

Adaptive Behavior of Farmers Under Consecutive Droughts Results In More Vulnerable Farmers: A Large-Scale Agent- Based Modeling Analysis in the Bhima Basin, India

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Abstract. Consecutive droughts, becoming more likely, produce impacts beyond the sum of individual events by altering catchment hydrology and influencing farmers' adaptive responses. We use GEB, a coupled agent-based hydrological model, and expand it with the Subjective Expected Utility Theory (SEUT) to simulate farmer behavior and subsequent hydrological interactions. We apply GEB to analyze the adaptive responses of ± 1.4 million heterogeneous farmers in India's Bhima basin over consecutive droughts and compare scenarios with and without adaptation. In adaptive scenarios, farmers can either do nothing, switch crops, or dig wells, based on each action's expected utility. Our analysis examines how these adaptations affect profits, yields, and groundwater levels, considering, e.g., farm size, risk aversion and drought perception. Results indicate that farmers' adaptive responses can decrease drought vulnerability and impact after one drought (x6 yield loss reduction), but increase it over consecutive due to switching to water-intensive crops and homogeneous cultivation (+15% income drop). Moreover, adaptive patterns, vulnerability, and impacts vary spatiotemporally and between individuals. Lastly, ecological and social shocks can coincide to plummet farmer incomes. We recommend alternative or additional adaptations to wells to mitigate drought impact and emphasize the importance of coupled socio-hydrological ABMs for risk analysis or policy testing.

Short summary. Our study explores how farmers in India's Bhima basin respond to consecutive droughts. We simulated all farmers' individual choices—like changing crops or digging wells—and their effects on profits, yields, and water resources. Results show these adaptations, while improving incomes, ultimately increase drought vulnerability and damages. Such insights emphasize the need for alternative adaptations and highlight the value of socio-hydrology models in shaping policies to lessen drought impacts.

1 Introduction

Anthropogenic climate change and population growth has increased exposure of society to droughts (Smirnov et al., 2016). Furthermore, the growing demand on water is increasingly stressing fresh-water system, amplifying the impact of droughts (Best & Darby, 2020; Vanvan Loon et al., 2016). Therefore, there is a necessity to strive for drought risk adaptation both at larger scales by governments (e.g. reservoir management) and at the local scales by farmers through efficient water use and irrigation (UNDRR, 2015; Wilhite et al., 2014).

Empirical research into what factors drive adaptation is ongoing but mostly focuses on single events and at one point in time (Blauhut et al., 2016; Udmale et al., 2015). However, consecutive droughts are becoming more likely

37 and can result in impacts that differ from the sum of the individual events' parts (Anderegg et al., 2020; van der
38 Wiel et al., 2023; Zscheischler et al., 2020). Consecutive droughts impact farmer communities in a few distinct
39 (but interrelated-) processes. (1) The first (of consecutive) drought(s) can have a physical hydrological impact on
40 the second drought. For example, a lowered groundwater table after the first event may not have been replenished
41 before the second drought starts, which can limit the capacity for irrigation during the second drought (Anderegg
42 et al., 2020; van der Wiel et al., 2023; Zscheischler et al., 2020). (2) Moreover, socio-economic factors like income
43 or debts also influence the vulnerability of farmers and their ability to adapt during multiple drought events. For
44 example, the reduced income of farmers after a first drought (e.g. due to less yield) may lead to less financial
45 capacity to cope with the second drought. (3) Finally, behavioral factors such as risk aversion and risk perception
46 also play a role in how farmers adapt to (multiple-) droughts (Habiba et al., 2012; Ward et al., 2014). For example,
47 farmers can have an increased risk perception after the first event, which may lead to an accelerated
48 implementation of drought adaptation measures (Aerts et al., 2018; Habiba et al., 2012; Nelson et al., 2013; van
49 Duinen et al., 2015), thus reducing the impact of the second drought.

50 A key research challenge is to capture the spatial-temporal dynamic feedbacks between vulnerability, human
51 behavior and physical hydrological processes over periods with consecutive droughts (Cui et al., 2021; Trogrlić et
52 al., 2022; van der Wiel et al., 2023). Empirical data from surveys may support analysis about the factors driving
53 drought adaptation feedbacks. However, only few studies provide empirical data on the spatial-temporal drivers
54 of drought vulnerability and adaptation under multi-drought conditions (Kreibich et al., 2022). This is why current
55 drought risk assessment research suggests developing model-based approaches (Cui et al., 2021; Trogrlić et al.,
56 2022).

57 A special class of simulation models are agent-based models (ABMs). ABMs are specially designed to capture the
58 behavior of autonomous individuals (i.e. agents) (Blair & Buytaert, 2016; Schrieks et al., 2021; M. Wens et al.,
59 2019). When integrated with a hydrological model, they can also capture bi-directional human-water feedbacks,
60 with agents reacting to environmental changes (e.g., precipitation deficits) and impacting their surroundings (e.g.,
61 depleting groundwater levels) (De Bruijn et al., 2023; Klassert et al., 2023; Yoon et al., 2021). In contrast to other
62 socio-hydrological models, ABMs can simulate how drought adaptation of individual farmers is influenced by
63 other agents. This is essential, as adaptive feedbacks by farmers are heterogeneous and depend on the varying
64 physical, socio-economic and behavioral characteristics among the farmer population (e.g., risk aversion, income,
65 farm size, adaptations, upstream/downstream, proximity to reservoirs; (Di Baldassarre et al., 2018; Habiba et al.,
66 2012; P. Udmale et al., 2014.; P. D. Udmale et al., 2015). For example, government-led large-scale adaptation
67 efforts, like reservoir management, may affect farmers' irrigation usage (Di Baldassarre et al., 2018). Additionally,
68 agents can emulate their neighbors' practices, such as cropping patterns (Baddeley, 2010). However, most ABM
69 based studies that simulate individual farmers remain at small scales (Zagaria et al., 2021), whereas studies at large
70 basin scales aggregate agents, data and processes and omit small scale behavior due to computational constraints
71 (Castilla-Rho et al., 2017; Hyun et al., 2019).

