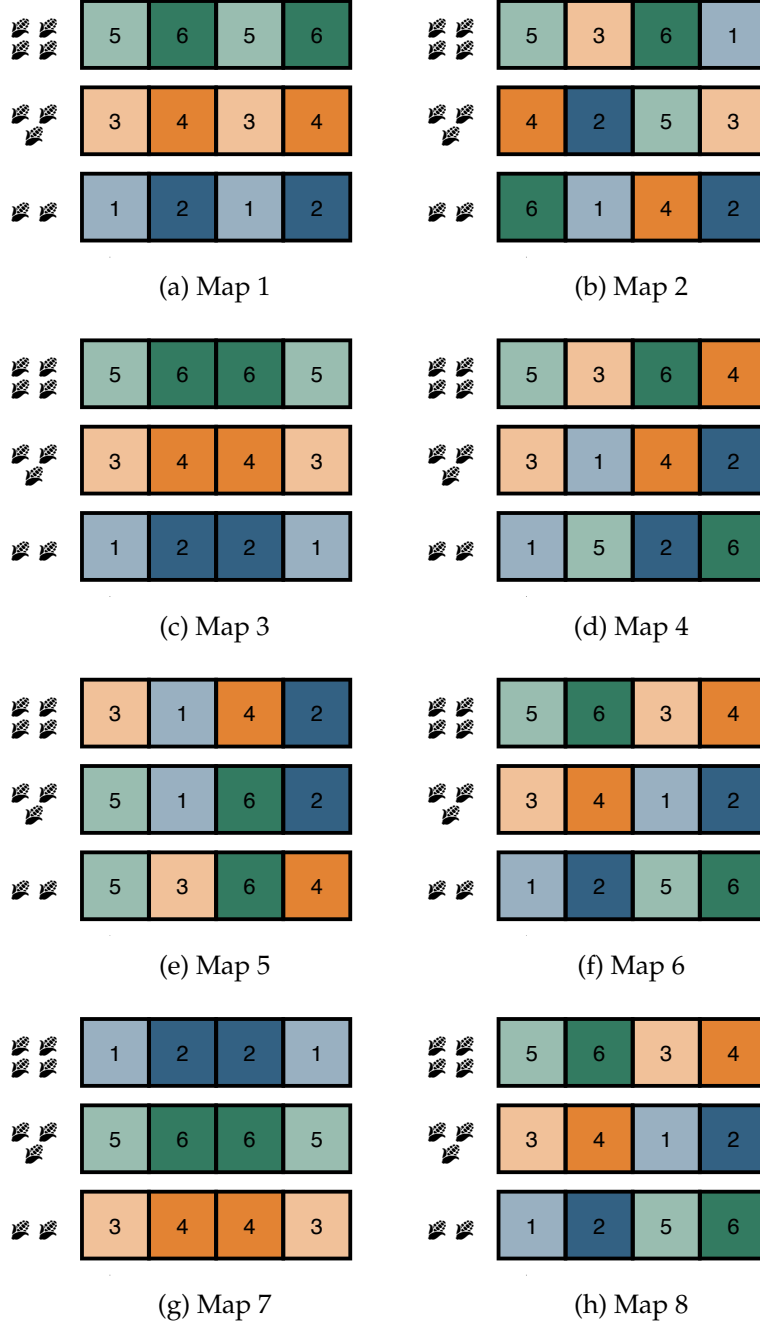


Figure C1: Initial Land Allocations, Experiment 2

Note: numbers correspond to player IDs: 1–2 are low types, 3–4 medium types, 5–6 high types. The top region is high-quality land, the middle region medium-quality, and the bottom region low-quality.

C.2 Treatment assignment

We played 48 sessions in total. Each session consisted of 8 auctions, and was assigned to one trading mechanism: *Package-1*, *Package-2*, or *Package-4*. In each session, the first four auctions had the same cash treatment and the second four auctions had the alternative cash treatment. Hence, each session could be assigned to one of six possible treatments that varied by mechanism and the ordering of the cash treatments. These treatments were block randomized. The set of 48 sessions was divided into 8 blocks, each consisting of 6 consecutive sessions. Each of the 6 treatments was then randomly assigned to one of the sessions within each block.

Each lab session required one lead enumerator to introduce the environment and implement the computer programs, 6 bidding assistants, and one broker. Two labs (labeled red and black) ran in parallel, each playing one session in the morning and one in the afternoon. Lead enumerators were assigned to a specific lab (red or black) and stayed in that lab throughout. Bidding assistants were randomly assigned to a specific farmer and lab (e.g. farmer 4 red) on a session by session basis. Brokers were also randomly assigned on a session by session basis.

Because subjects arrived slowly over time (it was hard to get farmers to all arrive at 9am), the first session of the day alternated between the red and black lab. The first 6 farmers to arrive were randomly assigned to a player number between 1 and 6, and then played in the lab that was operating the first session. The next six farmers to arrive were similarly assigned a player number, and played in the second lab. Each farmer played four auctions as their initial player number, and was then moved to a different player number. This was done such that every subject had an equal chance of being assigned to play one of the six possible sequences $\{HM; HL; MH; ML; LH; LM\}$.

Finally, the 8 maps displayed in Figure C1 were assigned to sessions. Every session played every map, and they were played in one of 8 orders. These orders were devised to minimize ordering effects: we wanted to have difficulty approximately even across the session to minimize the impact of learning. To assign orders to sessions, we first randomly permuted the 8 map orders as shown in Table C2. We then assigned map orders 1 to 6 to the sessions in block 1 (in order), orders 2 to 7 to block 2 (in order), etc.

Order 1	5	1	3	7	6	2	4	8
Order 2	7	3	1	5	8	4	2	6
Order 3	6	2	4	8	5	1	3	7
Order 4	8	4	2	6	7	3	1	5
Order 5	3	7	5	1	4	8	6	2
Order 6	1	5	7	3	2	6	8	4
Order 7	4	8	6	2	3	7	5	1
Order 8	2	6	8	4	1	5	7	3

Table C2: Map Orders

Overall, this method gives assignment to the main auction and cash treatments that are orthogonal to the other elements of the design, as well as maps that are assigned orthogonally to the treatments and also randomly across time and session. We also have balance across all main elements of the experimental design.

C.3 Algorithms and Interfaces

C.3.1 The Winner Determination and Surplus Division Algorithms

Winner determination and surplus division are as outlined in [Goeree and Lindsay \(2019\)](#) with some modifications to impose XOR bidding. Let the set of farmers, \mathbb{F} , be indexed by $i \in \{1, \dots, 6\}$ and the set of plots, \mathbb{L} , be indexed by $l \in \{1, \dots, 12\}$. Farmers submit orders $o = (m, x)$ consisting of the minimum amount of money they must receive, m , and a vector of demanded plots, $x \in \{-1, 0, 1\}^{12}$. A negative number indicates that a farmer is offering money or trying to sell a plot, while a positive number indicates that a farmer must receive money, or wants to buy a plot. For instance, an order $(-500, \langle 1, 0, \dots, 0 \rangle)$ indicates that a farmer is willing to pay up to 500 points to acquire plot 1, while an order $(0, \langle 1, -1, 0, \dots, 0 \rangle)$ implies that the farmer is willing to buy plot 1 and sell plot 2, as long as he pays no money.

Orders placed by a farmer must be *legal*. Denote the plots owned by farmer i at time t as $\omega_i^t \in \{0, 1\}^{12}$ and denote the cash of farmer i at time t as c_i^t . A bid (m, x) is legal if at the time of placing the order, $c_i^t + m \geq 0$ and $\omega_i^t + x$ contains only zeros and ones. A bid is thus legal if the farmer has more cash than the amount of money he offers, he sells only land that he owns, and he buys only land that he does not own. Orders placed by a farmer are also restricted by the mechanism used in each treatment, as outlined above.