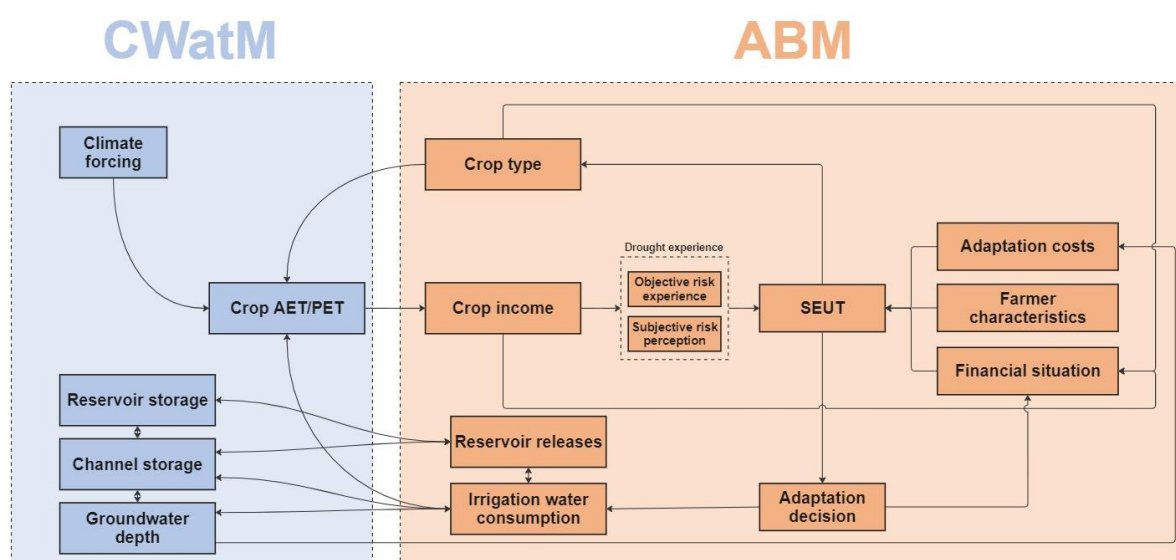
72 To address these challenges, De Bruijn et al. (2023) developed the Geographic Environmental and Behavioural
73 (GEB) model, an ABM coupled with a hydrological model (CWatM, Burek et al., 2020), that is able to model the
74 behavior of millions of agents efficiently at "one-to-one" scale, meaning for each farmer in the study area, an
75 individual farmer agent is modelled. With GEB, it is possible to analyze the culminated hydrological and
76 agricultural impacts of many small-scale processes at river basin scale. However, to analyze the complex human

77 decision-making process under consecutive droughts we require behavior to change dynamically in response to
 78 drought events (Groeneveld et al., 2017; Schrieks et al., 2021). In the current version of GEB this is not possible,
 79 as its decision rules for adaptation are based only on imitating neighbors that currently have higher profits, without
 80 accounting for dynamic risk perception, the possibility of future droughts or heterogeneous farmer characteristics
 81 such as risk aversion (De Bruijn et al., 2023; Schrieks et al., 2021).

82 The main goal of this study is to assess the vulnerability and adaptive responses of farmer agents under consecutive
 83 droughts. Therefore, we integrate the Subjective Expected Utility theory (SEUT, Savage, 1954, Fishburn, 1981)
 84 into the GEB model in combination with imitation (Baddeley, 2010) and elements of prospect theory (Kahneman
 85 & Tversky, 2013; Neto et al., 2023). The SEUT is a well-established behavioral economic theory that explains
 86 farmer adaptation decisions as economic maximization under risk, influenced by subjective estimates of drought
 87 probability and factors such as risk aversion and time discounting preferences. By parametrizing and calibrating
 88 the SEUT with local data and letting the risk perception change dynamically in response to drought events, we
 89 attempt to create a more accurate depiction of adaptation under consecutive droughts. We further refine our
 90 characterization of farmers—including their drought experience, adaptation costs, and loan debts—to better
 91 understand changes in their individual vulnerability and risk, such as fluctuations in income, debt levels, adaptation
 92 uptake, and groundwater levels.

93 We apply and calibrate the augmented GEB in the Bhima basin, which is part of the Krishna basin in India. Our
 94 work helps in understanding how consecutive drought events affect different types of farmer’s vulnerability and
 95 impact. The paper is organized as follows: We begin with a high-level overview of the model setup (2.1) and a
 96 description of the study area (2.2). We then detail our implementation of behavior (2.3), crop cultivation methods
 97 (2.4), agent initialization (2.5), and conclude with model calibration and scenario setup (2.6). Next, in the results
 98 section, we analyze the evolution of model vulnerability and risk parameters over consecutive droughts in an
 99 adaptation scenario (3.1) and compare it to a no-adaptation scenario (3.2). This leads into a discussion of our key
 100 findings and challenges to our methods (4). Finally, we summarize our conclusions and suggest directions for
 101 future research (5).

102 2 Methods



103

Figure 1 Simplified setup integrating the hydrological model CWatM (blue boxes) with an agent-based model (orange boxes).