Legal orders are sent to the order book in the order that they arrive, and transactions occur any time there exists a set of legal orders where: (i) supply equals or exceeds demand for all plots; (ii) only a single order is used for each farmer; and (iii) the total amount of money offered is not positive. Formally, let \mathcal{O}^t denote the legal orders in the order book at time t , and index its elements $o_j = (m_j, x_j)$, by $j = \{1, \dots, |\mathcal{O}^t|\}$. Let $d = \{0, 1\}^{|\mathcal{O}^t|}$ be a vector of orders from the order book, where $d_j = 1$ if an order j is winning and $d_j = 0$ otherwise. Let \mathcal{O}_i^t be the active orders of farmer i and let $\mathbb{W}_i = \{o_j \in \mathcal{O}_i^t | d_j = 1\}$ be the orders of farmer i that are winning. At each time t we find:

$$V^* \equiv \max_d \sum_j -m_j d_j$$

subject to

$$\begin{aligned} \sum_j x_j^l d_j &\leq 0 & \forall l \in \mathbb{L}, \quad \text{and} \\ |\mathbb{W}_i| &\leq 1 & \forall i \in \mathbb{F}. \end{aligned}$$

Trade is triggered if $V^* \geq 0$.³⁹

When a transaction is triggered, we return plots that were not demanded to their original owners, and transfer all other plots according to the set of winning orders. If there is a positive surplus (i.e., $V^* > 0$), we divide the remaining surplus amongst the winning farmers as follows: let $\mathbb{W} = \{o_j \in \mathcal{O}^t | d_j = 1\}$ be the set of winning orders and $\widehat{\mathbb{W}} = \{o_j \in \mathcal{O}^t | o_j \in \mathcal{O}_i^t, |\mathbb{W}_i| = 1\}$ be the set of all orders made by the winning farmers. Likewise, denote the set of orders made by non-winners by $\text{NW} = \mathcal{O}^t \setminus \widehat{\mathbb{W}}$. Let $p \in \{0, \dots, 10000\}^{12}$ be a vector of (integer) prices, and denote the surplus generated by order j at prices p as $s_j(p) = -m_j - p \cdot x_j$.⁴⁰ As is standard in these

³⁹Note that the restriction to legal trades ensures that there is no short selling, and that all budget constraints are met. We handle these on the client side to minimize the computation time required to solve the winner allocation problem, and to make farmers aware of attempted bids that could not be exercised. Relative to [Goeree and Lindsay \(2019\)](#), the additional cardinality constraint prevents more than one order from a farmer being used in each transaction. This constraint ensures that orders submitted by each farmer are considered XOR. Further, we only use the bids of non-winners to set prices, while [Goeree and Lindsay \(2019\)](#) use all non-winning bids. This change avoids a situation that can arise in our setting, where bidders impose revealed preference constraints on themselves, and reduce their own surplus.

⁴⁰We use integer prices in the experiment in the range of 1 and 10000 so that trade prices are similar to ones that farmers are likely to encounter when trading in Kenya Shillings on a day-to-day basis.

problems, we find the set of prices that lexicographically maximizes the minimum surplus of winning farmers, subject to the revealed preference constraints of the losing orders.⁴¹ The revealed preference constraints ensure that a losing farmer would not prefer to have won once the surplus is reallocated given the information that was submitted to the market. Finding these prices is equivalent to solving:

$$\min_p \sum_j d_j \left(s_j(p) - \frac{V^*}{|\mathbb{W}|} \right)^2$$

subject to:

$$\begin{aligned} s_j(p) &\geq 0 & \forall o_j \in \mathbb{W}, \\ s_j(p) &\leq 0 & \forall o_j \in \mathbb{NW}, \quad \text{and} \\ \sum_j d_j s_j(p) &= V^*. \end{aligned}$$

Each winner pays or receives $p \cdot x_j$ and losing farmers pay and receive nothing. In the case of ties, we use the first solution found by the solver.⁴²

As can be seen in the optimization rule above, lexicographically maximizing the minimum surplus is equivalent to minimizing the squared difference between the surplus of each winner and the equal split subject to an additional constraint that all surplus is allocated. We explain our surplus division rule using this logic. Farmers are told that we try to split the surplus as evenly as possible between the farmers but that we want to make sure that farmers who do not trade are not disadvantaged. In training our enumerators we gave two main examples — one where there is a single buy order and a single sell order and where the surplus is divided equally, and one where there are two buy orders and a single sell order and where the non-winning buy order pins down prices.

After a transaction is triggered, all non-winning orders made by farmers in the winning coalition become inactive, and we allow farmers to renew any legal orders if they wish. Orders that are made illegal (for instance, orders that contain sale offers of objects no longer owned) are hidden from a farmer’s offer book, but can be renewed if later transactions make them legal. Farmers have the ability to withdraw legal orders at any time.

Interfaces All bids were entered through a computer interface. The interface displayed the farmer’s valuations and current allocation on a geospatial map as in Panel (a) of Figure C2, and provided a calculator that could be used to determine the value of different allocations. Players (or their bidding assistant) could click on sets of plots on the map (depending on the treatment) and enter a willingness to pay, or willingness to accept to make the trade. Only legal bids were accepted by the computer. The interface also showed a list of all current bids placed by the farmer. In addition to the individual interfaces, a projector showed a map which indicated who owned each plot of land and when a plot of land was offered for sale, or had an offer to purchase. Combinatorial bids showed up on the projected interface as separate components. A screenshot of the individual and projected interfaces is shown in Figure C2.

⁴¹See [Kwasnica et al. \(2005\)](#) for a broader discussion of revealed preference constraints.

⁴²The underlying algorithms were written in Minizinc, a free open-source constraint modelling language, and solved using GECODE ([Nethercote et al. 2007](#); [Stuckey et al. 2014](#)). In general, the winner determination problem could be solved in under 200 milliseconds for order books containing under 100 legal orders. The surplus division rule was slightly slower, but usually completed in under 600 milliseconds.

Land Auction

Player 1

647

TypeSingleAdj. Bonus

400160

300120

20080

Current Allocation

12344000

56783000

9101112000

Cash:300

Total Profit:1000

Alternate Allocation

12344000

56783000

9101112000

Cash:300

Total Profit:1000

You can select either one land to sell or one land to buy.

Submit a Bid

Sell LotsBuy Lots

Total Price

Receive (at least)

Pay (at most)

0

Submit

Your current open bids.

Sell LotsBuy LotsPriceCurrent ProfitExpected ProfitAction

No data available in table

Panel (a): Computer Interface Used by Farmers

Lot: 1

Owner: 1

★

Lot: 2

Owner: 1

Lot: 3

Owner: 2

Lot: 4

Owner: 2

Lot: 5

Owner: 3

Lot: 6

Owner: 3

Lot: 7

Owner: 4

●

Lot: 8

Owner: 4

Lot: 9

Owner: 5

Lot: 10

Owner: 5

Lot: 11

Owner: 6

Lot: 12

Owner: 6

★ Open Offer to Sell

● Open Offer to Buy

Panel (b): Projected Land Market Interface

Figure C2: Computer Interfaces

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D Appendix D: Additional Results from Experiment 2

D.1 Full sample results

Our preferred regression specification for this experiment drops the first randomization block of six sessions, due to comprehension issues we encountered in these early sessions. Tables D2 and D3 report the full sample results. The efficiency results are qualitatively similar to our main results but the treatment effects are smaller, due to very low efficiency in block 1. Our inequality findings are qualitatively and quantitatively similar to the main results.

D.2 Efficiency and Initial Land Allocation

As discussed above, we conjectured that the ability to achieve full efficiency would depend on the initial allocation of plots, and we tentatively ranked our 8 initial allocations in order of perceived difficulty. Figure D1 shows that efficiency gains depend on the initial allocation of plots, but are not monotonically decreasing in our pre-experimental assessment of difficulty.

We ranked maps by a conjecture on whether or not *full* efficiency would be reached. As shown above, however, full efficiency was rarely reached, and so ease of reaching partial efficiency was more important. For example, on the basis of full efficiency, we believed that Map 8 was very hard, and Map 5 less difficult. Inspection of Figure D1, however, implies that this was not the case. One possible explanation is that for map 5, consolidation (and efficiency) requires a *Package-2* chain with three people involved. On the other hand, while full efficiency in Map 8 requires a *Package-2* chain with at least 4 people, consolidation requires only a *Package-2* chain with 2 players. Thus 8 is easy to consolidate and hard to improve sorting, but 5 is hard to consolidate. Because our auctions mostly reduced consolidation, Map 8 turned out to be easier than Map 5.

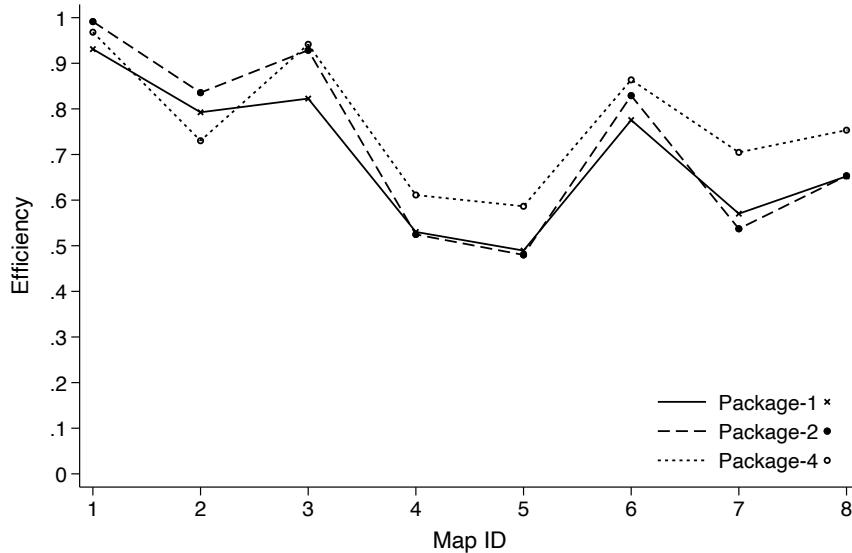


Figure D1: Mean efficiency by map and treatment

F-test for no difference by map: $F(7,39) = 23.67$, $p < 0.001$. Figure excludes data from randomization block 1 (see section 6.3 for discussion).

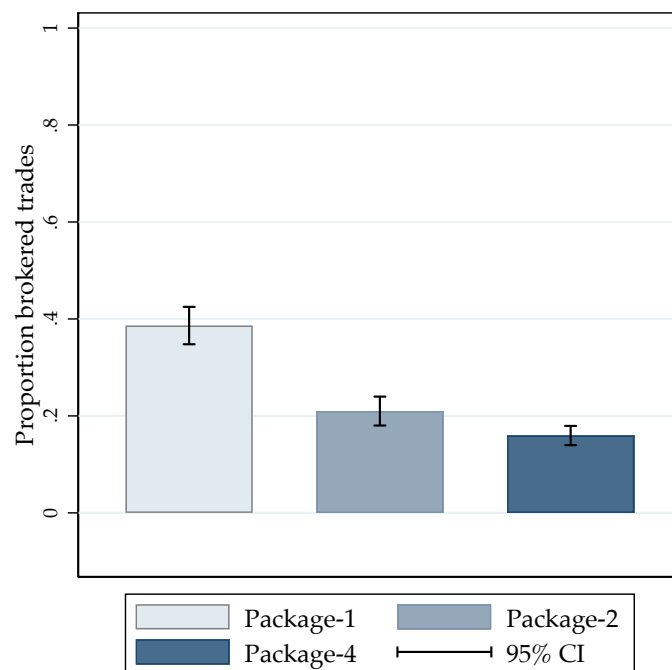


Figure D2: Proportion of Brokered Trades in Each Treatment

The figure plots the fraction of trades that had zero monetary surplus under each mechanism in experiment 2. We interpret these as “brokered” trades that were verbally agreed before being entered into the system. Figure excludes data from randomization block 1 (see section 6.3 for discussion).

Table D1: Summary Statistics: Experiment 2

Demographics	Our sample			Kenya		
	mean	S.D.	obs	mean	S.D.	obs
Age	42.65	10.45	263	38.73	16.61	51535
Female	0.58	0.50	264	0.52	0.50	51535
Married	0.77	0.42	264	0.63	0.48	51535
Nr of people in household	4.06	1.71	264	4.31	2.48	23785
Education						
Education (years)	9.75	2.94	264	8.01	4.23	51416
Land tenure						
Owns two or more plots	0.22	0.41	264			
Total land ownership in acres	1.01	1.52	237	2.56	3.79	23230
Land trade						
Fraction of plots with joint ownership	0.61	0.49	303			
Fraction of plots that are far from home	0.24	0.43	303			
Fraction of plots with a title	0.64	0.48	303			
Fraction who bought a plot (last 12 months)	0.05	0.22	264			
If has bought land: How many acres	0.83	1.42	11			
Fraction who sold a plot (last 12 months)	0.02	0.14	264			
If has sold land: How many acres	7.62	11.80	4			
Fraction of sales due to emergencies	0.40	0.55	5			
Consolidation						
How important is it to have all your plots together? (1–10, 1 is better to have spread out)						
1	0.43	0.50	264			
2 – 9	0.08	0.27	264			
10	0.47	0.50	264			
Why?						
Why fragment? Less risky	0.25	0.43	264			
Why consolidate? More productive	0.38	0.49	264			
Preferences (1–5)				GPS		
Risk tolerance	3.95	1.42	264	3.49	0.93	998

Comparison demographic data is from the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 2014 ([Kenya National Bureau of Statistics et al., 2015](#)), for individuals aged 18 and older that own land suitable for agriculture. Time and risk preferences are from a nationally representative sample of Kenya, and are sourced from the Global Preference Survey (GPS) ([Falk et al., 2018](#)). We thank Armin Falk and Markus Antony for sharing the GPS summary statistics needed for this comparison.

Table D2: Efficiency in Experiment 2, including block 1

		Decomposition		
	(1) Efficiency	(2) Consolidation	(3) Sorting	(4) Avoided exposure loss
Panel A: Impact of package mechanisms				
Package-2	-0.002	0.002	0.004	-0.008
	(0.037)	(0.018)	(0.011)	(0.018)
as % of first best		0.003	0.013	
Package-4	0.042	0.008	0.024*	0.011
	(0.031)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.015)
as % of first best		0.011	0.090	
FDR q-value: Package-2		[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FDR q-value: Package-4		[0.693]	[0.255]	[0.693]
Control mean	0.677	0.614	0.114	-0.051
Control mean: % of first best		0.838	0.428	
Observations	366	366	366	366
Panel B: Impact of package mechanisms and low cash treatment				
Package-2	-0.016	-0.013	0.018	-0.021
	(0.048)	(0.024)	(0.017)	(0.026)
Package-4	0.061	0.016	0.033	0.012
	(0.044)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Low cash	-0.001	-0.019	0.008	0.011
	(0.043)	(0.025)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Package-2 × low cash	0.027	0.030	-0.029	0.026
	(0.050)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.027)
Package-4 × low cash	-0.038	-0.017	-0.019	-0.002
	(0.058)	(0.034)	(0.027)	(0.027)
FDR q-value: Package-2		[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FDR q-value: Package-4		[0.603]	[0.480]	[0.603]
F-test p-value: all low cash effects = 0	0.570	0.333	0.603	0.230
Control mean	0.678	0.624	0.110	-0.056
Observations	366	366	366	366

Note: *** denotes significance at the 1% level, ** 5% level and * 10% level. % of first best shows coefficient as share of potential gains within each category. First best: consolidation = 0.733, and sorting = 0.357. Control group: Package-1. Columns (2), (3) and (4) show the decomposition of efficiency in consolidation, sorting and avoided exposure loss respectively. Regressions in columns (1), (2) and (4) use data from all maps, sessions and randomization blocks 1-8. All columns control for low cash dummy and auction number, map and randomization block fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by session in parentheses.