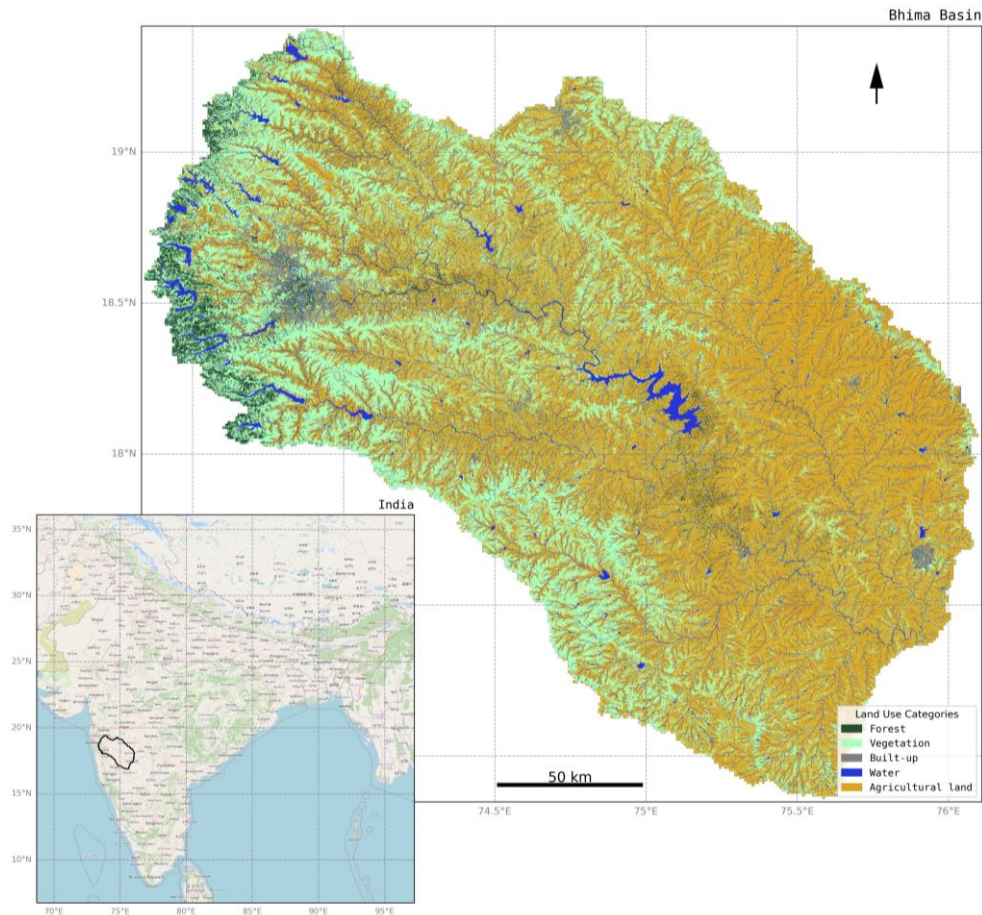
104

105 **2.1 Model setup.**

106 Figure 1 shows the structure of the GEB model. GEB is developed in Python and couples a large-scale
107 agent-based model (orange part) that simulates the adaptation behavior of millions of agents (farmers and reservoir
108 operators) (De Bruijn et al., 2023) to a hydrological model (blue part) simulated with the CWatM (Burek et al.,
109 2020) and MODFLOW models (Langevin et al., 2017). The hydrological processes of CWatM operate at daily
110 timesteps at 30 arcsec grid size, while GEB's agent processes are at sub-grid level. The interactions between both,
111 such as irrigation, occurs daily, while adaptation decisions are made at the end of each growing season for the next
112 one. The CHELSA-W5E5 v1.0 observational climate input data at 30 arcsec horizontal and daily temporal
113 resolution was used as climate forcing (Karger et al., 2022). We do not aggregate agents, thus for approximately
114 each farmer in the river basin we generate one representative agent, what we refer to as "one-to-one" scale. The
115 agent's individual characteristics are derived from socio-economic data (census data on e.g. income), survey data
116 (on e.g. risk aversion, discount rate), agricultural data (past yields, crop rotations, farm sizes) and data on past
117 climate and droughts (SPEI) (section 2.3-2.5). These data are used to calculate the Subjective Expected Utility
118 (SEUT) equation to determine whether a farmer adapts or not, given the hydro-climatic context. For an extensive
119 model overview, see the ODD+D protocol (S1, Müller et al., 2013)).

120 **2.2 Case study.**

121 The Upper Bhima catchment in Maharashtra, spanning 45,678 km², varies in elevation from 414 m in the east to
122 1458 m in the Western Ghats mountain range (Figure 2). The catchment is mostly flat, with 95% of its area below
123 800 m. The area experiences significant rainfall variation due to interaction of the monsoon and the Western Ghats,
124 ranging from 5000 mm in the mountains to less than 500 mm in the east (Gunnell, 1997). Over 90% of this rain
125 falls during the monsoon months (June–September), with substantial deficits from October to May. The state's
126 agricultural cycle includes the monsoon Kharif season (June–September) and the dry Rabi season (October–
127 March), with April and May constituting the hot summer period.



128

129 **Figure 2 Overview of the Bhima basin’s location in India and the land use classification used in the model. The forested**
 130 **area in the west are the Western Ghats mountain range. Map of the Bhima basin land cover produced from land-cover**
 131 **data from Jun et al. (2014). © OpenStreetMap contributors 2024. Distributed under the Open Data Commons Open**
 132 **Database License (ODbL) v1.0.**

133 To manage water supply, reservoirs in the Western Ghats accumulate water during monsoon rains. This water is
 134 released to the river and to farmers in the reservoir command areas through a system of canals during the monsoon
 135 (Kharif) and the dry irrigation season (Rabi & Summer). This results in human-controlled river flows, which are
 136 less dependent on natural climate patterns (Immerzeel et al., 2008). Although reservoirs distribute irrigation water,
 137 agriculture in Maharashtra still mainly relies on monsoon rain, with 19.7% of the state's gross cropped area being
 138 irrigated and 80.2% dependent on rainfed farming (Udmale et al., 2015). During the study period there were
 139 approximately three periods with a prolonged negative 12-month Standardized Precipitation Evapotranspiration
 140 Index (SPEI) score: a severe- (-1.5 to -1.99 SPEI, 2000-2005), mild- (0 to -0.99 SPEI, mid-2009 to 2010), and a
 141 last moderate (-1.0 to -1.49 SPEI, mid-2012 to 2015) drought (McKee et al., 1993). During the last drought there
 142 was a brief period of positive SPEI, but for ease of referencing we refer to it as one drought.