Table D3: Inequality in Experiment 2, including block 1

	Atkinson Index (log utility)		
	(1) High cash	(2) Low cash	(3) High & Low
Package-2	0.0010 (0.0006)	-0.0022** (0.0011)	0.0010 (0.0006)
Package-4	0.0001 (0.0006)	-0.0017* (0.0010)	0.0001 (0.0006)
Package-2 \times low cash			-0.0032*** (0.0010)
Package-4 \times low cash			-0.0018* (0.0010)
F-test p-value: all low cash effects = 0			0.009
Control mean	0.012	0.035	0.024
Observations	183	183	366

Note: *** denotes significance at the 1% level, ** 5% level and * 10% level. The control mean in columns (1) and (2) are not directly comparable because the Atkinson inequality index is not invariant to additive changes in total wealth. Control group: Package-1. Regressions in column (1) use data from high cash group, in column (2) use data from low cash group and in column (3) use data from both high and low cash groups. All regressions control for randomization block, auction and map fixed effects, and in column (3) adds interactions of each of the fixed effects with a low cash dummy. Standard errors clustered by session in parentheses.

E Enumerators' instructions, Experiment 1

* All underlined sentences are actions for you (not to read).

1. Presentation & purpose of the research

Thank you for meeting us today!

We are a team working for Metajua in Kampala, and we are conducting a research project for researchers at: London School of Economics, Stockholm University, Melbourne University and Maastricht University.


*Today we want to play a game with you using **imaginary** land titles. Why?*

We believe agricultural productivity is affected by land fragmentation:

Fragmentation = many, separated, small plots of land

Separated plots = difficult to move between plots, to use big tractors

Example = village in Denmark!



Shown here: image of Oster Stilling village in Denmark before and after defragmentation. See Hartvigsen (2014) Figure 1.

Before

After

We believe that helping farmers to identify valuable trades can solve these problems. Like a land market, similar to a livestock market!

That is why we want to play fictitious games with you to understand if our intuition is correct.

2. Elements of a fictitious trading game

In our fictitious game we will use (show the material):

Game shillings (also imaginary)

Imaginary land titles

A value card with the value for each land title

Initial debt card

Game shillings

Game shillings Can be used to buy and sell "land titles" in the games or traded for UGX at the end of the game. Today for the first 2 games, 10 game shillings is worth 1 UGX. That means if you give me 60,000 game shillings at the end of the session, I will pay you 6000 UGX.

Example 1: With 100,000 game shillings you will have 10,000 UGX

Example 2: With 200,000 game shillings you will have 20,000 UGX

Imaginary land titles and values

*I have with me a number of **imaginary land titles**. An imaginary land title has a **value**. The value is the amount of game shillings that a land title is worth – like a price of the land according to you. **You cannot trade the value card, only the land title.***

→ YOU CANNOT SHOW YOUR VALUE TO OTHER PARTICIPANTS

EXAMPLE = **A bicycle**. Think about a bicycle. You could use the bicycle to take goods to market, and that means that **to you** the bicycle is worth 100,000 UGX.

You have a friend that already has a bicycle, so he doesn't need another one. Another bicycle would be worth less **to him**, only 20,000 UGX.

You have another friend that desperately needs a bicycle to visit his mother. **To him**, the bicycle is worth more, about 150,000 UGX.

Enumerator: Give the following example in front:

Example 1: If a land title value is 100,000 game shillings, and you have 3 land titles. How many game shillings do you have? [ANSWER ENUMERATOR: 300,000 game shillings]

Example 2: If a land title value is 300,000 game shillings, and you have 2 land titles. How many game shillings do you have? [ANSWER ENUMERATOR: 600,000 game shillings]

Example 3: If a land title value is 300,000 game shillings, and you HAVE NO land titles. How many game shillings do you have? [ANSWER ENUMERATOR: 0 game shillings]

Initial debt

Also each of you will have an Initial Debt card.

- Why? In real life, people might need to get a loan to buy land. Maybe from MFI, Saving groups, SACCO, etc.
- Other reasons?
- At the end of the game, you need to repay this debt
- **During the game, you can keep this debt card in your envelope. You will only need it at the end to calculate your profits.**
- **You will never lose money by playing this game. We will never take real money from you**

→ YOU CANNOT SHOW YOUR INITIAL DEBT TO OTHER PARTICIPANTS

PROFITS

THE MOST IMPORTANT PART= Your profit depends on the value of the land title (**IF you have a land title**) **plus the amount of game shillings you have minus your initial debt**. And then, exchanged to real UGX

Land title value of the land you have + game shillings - initial debt = total game shillings
EXCHANGE RATE → 10 game shillings = 1 UGX (Games 1 & 2)

Enumerator: Give the following example in front:

Question 1: If you have 3 land titles (each with a value of 100,000 game shillings); 50,000 game shillings and 204,000 Initial Debt. What is your profit? → **146,000 game shillings**

And, how much is the total profit in real UGX? → 14,600 UGX

Question 2: If you have no land title, (your value is 100,000 game shillings); 240,000 game shillings and 204,000 Initial Debt. What is your profit? → 36,000 game shillings

And, how much is the total profit in real UGX? → 3,600 UGX

Question 3: If you have no land title, (your value is 150,000 game shillings); 240,000 game shillings and 260,000 Initial Debt. What is your profit? → **-2,000? NO if you have a negative profit you just earn 0, you don't need to pay back anything.**

Gains from trading land

3 Enumerators: Give the following example in front (if needed give more examples):

We have different values. On the paper we have the value for a land title. Again, the value is how much the land title is worth to us. Each of us has different values for the same land title!

One has a value of 100,000 another a value of 90,000 and another a value of 50,000

Looking at our values papers:

Who would buy the land title for 160,000 game shillings? (no-one really – no profit!)

Who would buy the land title for 80,000 game shillings? (first and second because the land is cheaper, so they make a profit)

Who would buy the land title for 20,000 game shillings? (all players, because everybody make profits)

What is the maximum you are willing to pay if you buy the title?

[ANSWER for enumerators: the maximum is the value of the title or less because you make a profit]

What is the minimum you are willing to accept if you sell the title?

[ANSWER for enumerators: the minimum is the value of the title or more cause you make a profit]

GAME 1 – Distribution of materials

Enumerator: if there are less than 22 participants, we need to cancel some envelopes. You can follow this table to decide how many envelopes you will use:

Participants	Envelope ID
22	Use All
21	Do not use envelope ID 22
20	Do not use envelope ID 22, 21
19	Do not use envelope ID 22, 21, 20
18	Do not use envelope ID 22, 21, 20, 19

Enumerator: for each participant, check the envelope and calculate their **initial profit with them**. We want to be sure they know how to calculate it! You can use the following table to be sure if you are calculating in the right way:

Table 1: Game 1 setup

Envelope/Player ID	Value	Initial cash	Initial debt	Land title	Player land value	—> plus cash	—> minus debt
1	140000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
2	50000	240000	250000	Yes	50000	290000	40000
3	160000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
4	30000	240000	230000	Yes	30000	270000	40000
5	100000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
6	60000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
7	150000	240000	350000	Yes	150000	390000	40000
8	70000	240000	270000	Yes	70000	310000	40000
9	180000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
10	90000	240000	290000	Yes	90000	330000	40000
11	170000	240000	370000	Yes	170000	410000	40000
12	200000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
13	190000	240000	390000	Yes	190000	430000	40000
14	80000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
15	110000	240000	310000	Yes	110000	350000	40000
16	120000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
17	40000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
18	130000	240000	330000	Yes	130000	370000	40000
19	210000	240000	410000	Yes	210000	450000	40000
20	20000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
21	220000	240000	200000	No	0	240000	40000
22	10000	240000	210000	Yes	10000	250000	40000

Now you will receive an envelope that contains game shillings, values cards (**do not show your value cards!**) and debt cards (**keep them in your envelope!**). Some of you will have a land title.

You can only own 1 land title at a time – No more

Remember, at the end your profit is your land title value (if you have a land title) + game shillings - initial debt. **Some people will end the game with a lot of shillings and no title, while others might end with a great title but not many shillings. That is ok!"**

3. Let's play! Game number 1

Rules

1. Now, walk around the room and trade – like a market!
2. You can make as many trades as you like: 0, 1, 2, ..., 100!
3. Try to maximize your initial profit
4. **IMPORTANT RULE = You can only own one land title**
5. **Do not show your value to others**
6. Keep your debt card in the envelope

Enumerator = when they finish, they will come back and you have to register in **First Meeting survey**.

You can check efficiency, or if the high value types ended with the land. This will depend on the number of participants we had. The table below can assist you with that.

Number of participants	Efficiency reached if these IDs have the land titles
18	1, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18
19	1, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19
20	1, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19
21	1, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 21
22	1, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21

4. GAME 2 – Different land types

Imaginary land title – different type

For this second game, you will receive different land titles: Three types of land based on quality of land. This is because in reality, some land is better = more fertile, more productive.

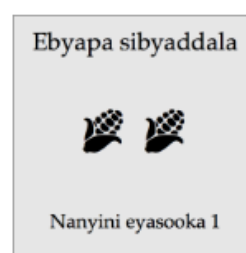
Enumerator: Show the titles and draw them on the clipboard



Best quality land (4 corns)



Medium quality land (3 corns)





Low quality land (2 corns)

The number at the bottom just indicates the initial owner.

Values – three values, each for a type of land

Now in your values you will have a value for each type of land, for example (show the value):

Enamba yange yo'muzanyo: 1	
	160,000
	120,000
	80,000

This means that different land types have different values



During this second game, you can buy as many titles as you want. **BUT if you own more than 3 land titles at the experiment, you will only get the earning of the best 3 you have according to the type**

Enumerator: Take 4 titles of different types and ask for which titles they would get profit

Enumerator: for the following examples, show them in front and also draw them on the clipboard

Example 1 = You have the following values and titles




Profits=Again, depends on land value (if you have land) + game shillings – Initial debt

<div>Enamba yange yo'muzanyo: 1</div> <div><div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div>160,000</div></div><div><div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div>120,000</div></div><div><div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div>80,000</div></div></div></div></div>	<div>Ebyapa sibiyaddala</div> <div><div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div>Nanyini eyasooka 7</div></div></div> <div>Ebyapa sibiyaddala</div> <div><div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div>Nanyini eyasooka 7</div></div></div>
<div>Ebyapa sibiyaddala</div> <div><div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div>Nanyini eyasooka 2</div></div></div> <div>Ebyapa sibiyaddala</div> <div><div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div>Nanyini eyasooka 1</div></div></div>	

20,000 Game shillings AND 323,000 of initial debt. How much is the profit? → 57,000 game shillings → 5,700 UGX

$160,000 + 120,000 + 80,000 + 20,000 - 323,000 = 57,000$ so I don't count 1 low title because only paid for the first 3 best titles.

Example 2:

Enamba yange yo'muzanyo: 2	
	80,000
	60,000
	40,000

No title; 290,000 Game shillings AND 238,000 game shillings of initial debt. How much is the profit? → 52,000 game shillings → 5,200 UGX

Example 3: If I sell all my land and have 400,000 game shillings and initial debt of 200,000 → 400,000-200,000=200,000 this is my profit

Example 4: You have these land titles and value card:



10,000 Game shillings AND 450,000 of initial debt. How much is the profit? → 0 game shillings → 0 UGX

So, even if you had land titles you made 0 profit!

GAME 2 – Distribution of materials

Enumerator: Again, if there are less than 22 participants, we need to cancel some envelopes. You can follow this table to decide how many envelopes you will use:

Participants	Envelope ID
22	Use All
21	Do not use envelope ID 22
20	Do not use envelope ID 22, 21
19	Do not use envelope ID 22, 21, 20
18	Do not use envelope ID 22, 21, 20, 19

5. Let's play! Game number 2

Now you will receive an envelope with 1 land title, a value and an initial debt card. **Don't show your values or debt to anyone!**

Rules

- If you own more than 3 land titles at the end of the game, you will only be paid for the best 3 land titles you have
- Your real earnings at the end of the experiment depend on the value of the land title you have plus the amount of game shillings you have left – initial debt. **But if you don't have a land title is also ok! your profits are the game shillings.**
- Land titles value + game shillings – initial debt = profit
- Don't show your values or debt to anyone!**
- Keep your debt card in your envelope

Enumerator: when they pick the envelope, please check that they understand how to calculate their initial profit. Follow this table for help:

Table 1: Game 2 setup									
Envelope/Player ID	Low plot value	Medium plot value	High plot value	Initial cash	Initial debt	Land title type	Player land value	—> plus cash	—> minus debt
1	80000	120000	160000	240000	280000	██	80000	320000	40000
2	40000	60000	80000	240000	260000	███	60000	300000	40000
3	80000	120000	160000	240000	320000	███	120000	360000	40000
4	40000	60000	80000	240000	260000	███	60000	300000	40000
5	60000	90000	120000	240000	290000	███	90000	330000	40000
6	40000	60000	80000	240000	240000	██	40000	280000	40000
7	80000	120000	160000	240000	360000	████	160000	400000	40000
8	60000	90000	120000	240000	260000	██	60000	300000	40000
9	40000	60000	80000	240000	240000	██	40000	280000	40000
10	80000	120000	160000	240000	320000	███	120000	360000	40000
11	60000	90000	120000	240000	260000	██	60000	300000	40000
12	80000	120000	160000	240000	360000	████	160000	400000	40000
13	40000	60000	80000	240000	280000	████	80000	320000	40000
14	60000	90000	120000	240000	290000	███	90000	330000	40000
15	60000	90000	120000	240000	260000	██	60000	300000	40000
16	60000	90000	120000	240000	320000	████	120000	360000	40000
17	40000	60000	80000	240000	280000	████	80000	320000	40000
18	80000	120000	160000	240000	360000	████	160000	400000	40000
19	80000	120000	160000	240000	320000	███	120000	360000	40000
20	60000	90000	120000	240000	320000	████	120000	360000	40000
21	40000	60000	80000	240000	240000	██	40000	280000	40000
22	80000	120000	160000	240000	280000	██	80000	320000	40000

Enumerator = when they finish, they will come back and you have to register in **First Meeting survey**.

You can check efficiency, or if the high value types ended with all the land. This will depend on the number of participants we had. The table below can assist you with that.

Game 2 - To check efficiency

Number of participants	Efficiency reached if these IDs have the land titles
18	1, 3, 7, 10, 12, 18
19	1, 3, 7, 10, 12, 18, 19
20	1, 3, 7, 10, 12, 18, 19
21	1, 3, 7, 10, 12, 18, 19
22	1, 3, 7, 10, 12, 18, 19, 22

After this game ask the extra participants to leave. Please check the “Meeting activities” protocol

6. Final envelopes for them to leave and play

Now you will receive an envelope for you to play during 7 days. We will meet again in a week to calculate your earnings and do a short survey.

In the new game you will have three land titles from the beginning and an abstract map like the one you see in my hands.

Enumerator: Show the maps G3 OR G4 according to what the village is receiving today. Check with your team leader

First 3 rows are high land

Middle 3 rows are medium land

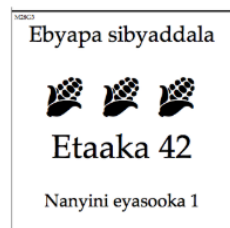
Bottom 3 rows are low land

White squares are **untradeable land**.

The spaces between the land types can be, for example, rivers or mountains between land

Let's have a closer look to the land title now (take a title in your hand)

Enumerator: Show a land title



Land title

← The number in the center is the Plot Location. In this case the plot is located in the 42 spot

← The number at the bottom is the initial owner ID. In this case owner 1.

The number in the center is the Plot Location. In this case the plot is located in the XX spot
The number at the bottom is the initial owner ID. **In this case initial owner X.**

Profit

The main difference in this game: you will have a bonus if your plots are next to each other.