143

Figure 3 The average 12-month Standardized Precipitation Evaporation Index (SPEI) in the Bhima basin. Derived from the CHELSA-W5E5 v1.0 dataset (Karger et al., 2022).

144

145 **2.3 Farmer decision rules**

146 Agents base their decisions on the SEUT (Savage, 1954)(Fishburn, 1981) in combination with imitation of their
 147 neighbors (Baddeley, 2010; Haer et al., 2016) and elements of prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 2013; Neto
 148 et al., 2023). The SEUT builds on the EUT (Von Neumann & Morgenstern, 1947), by incorporating the concept
 149 of "bounded rationality", where agents remain rational utility maximizers but base their decisions on subjective
 150 estimates of drought probability. Their subjective estimates overestimate probabilities following a drought and
 151 underestimate probabilities after periods of no drought. Such boundedly rational behavior, observed in reality
 152 (Aerts et al., 2018; Kunreuther, 1996), aligns more closely with actual adaptation behavior than fully rational
 153 models (Haer et al., 2020; M. Wens et al., 2020), and has been incorporated in various ABMs to simulate adaptive
 154 behavior(Groeneveld et al., 2017; (Haer et al., 2020; Tierolf et al., 2023; M. Wens et al.,)2020). Furthermore, the
 155 SEUT also accounts for individual's subjective characteristics (i.e. risk aversion and discount rate). At each yearly
 156 timestep agents calculate the following (S)EUTs:

157

- 158 1. SEUT of taking no action (Eq. 1)
- 159 2. SEUT of investing in a (tube-) well (Eq. 2)
- 160 3. SEUT of their current crop rotation (Eq. 3)
- 161 4. EUT of their current crop rotation (Eq. 4)

162

163 *Crop switching:* To switch crops, farmers imitate their most successful neighbor. This is done for two reasons:
 164 first, literature shows that people tend to emulate their neighbors' practices (Baddeley, 2010; Haer et al.,

165 2016)(Baddeley, 2010; Haer et al., 2016). Second, there are over 300 unique crop rotations used within the model.
 166 The expected utility calculation / GEB is optimized for handling many agents simultaneously but is not designed
 167 for frequent repetition. Thus, it would be computationally inefficient for each agent to calculate the SEUT for each
 168 rotation. Therefore, all agents calculate only their own crop rotation's SEUT (Eq. 3) and EUT (Eq. 4, using neutral
 169 risk perception, aversion and discount rate, section 2.5). Then, agents compare their current crop rotation's SEUT
 170 with the EUT of a random selection of max 5 random neighboring farmers using similar irrigation sources (within
 171 a 1 km radius, using reservoir, surface, groundwater or no irrigation). The EUT is used since using a neighbor's
 172 SEUT would mean using another agent's subjective factors. They then adopt the crop rotation of the neighbor
 173 who's EUT is highest, if this exceeds their own SEUT.

174
 175 *Well adaptation:* To decide whether to invest in a well, agents compare the SEUT of taking no action (eq. 1) with
 176 the SEUT of digging a well (eq. 2). When the SEUT favors adaptation and adapting is within the agent's budget
 177 constraints, the farmers invest in a well.

$$178$$

$$179 \quad SEUT_{no_action} = \int_{p_2}^{p_1} \beta_{t,x} * p_i * U \left(\sum_{t=0}^T \frac{Inc_{i,x,t}}{(1+r_x)^t} \right) dp \quad (1)$$

$$180 \quad SEUT_{tube_well} = \int_{p_2}^{p_1} \beta_{t,x} * p_i * U \left(\sum_{t=0}^T \dots \right) dp \quad (2)$$

$$181 \quad SEUT_{own_crop_rotation} = \int_{p_2}^{p_1} \beta_{t,x} * p_i * U \left(\sum_{t=0}^T \frac{Inc_{i,x,t} - C_{t,x,c}^{input}}{(1+r_x)^t} \right) dp \quad (3)$$

$$182 \quad EUT_{own_crop_rotation} = \int_{p_2}^{p_1} p_i * U \left(\sum_{t=0}^T \frac{Inc_{i,x,t} - C_{t,x,c}^{input}}{(1+r_x)^t} \right) dp \quad (4)$$

183
 184 Utility $U(x)$ is a function of expected income Inc and potential adapted income Inc^{well} per event i and adaptation
 185 costs C^{well} for each agent x . In eq. 2, C^{well} is dependent on groundwater levels d and C^{input} in eq. 4 on current market
 186 prices for the crops c that the agent x is currently cultivating. To calculate the utility of all decisions, we take the
 187 integral of the summed and time (t , years) discounted (r) utility under all possible events i with a probability of p_i
 188 and adjust p_i with the subjective risk perception β_i for each agent x . See table B1 for an overview of all model
 189 parameters.

190 *Predicted income:* To calculate the expected utility, we need information on farmer income during
 191 droughts of varying return periods with and without an adaptation. Since droughts of similar return periods have
 192 different severities depending on the farmer's location, and since this relation is also dependent on each farmer's
 193 crop rotation and irrigation capabilities, no straightforward empirical relationship exists. Therefore, we established
 194 this relationship endogenously for each farmer in the following manner. After each harvest, the 12-month SPEI
 195 (derived from the CHELSA climate data between 1979 and 2016) at the time of harvest and the harvest's yield
 196 ratio (section 2.4) are determined for each agent. The SPEI is converted to a drought probability and these values
 197 are then averaged per year. In order to get more data points, they are then averaged per farmer group, which are
 198 based on farmers' elevation (upstream, midstream, downstream), irrigation (well or no well) and crop rotation.
 199 Then, a relation (eq. 5) is fitted between drought probability and yield ratio for each group using the last 20 years
 200 of data (a spin-up period of 20 years is used where no behavior occurs). We refer to this relation as the agent's

201 objective drought risk experience. The 12-month SPEI and base 2 logarithm were chosen as they returned the
 202 highest R-squared between drought probability and yield ratio for this region (~ 0.50).