If you own adjacent plots, you get bonuses that are indicated in your value card showing the different ways you can have adjacent plots in the map.

Enamba yange yo'muzanyo: 2	
	152,000
	114,000
	76,000
	+ 15,200
	+ 30,400

You can have one bonus or two bonuses according on how your land is located **in the map**. The symbols in the card can help you with understanding how much is your bonus.

Enumerator: Give an example with the map about when a plot is adjacent and when is not.

Like last time, you can own as many titles as you want **BUT only receive profits from the best 3 pieces + the maximum number of adjacencies that you can get from those plots.**

Enumerator: Draw the following examples on the clipboard

For example:

- If you have three low plots, all adjacent, you will get 3 low + 2 adjacency bonuses.
- if you have 2 high separated plots, and 2 medium adjacent plots your payoff will be 2 high + 1 medium. You always get the highest profits by counting your best quality plots (**even if you break an adjacency**).
- If you have 1 high + 2 medium adjacent + 1 medium non-adjacent it will be 1 high + 2 medium + adjacency bonus (so choose the ones with adjacency).
- If you have 1 high + 3 medium all adjacent, it will be 1 high + 2 medium + adjacency bonus. You always get the highest profits by counting your best quality plots (**even if you break an adjacency**).

Each of you will have a map in your envelope to know the location of your titles and of the other titles.

The exchange rate will be higher, so that you will earn more by playing this game.

EXCHANGE RATE → 10 game shillings = 2 UGX

Example: if next week you come back with a profit of 300,000 game shillings, I will pay you 60,000UGX

*Land title value of the land you have + game shillings + **bonus** - initial debt = total game shillings*
EXCHANGE RATE → 10 game shillings = 2 UGX

*The materials for this game will be pink. Now please each of you come and receive an envelope,, and I will register which number of envelope you are receiving and make a couple of comprehension questions. We will meet in 7 days **so that I can calculate your earnings and pay you more**. Your earnings for todays will be paid by mobile money before the next meeting.*

Thanks

F Enumerators' instructions, Experiment 2

F.1 Package-1 treatment

Enumerator Instructions: Player 1, No Package

Hi, my name is _____ I will be helping you to trade land in the game today.

Purpose of the game

First let me explain a little about the purpose of this study.

We are aiming to design a market that will reduce land fragmentation in Kenya and other countries in Africa.

Land Fragmentation occurs when farmers have many, separated, small plots of land.

Reducing land fragmentation is an important part of growth for every country. The picture below shows plots in Denmark before and after fragmentation was reduced. Plots of land in Kenya look like those on the left.

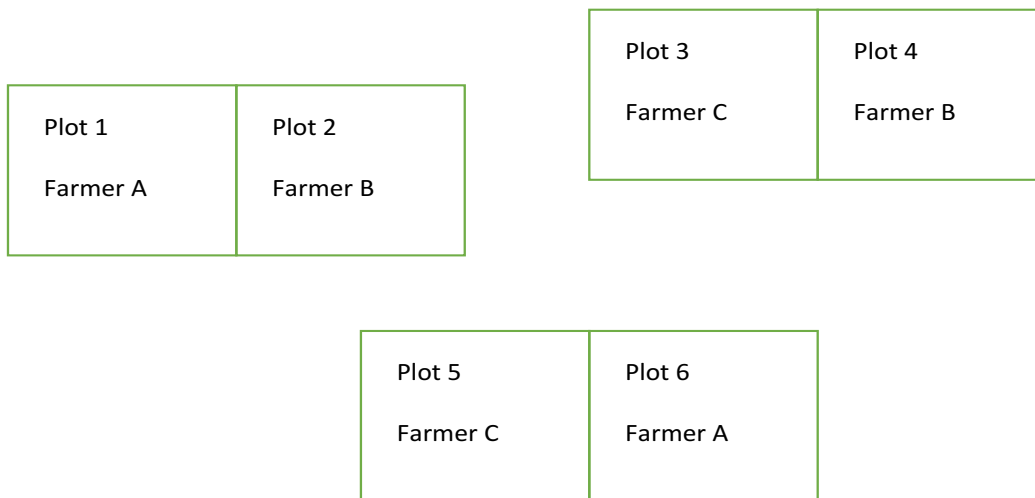
Shown here: image of Oster Stillinge village in Denmark before and after defragmentation. See Hartvigsen (2014) Figure 1.

Land fragmentation reduces output because:

1. small separated plots of land make it hard to use tractors.
2. It is hard for farmers to move between many separated plots.
3. It is more difficult to use modern inputs such as fertilizer, pesticide and irrigation on many small separated plots.

Land fragmentation can be very hard to fix.

Look at the picture below:



Farmer A owns two plots of land, farmer B owns two plots of land and farmer C owns two plots of land. Their plots are fragmented because they are not next to each other. Suppose farmer A decides to sell plot 1 buy plot 5. This may not work:

1. If A wants to sell plot 1, the only buyer is likely to be B. But buyer B has no reason to give A a good deal. If there were more buyers for plot 1, A would likely earn more from selling.
2. B may not want to buy plot 1 as this would give him 3 plots, which may be too many to farm.
3. If A does sell plot 1, he is left with only one plot, unless he can be sure that he can buy plot 5. If farmer A needs to buy plot 5, farmer C will be able to charge him lots of money.

These problems lead to land staying fragmented, reducing the output of Kenyan farms and keeping Kenyan farmers poor.

We believe that getting all the farmers from one area into the same room to buy and sell land can solve these problems. This we think of as a land market, similar to a livestock market. Just like a livestock market, there need to be rules. We are trying to understand what these rules should be to make the best land market possible.

This experiment will involve playing simple games so that we can understand how well different sets of rules work. By playing the game to the best of your ability you will help us to design the best market for land that we can. You will also be paid based on how well you do in the game.

Money

You are now going to play 8 games in which you can earn money.

You will start the game with some money in “Cash”. During the games you will earn further rewards in Game Points. For every 20 Game Points that you have at the end of the game, you will be paid 1 Kenyan Shilling, through mobile money.

So, if you finish the day with 6000 Game Points, we will pay you 300 Kenyan Shillings.

(Ask: if you finished the day with 4000 Game Points, how many Shillings would we pay you?

If correct, go on.

If incorrect, explain the answer and ask:

If you have 8000 Game Points at the end of the day, how many Shillings would we pay you?

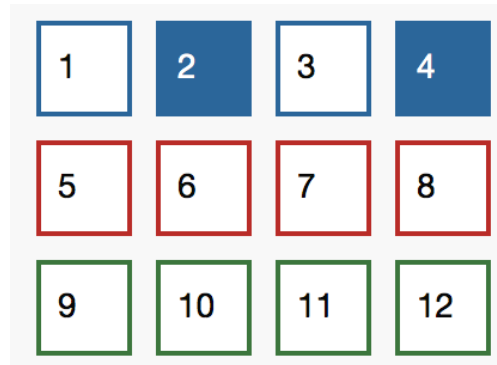
If correct, go on.

If incorrect, explain answer and go on.)

Maps

Now, I am going to explain the map to you.

(Refer to the Current Allocation map on the screen, it should look as below).

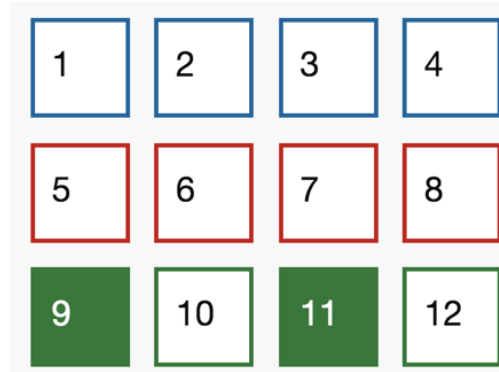


This map shows the 12 plots of land. 4 blue plots, 4 red plots and 4 green plots. Currently, you own **2 blue** plots. These plots are not next to each other; the plots are fragmented.