203

$$204 \quad SPEI_{i,t} = a * \log_2(yield_{i,t}) + b \quad (5)$$

205

206 The relation between probability and yield ratio is used to derive yield ratios associated with 1, 2, 5, 10, 25 and
 207 50-year return period drought events i , which are then converted to income per return period event Inc_i (section
 208 2.4). To determine their potential income after adaptation Inc^{adapt} , within groups of similar cropping and elevation,
 209 the non-irrigating groups determine their yield ratio gain from the yield ratios of their well-irrigating counterparts.

210 *Cost of wells:* To determine the cost of wells, we adapted the cost equations and parameterization of
 211 Robert et al. (2018) (S1 3.4.1). These are a function of pump horse power, pumping hours, electricity costs,
 212 probability of well failure, maintenance costs and drilling costs. Drilling costs are dynamic and dependent on the
 213 well's depth, which are put at 20 m below the current groundwater table. Together with the agent's interest rate r
 214 (section 2.4, S1 2.1.4), this is converted to an annual implementation cost C^{adapt} for the n-year loan using eq. 6.

215

$$216 \quad C_{t,d}^{adapt} = C_d^{fixed\ cost} * \frac{r*(1+r)^n}{(1+r)^n - 1} + C_t^{Yearly\ costs} \quad (6)$$

217

218 *Crop cultivation costs:* Yearly cultivation input costs C^{input} per hectare for each crop type c , which include
 219 expenses such as purchasing seeds, manure, and labor are sourced from the Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers
 220 Welfare in Rupees (Rs) per hectare (https://eands.dacnet.Nic.in/Cost_of_Cultivation.htm, last access: 15 July
 221 2022) (De Bruijn et al., 2023).

222 *Loans and budget constraints:* We assume that agents are “saving-down” (Bauer et al., 2012) and taking
 223 loans for agricultural inputs (Hoda & Terway, 2015) and investments using eq. 6. We assume farmers cannot spend
 224 their full income on inputs and investments and implement an expenditure cap (Hudson, 2018), which we use as a
 225 calibration factor (section 2.6). If the proposed annual loan payment for a well exceeds the expenditure cap, agents
 226 are unable to adapt. Chand et al. (2015) put expenditure of inputs such as seeds, fertilizer, plant protection, repair
 227 and maintenance feed and other inputs at approximately 20-25%. Thus, including the extra well investments cost,
 228 we calibrate the expenditure cap of yearly payments between 20-50% of yearly non-drought income (Pandey et
 229 al., 2024).

230 *Time discounting and risk aversion:* For eq. 1-3 the agent's individual discount rate and risk aversion
 231 (section 2.5) are used. For eq. 4, as the goal is a “neutral” expected utility of farmer's crops, all farmers use the
 232 average discount rate and risk aversion. For eq. 1-2 a time horizon of 30 years following Robert et al. (2018) is
 233 used, while for eq. 3-4 a time horizon of 3 years is used. The utility $U(x)$ as a function of risk aversion σ is as
 234 follows:

$$235 \quad U(x) = \frac{x^{1-\sigma}}{1-\sigma} \quad (7)$$

236

237 *Bounded rationality:* Bounded rationality within the SEUT is described by the risk perception factor β . β
 238 rises after agents have experienced a drought, overestimating drought risk ($\beta > 1$). After time without a drought,

239 it lowers again, underestimating risk ($\beta < 1$). We follow the setup of Haer et al. (2020) and Tierolf et al. (2023)
 240 and define β as a function of t years after a drought event:

$$241 \quad \beta_t = c * 1.6^{-d*t} + e \quad (8)$$

242 We set d at -2.5, resulting in a slower risk reduction than in Haer et al. (2020) and Tierolf et al. (2023), as farmers
 243 are assumed to retain more awareness of drought risk compared to households of flood risk (van Duinen et al.,
 244 2015). We set the minimum underestimation of risk e at 0.01 and calibrate the maximum overestimation of risk c
 245 between 2 and 10 (Botzen & van den Bergh, 2009).

246 *Drought loss threshold:* As the onset of droughts are not as obvious as with floods (Van Loon et al., 2016),
 247 we define an agent's drought event perception (Bubeck et al., 2012) according to a loss in yield ratio against a
 248 moving reference point, similar to prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 2013; Neto et al., 2023). The moving
 249 reference point is the 5-year average difference between the reference potential yield and the actual yield (2.4).
 250 We calibrate the drought loss threshold between 5% and 25%. This means that if the current harvest's difference
 251 between potential and actual yield falls 5-25% below the historical average, the years since last drought event t
 252 (Eq. 8) is reset and β rises.

253 *Microcredit:* If the yield falls below the drought loss threshold, agents will also take out a loan equal to the
 254 missed income (P. D. (Udmale et al., 2015). The loan duration is set at 2 years (Rosenberg et al., 2013).

255 **2.4 Farmer crop cultivation**

256 *Yield & Income:* Farmers grow pearl millet, groundnut, sorghum, paddy rice, sugar cane, wheat, cotton,
 257 chickpea, maize, green gram, finger millet, sunflower and red gram. Each crop undergoes four growth stages (d1
 258 to d4). The crop coefficient (Kc) for a particular day is then calculated as follows (Fischer et al., 2021):

$$260 \quad Kc_t = \begin{cases} Kc1, & t < d_1 \\ Kc1 + (t - d_1) \times \frac{Kc2 - Kc1}{d_2}, & d_1 \leq t < d_2 \\ Kc2, & d_2 \leq t < d_3 \\ Kc2 + (t - (d_1 + d_2 + d_3)) \times \frac{Kc3 - Kc2}{d_4}, & \text{otherwise;} \end{cases} \quad (9)$$

261 where t represents the number of days since planting, and d1 to d4 are the crop specific durations of each growth
 262 stage. Kc is multiplied daily with the reference potential evapotranspiration to determine the crop-specific potential
 263 evapotranspiration (PET_t). At the harvest stage, the actual yield (Y_a) is determined based on a maximum reference
 264 yield (Y_r ; Siebert & Döll, 2010), the water-stress reduction factor (KyT), and the ratio of actual evapotranspiration
 265 (AET , calculated based on the soil water availability by CW_{atM}) to potential evapotranspiration (PET) throughout
 266 the growth period (Fischer et al., 2021):

$$269 \quad Y_a = Y_r \times \left(1 - KyT \times \left(1 - \frac{\sum_{t=0}^{t=h} AET_t}{\sum_{t=0}^{t=h} PET_t} \right) \right) \quad (10)$$

270

271 We refer to the latter part of Eq. 10 as the “yield ratio”, i.e., the fraction of maximum yield for a specific crop.
272 Actual yield is then converted into income based on the state-wide market price for that particular month. Historical
273 monthly market prices are sourced from Agmarknet (<https://agmarknet.gov.in>, last accessed on 27 July 2022) (De
274 Bruijn et al., 2023) in Rupees (Rs) per kg.

275 *Irrigation:* The irrigation demand for farmers is calculated based on the difference between the field
276 capacity and the soil moisture, and it is restricted by the soil’s infiltration capacity (De Bruijn et al., 2023). If
277 agents have access to all irrigation sources, they first meet their demand using surface water, followed by
278 reservoirs, and finally groundwater. When a farmer opts to irrigate, the necessary water is drawn from the
279 appropriate sources in CwatM and subsequently dispersed across the farmer’s land.

280 **2.5 Agent initialization**

281 *Agent initialization:* To generate heterogeneous farmer plots and agents with characteristics statistically
282 similar to those observed within the Bhima basin, factors from the (India Human Development Survey (IHDS,
283 Desai et al., 2008), such as agricultural net income, farm size, irrigation type or household size, were combined
284 with Agricultural census data (Department of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare India, 2001)n.d.). For this, we use
285 the iterative proportional fitting algorithm, which reweights IHDS survey data such that it fits the distribution of
286 crop types, farm sizes and irrigation status at sub-district level reported in the Agricultural Census (De Bruijn et
287 al., 2023). The farmer agents and their plots were randomly distributed over their respective sub-districts on land
288 designated as agricultural land (Jun et al., 2014) Click or tap here to enter text.at 1.5” resolution (50 meter at the
289 equator), shown in Figure 2. There were a total of 1432923 agents that remained constant over the simulation
290 period. We avoid aggregating agents as we do not know what a representative agent for our study area is (Page,
291 2012) and by pre-emptively aggregating agents, we may lose interactions that we were not aware existed in the
292 first place (Page, 2012). Furthermore, the idea of “representative individuals” is in itself disputed and aggregating
293 agents, even if they are all rational utility maximizers, can lead to wrong conclusions (Axtell & Farmer, 2022;
294 Kirman, 1992). Lastly, the vectorized design of the model enables the efficient simulation of large populations (De
295 Bruijn et al., 2023).

296 *Risk aversion & discount rate:* To set risk aversion and discount rate, we first normalized the distribution
297 of agricultural net income. Then, as risk aversion and discount rate correlate with household income (Bauer et al.,
298 2012; Just & Lybbert, 2009; Maertens et al., 2014), we rescaled the normalized income distribution with the mean
299 and standard deviation of the (marginal) risk aversion σ (0.02, 0.82; Just & Lybbert, 2009) and discount rate r
300 (0.159, 0.193; Bauer et al.2012) of Indian farmers. Noise was added to both to prevent that each present-biased
301 agent is also risk taking by definition.

302 *Interest rates:* To account for the variation in access to credit and interest rates among farmers, we
303 assigned each agent an interest rate based on their total landholding size, with smaller farmers receiving higher
304 and larger farmers lower rates (S1. 2.1.4, Maertens et al., 2014; P. D. Udmale et al., 2015). This assignment is
305 based on the interest rates observed among Indian farmers (Hoda & Terway, 2015; Udmale et al., 2015).

306 **2.6 Calibration, validation, sensitivity analysis and runs**

307 *Calibration:* We calibrated the model from 2001 to 2010 using observed daily discharge data and yield
308 data. The full data range of available observed data was used to calibrate the model, following the

309 recommendations of Shen et al. (2022), which found that calibrating fully to historical data without conducting
310 model validation was the most robust approach for hydrological models. The daily discharge data was obtained
311 from 5 discharge stations at various locations in the Bhima Basin. The yield data was obtained by dividing the
312 total production by the total cropped area from ICRISAT (2015) to determine yield in tons per hectare. This figure
313 was then divided by the reference maximum yield in tons per hectare to calculate the percentage of maximum
314 yield, aligning with the latter part of Eq. 10. Calibration is done for several standard hydrological parameters,
315 including the maximum daily water release from a reservoir for irrigation, typical reservoir outflow, and the
316 irrigation return fraction (Burek et al., 2020). Furthermore, it was done for the expenditure cap, base yield ratio,
317 drought loss threshold and the maximum risk perception. The process utilizes the NSGA-II genetic algorithm (Deb
318 et al., 2002) as implemented in DEAP (Fortin et al., 2012), to optimize the calibration based on a modified version
319 of the Kling-Gupta efficiency score (KGE; Eq. 11; Kling et al., 2012), similar to (Burek et al., 2020, De Bruijn et
320 al., 2023).