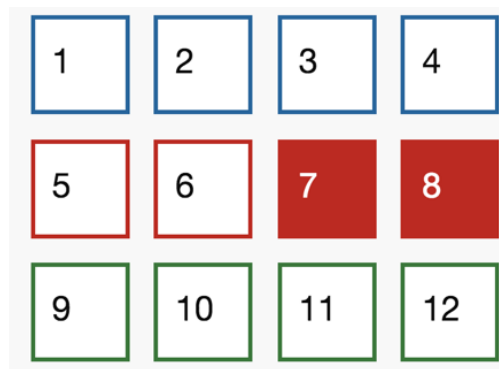
If you owned 2 blue plots that were next to each other, the map would look like the picture below:



(Now, show the subject the following map, and ask: Which plots do you own? What colour are the plots? Are the plots next to each other or fragmented?):




(If the subject gets the answer incorrect, explain the correct answer and then show them the next map. If they are correct, show them the next map. Again, ask: Which plots do you own? What colour are the plots? Are the plots next to each other or fragmented?):



(If the subject gets the answer correct, move on, if not return to the map above and re-ask the questions.)

Values

Now that you understand the maps, I am going to explain to you the values of the plots. Values are shown in the top left of the screen. (Show them the values section of the screen, it should look as in the picture below.)

Type	Single	Adj. Bonus
	400	160
	300	120
	200	80

This picture says that for each blue plot that you own at the end of the game, you will earn **400** Game Points. For each red plot that you own you will earn **300** Game Points and for each green plot that you own, you will earn **200** Game Points.

It also states that if you have two blue plots next to each other, then you will receive a bonus of **160**. This is because you are able to use a tractor on two plots that are next to each other, so your yield is higher.




If you have two red plots next to each other, then you will receive a bonus of **120**.

If you have two green plots next to each other, then you will receive a bonus of **80**.

Three or more plots

If you own 3 plots or more you will not have time to farm them all and will instead receive only the value of your best two plots.

Your values of land will not always be the same during the game. For example, sometimes your values may look like the table below.

Type	Single	Adj. Bonus
	300	120
	225	90
	150	60

Now we are going to practice calculating the value of different sets of plots. (Using the calculator in the computer or the calculator that you have work with the subject to calculate the values of the following allocations and write the value below the map)

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12

Value: _____

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12

Value: _____

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12

Value: _____

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12

Value: _____

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12

Value: _____

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12

Value: _____

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12

Value: _____

Trading

Now that you understand maps and the value of land, I am going to teach you how to trade land. Please remember that you are not trading real land, this is just a game. The land you are playing with is imaginary. Nothing that we do today will affect your real land in any way.

You can place a bid to buy a piece of land that you want to own, or a bid to sell a piece of land that you own.

You can place as many bids as you like, but if one of the bids is accepted, all the other bids will disappear. This means that it is safe to submit lots of bids.

So, for example, you could place a bid to sell your land **Plot 2** for **500 Game Points**. Suppose **Player 2** enters a bid to buy **Plot 2** for **600 Game Points**. Since you are willing to sell at a price below the price at which the other player is willing to buy, you will trade. We will set a trade price of **550**. This is as fair as possible.

For another example, suppose you placed a bid to buy **Plot 6** for **200 Game Points** and **Player 4** places a bid to sell **Plot 6** for **100 Game Points**. You will buy **Plot 6** for **150 Game Points**, half way between **100** and **200**. Again, this is fair.

Finally, suppose you placed a bid to sell **Plot 4** for **200 Game Points** and **Player 6** places a bid to buy **Plot 4** for **100 Game Points**. Here no trade will take place because the amount you want is higher than they are willing to pay.

Sometimes, there may be more than one person who is looking to buy the same plot of land. Then we want the prices to be as fair as possible. Suppose that the plot is for sale for 200. You bid 500 to buy the land, and your friend bids 600. Who should get the land? It seems fair that the person that bid 600 should get the land. What is a fair price? If we set the price at half way between 600 and 200 the price would be 400. But then you would be upset that you did not receive the land, because you offered 500. Instead, the computer will sell the land to your friend for 500 – which is the amount that you bid.

Now suppose that three people tried to buy the land. Person 1 offers 500, person 2 offers 600 and person 3 offers 700. Who should get the land? Person 3 should get it. The price will be 600, so that Person 1 and Person 2 are not annoyed that they didn't get the land.

We are now going to calculate how much you should be willing to pay for buying pieces of land that are different from the ones that you already own. Or how much you need to be offered to sell your land or to move to other land.

(Look with the subject at the allocation of land that is shown in the computer screen. Encourage them to calculate the gain they would have from moving to several different locations. Fill in the table below.)

Value of your Current Land	New Plots of Land	New Value	Maximum You Would Pay	Minimum You Would Accept
800	1 + 2	960	160	-
800	5 + 6	450	-	350
	10 + 11			
	6 + 11			
	6 + 4			
	8			
	1			

Note that it is possible to sell the best land (blue plots) and buy the worst land (green plots) and increase the amount of money that you will earn in this game. For example, if you owned plots 1 and 2 and have 0 cash at the end you would earn **960**. If you sold those two plots and purchased plots **11** and **12** for **500** then you would have land worth **480** and **500** in cash for a total of **980**.

Information

While you are trading, it may be helpful to have some information about whether other people in the room are trying to buy your plots, and who owns the plots that you would like to buy. To help you see this information, you will see a screen projected that will show you who owns what and which plots someone is trying to buy and which plots someone is trying to sell. The screen will look like this:

Lot: 1 Owner: 1 ★	Lot: 2 Owner: 1	Lot: 3 Owner: 2	Lot: 4 Owner: 2
Lot: 5 Owner: 3 ★	Lot: 6 Owner: 3	Lot: 7 Owner: 4 ●	Lot: 8 Owner: 4
Lot: 9 Owner: 5	Lot: 10 Owner: 5	Lot: 11 Owner: 6	Lot: 12 Owner: 6

In this picture, it tells you who owns which plots at the moment. Also, if a plot is for sale it is marked with a red star. If someone is trying to buy a particular plot it is marked with a blue circle.

In this picture, Plot 1 is owned by player 1, and it is for sale. Plot 7 is owned by player 4, and someone is trying to buy it.

(For the figure below, ask the subject: who owns Plot 5? Which plots are for sale? Which plots does someone want to buy?)

Lot: 1 Owner: 1 ★	Lot: 2 Owner: 1	Lot: 3 Owner: 2	Lot: 4 Owner: 2
Lot: 5 Owner: 3 ★	Lot: 6 Owner: 3	Lot: 7 Owner: 4 ●	Lot: 8 Owner: 4
Lot: 9 Owner: 5	Lot: 10 Owner: 5	Lot: 11 Owner: 6	Lot: 12 Owner: 6

Communication

During the game you are allowed to talk to other players if you wish to. This might be useful if you want to ask someone to sell the land that you want.

(Now, please tell the Senior Field Officer that you are finished and wait for the Senior Field Officer to tell you that you can continue.)

Practice Trade

(When the Senior Field Officer tells you to begin trading)

Now we are going to implement your plans from above. Please tell me which of the bids you would like me to make, and I will enter those bids for you.

(Play the game. During the practice, please encourage the subject to try each of the following)

Bid	✓
Submit a bid to buy one piece of Land	
Submit a bid to sell one piece of Land	

REMEMBER THE RULES FOR THE REAL AUCTIONS!!!!

You can:

- Encourage players to place more bids
- Suggest that a player lowers his or her prices to sell if he or she is not trading and does not understand why
- Suggest that a player raises his or her prices to buy if he or she is not trading and does not understand why
- Encourage players to offer plots for sale, even if they are happy with them.
- Remind players to look at the projector to see which plots are for sale and which plots they could sell

You CAN NOT:

- Suggest or encourage specific trades.
- Suggest or encourage specific prices.

(When the Senior Field Officer tells you, trade will begin for real.)