321

$$322 \quad KGE' = 1 - \sqrt{(r - 1)^2 + (\beta - 1)^2 + (\gamma - 1)^2} \quad (11)$$

323

324 Where r is the correlation coefficient between monthly and daily simulated and observed yield ratio and discharge,
325 respectively. $\beta = \frac{\mu_s}{\mu_0}$ represents the bias ratio, and $\gamma = \frac{CV_s}{CV_0} = \frac{\sigma_s \mu_s}{\sigma_0 \mu_0}$ is the variability rate. The optimal values for r ,
326 β and γ are 1. The final KGE scores were ± 0.63 for the discharge and ± 0.60 for the yield.

327 *Sensitivity analysis:* A Delta Moment-Independent Analysis with 300 distinct samples was done using
328 the SALib Delta Module (Iwanaga et al., 2022). Risk aversion, discount rate, interest rate, well cost, and the
329 drought loss threshold were varied to assess their impact on well uptake, crop income, yield, risk perception,
330 groundwater depth, reservoir storage, and discharge upstream and downstream. For detailed parameter settings,
331 refer to Appendix B.

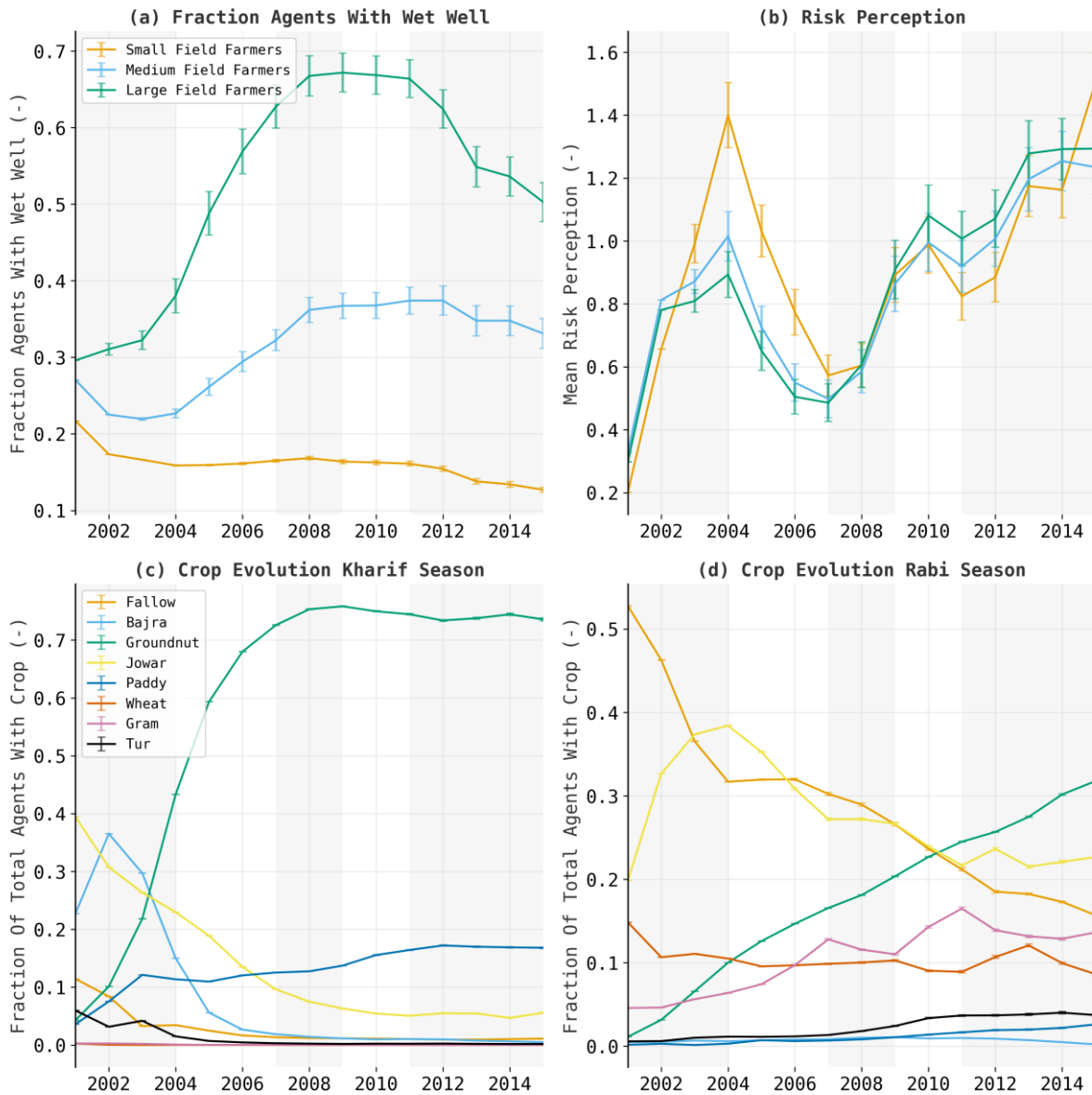
332 *Model runs & scenarios:* A full model run consists of a "spin-up" from 1980 to 2001, and a "run" from
333 2001 to 2015. The spin-up period serves to set-up accurate hydrological stocks in the rivers, reservoirs,
334 groundwater etc., and to establish enough data points for the drought probability – yield relation. At the end of the
335 spin-up, the model state is saved and used as starting point of the run. The start of the run in 2001 was chosen as
336 both the IHDS (Desai et al., 2008) and the agricultural census (Department of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare
337 India, 2001) collected data in 2001. As the climate data was available from 1979-2016, the 12-month SPEI was
338 available from 1980. Thus, the spin-up period from 1980 to 2001 was selected to maximize the timeframe, ensuring
339 that the drought probability-yield relationship (the "objective drought risk experience") encompassed as many
340 drought events as possible. Adaptation only occurs during the run. During the run there were three prolonged
341 negative 12-month SPEI periods: a severe- (2000-2005), mild- (mid-2009 to 2010), and a moderate-mild (mid-
342 2012 to 2015) drought (McKee et al., 1993). Two scenarios were run: one without adaptation, where agents
343 maintained the same crop rotation and irrigation status as at the start of the model, and another where agents could
344 change their crops or dig wells according to the decision rules outlined in section 2.3. Both scenarios use the same
345 spin-up data. To account for stochasticity, both scenarios were run 60 times, after which the average results and
346 the standard error of the mean were calculated.