F.2 Package-2 treatment (showing differences to Package-1 only)

Trading

Now that you understand maps and the value of land, I am going to teach you how to trade land. Please remember that you are not trading real land, this is just a game. The land you are playing with is imaginary. Nothing that we do today will affect your real land in any way.

You can place a bid to buy a piece of land that you want to own, or a bid to sell a piece of land that you own.

You can place as many bids as you like, but if one of the bids is accepted, all the other bids will disappear. This means that it is safe to submit lots of bids.

So, for example, you could place a bid to sell your land **Plot 2** for **500 Game Points**. Suppose **Player 2** enters a bid to buy **Plot 2** for **600 Game Points**. Since you are willing to sell at a price below the price at which the other player is willing to buy, you will trade. We will set a trade price of **550**. This is as fair as possible.

For another example, suppose you placed a bid to buy **Plot 6** for **200 Game Points** and **Player 4** places a bid to sell **Plot 6** for **100 Game Points**. You will buy **Plot 6** for **150 Game Points**, half way between **100** and **200**. Again, this is fair.

Finally, suppose you placed a bid to sell **Plot 4** for **200 Game Points** and **Player 6** places a bid to buy **Plot 4** for **100 Game Points**. Here no trade will take place because the amount you want is higher than they are willing to pay.

Sometimes, there may be more than one person who is looking to buy the same plot of land. Then we want the prices to be as fair as possible. Suppose that the plot is for sale for 200. You bid 500 to buy the land, and your friend bids 600. Who should get the land? It seems fair that the person that bid 600 should get the land. What is a fair price? If we set the price at half way between 600 and 200 the price would be 400. But then you would be upset that you did not receive the land, because you offered 500. Instead, the computer will sell the land to your friend for 500 – which is the amount that you bid.

Now suppose that three people tried to buy the land. Person 1 offers 500, person 2 offers 600 and person 3 offers 700. Who should get the land? Person 3 should get it. The price will be 600, so that Person 1 and Person 2 are not annoyed that they didn't get the land.

You can also offer to swap pieces of land. This means you offer to sell a piece of land and buy another piece of land at the same time. In this case, you may offer to pay money for the swap, or demand to receive money be given to you.

For example, you may offer to sell **Plot 2** and buy **Plot 3 at the same time**, and earn **200 Game Points**. If the computer can find other people in the room that are willing to do this, then you will sell **Plot 2**, buy **Plot 3** and receive at least **200 Game Points**.

Alternatively, you may offer to swap **Plot 4** for **Plot 1** and require no money.

Communication

During the game you are allowed to talk to other players if you wish to. This might be useful if you want to ask someone to sell the land that you want.

(Now, please tell the Senior Field Officer that you are finished and wait for the Senior Field Officer to tell you that you can continue.)

Practice Trade

(When the Senior Field Officer tells you to begin trading)

Now we are going to implement your plans from above. Please tell me which of the bids you would like me to make, and I will enter those bids for you.

(Play the game. During the practice, please encourage the subject to try each of the following)

Bid	✓
Submit a bid to buy one piece of Land	
Submit a bid to sell one piece of Land	
Submit a bid to swap one piece of Land for another and demand some money	
Submit a bid to swap one piece of Land for another and offer some money	

REMEMBER THE RULES FOR THE REAL AUCTIONS!!!!

You can:

- Encourage players to place more bids
- Suggest that a player lowers his or her prices to sell if he or she is not trading and does not understand why
- Suggest that a player raises his or her prices to buy if he or she is not trading and does not understand why
- Encourage players to offer plots for sale, even if they are happy with them.
- Remind players to look at the projector to see which plots are for sale and which plots they could sell
- Remind player that they can submit package bids.

You CAN NOT:

- Suggest or encourage specific trades.
- Suggest or encourage specific prices.

(When the Senior Field Officer tells you, trade will begin for real.)

E.3 Package-4 treatment (showing differences to Package-1 only)

Trading

Now that you understand maps and the value of land, I am going to teach you how to trade land. Please remember that you are not trading real land, this is just a game. The land you are playing with is imaginary. Nothing that we do today will affect your real land in any way.

You can place a bid to buy a piece of land that you want to own, or a bid to sell a piece of land that you own.

You can place as many bids as you like, but if one of the bids is accepted, all the other bids will disappear. This means that it is safe to submit lots of bids.

So, for example, you could place a bid to sell your land **Plot 2** for **500 Game Points**. Suppose **Player 2** enters a bid to buy **Plot 2** for **600 Game Points**. Since you are willing to sell at a price below the price at which the other player is willing to buy, you will trade. We will set a trade price of **550**. This is as fair as possible.

For another example, suppose you placed a bid to buy **Plot 6** for **200 Game Points** and **Player 4** places a bid to sell **Plot 6** for **100 Game Points**. You will buy **Plot 6** for **150 Game Points**, half way between **100** and **200**. Again, this is fair.

Finally, suppose you placed a bid to sell **Plot 4** for **200 Game Points** and **Player 6** places a bid to buy **Plot 4** for **100 Game Points**. Here no trade will take place because the amount you want is higher than they are willing to pay.

Sometimes, there may be more than one person who is looking to buy the same plot of land. Then we want the prices to be as fair as possible. Suppose that the plot is for sale for 200. You bid 500 to buy the land, and your friend bids 600. Who should get the land? It seems fair that the person that bid 600 should get the land. What is a fair price? If we set the price at half way between 600 and 200 the price would be 400. But then you would be upset that you did not receive the land, because you offered 500. Instead, the computer will sell the land to your friend for 500 – which is the amount that you bid.

Now suppose that three people tried to buy the land. Person 1 offers 500, person 2 offers 600 and person 3 offers 700. Who should get the land? Person 3 should get it. The price will be 600, so that Person 1 and Person 2 are not annoyed that they didn't get the land.

You can also offer to swap pieces of land. This means you offer to sell a piece of land and buy another piece of land at the same time. In this case, you may offer to pay money for the swap, or demand to receive money be given to you.

You can also offer to swap multiple pieces of land. For example, you may offer to sell both **Plot 2** and **Plot 4** and buy **Plots 5 and 6**, and receive **400 Game Points**. If the computer can find other people in the room that are willing to do this, then you will sell plots 2 and 4, buy plots 5 and 6, and receive at least **400 Game Points**.

Alternatively, you may offer to sell **Plot 2** and buy **Plot 3 at the same time**, and earn **200 Game Points**. If the computer can find other people in the room that are willing to do this, then you will sell **Plot 2**, buy **Plot 3** and receive at least **200 Game Points**.

Communication

During the game you are allowed to talk to other players if you wish to. This might be useful if you want to ask someone to sell the land that you want.

(Now, please tell the Senior Field Officer that you are finished and wait for the Senior Field Officer to tell you that you can continue.)

Practice Trade

(When the Senior Field Officer tells you to begin trading)

Now we are going to implement your plans from above. Please tell me which of the bids you would like me to make, and I will enter those bids for you.

(Play the game. During the practice, please encourage the subject to try each of the following)

Bid	✓
Submit a bid to buy one piece of Land	
Submit a bid to sell one piece of Land	
Submit a Bid to swap one piece of Land for another and demand some money	
Submit a bid to swap two piece of Land for another two pieces of land and offer some money	
Submit a bid to swap one piece of Land for another and offer some money	
Submit a bid to swap two piece of Land for another two pieces of land and demand some money	

REMEMBER THE RULES FOR THE REAL AUCTIONS!!!!

You can:

- Encourage players to place more bids
- Suggest that a player lowers his or her prices to sell if he or she is not trading and does not understand why
- Suggest that a player raises his or her prices to buy if he or she is not trading and does not understand why
- Encourage players to offer plots for sale, even if they are happy with them.
- Remind players to look at the projector to see which plots are for sale and which plots they could sell
- Encourage subjects to submit package bids

You CAN NOT:

- Suggest or encourage specific trades.
- Suggest or encourage specific prices.

(When the Senior Field Officer tells you, trade will begin for real.)