347

348 **3 Results**

349 **3.1 Crop switching and well uptake in the Adaptation scenario**

350



351

Figure 4 Evolution of Wells, Risk Perception and Crops in the Bhima basin. (a-b) Farmers are categorized by field size into small (0-33rd percentile, <0.82 ha), medium (33-67th percentile, 0.82-1.9 ha), and large (67-100th percentile, >1.8 ha) groups; (a) the fraction of the total group with a wet well; (b) the mean Risk Perception of each group. (c-d) Evolution of the dominant crops in the wet Kharif (c) and dry Rabi (d) season. Values are 60 run means (a-d), error bars indicate standard error (a-b), light grey areas indicate years where the average 1 month Standardized Precipitation Evaporation Index (SPEI) was below 0.

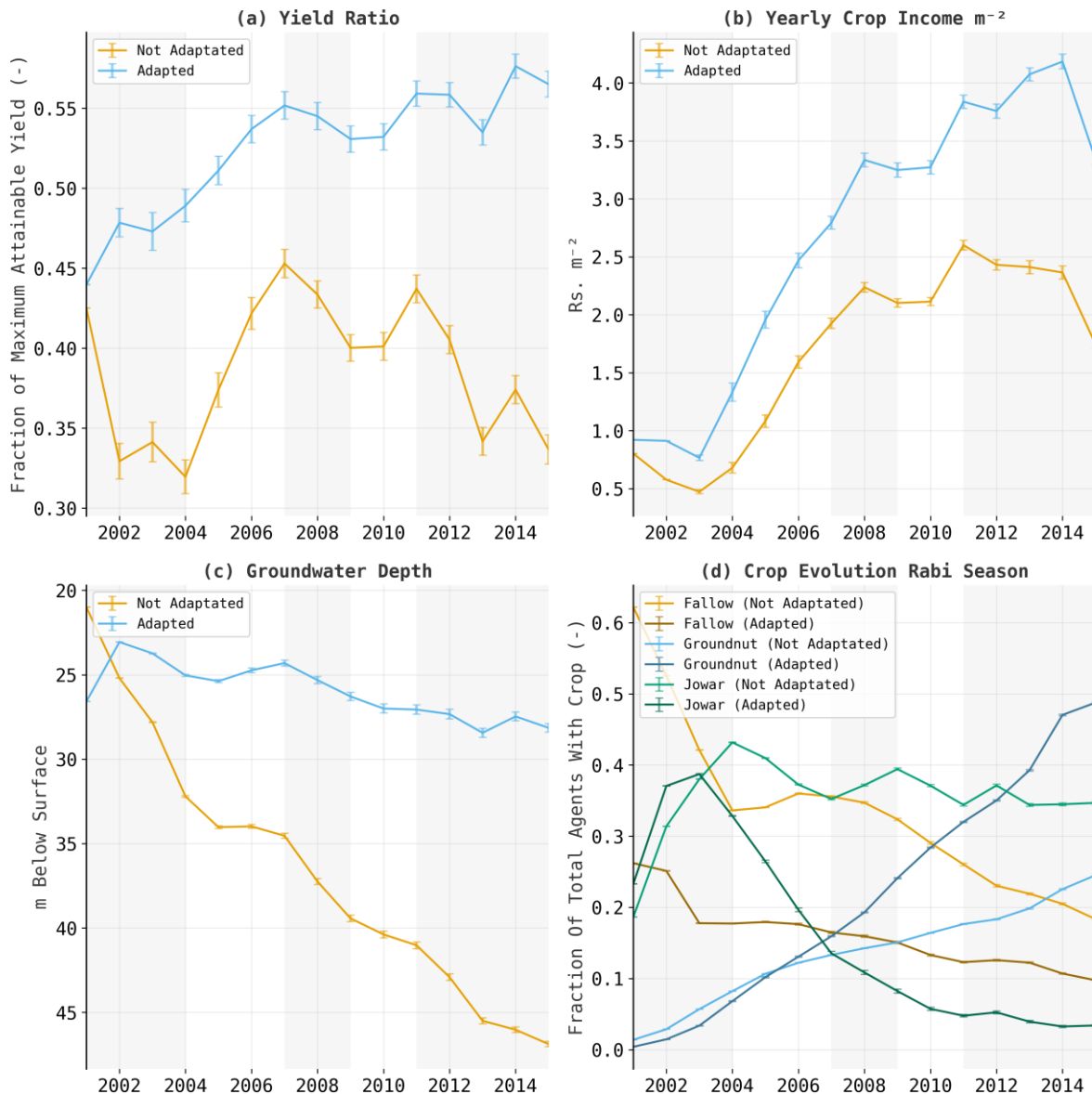
352

353 Figure 4 shows how agent characteristics change over time for three different field sizes: large scale (67-100
 354 percentile of size, >1.8 ha; green), medium scale (33-67 percentile of size, 0.82-1.9 ha; blue), and small scale (0-
 355 33 percentile of size, <0.82 ha; orange) farmers. Panel 4a shows the percentage of agents with wet wells. Uptake
 356 for large scale farmers adaptation first slowly rises and subsequently speeds up after the first drought (2001-2004),
 357 alongside an increase in risk perception from the first drought. For medium farmers, the fraction of wet wells

358 initially decreases but then increases alongside a similarly heightened risk perception. For smallholder farmers,
359 the number of well owners with groundwater access declines and only slightly recovers after the first drought,
360 even though they have a higher risk perception compared to medium and large field farmers. This difference among
361 well owners can be attributed to the varying interest rates available to them; smallholder farmers face the highest
362 loan interest rates, while large farmers benefit from the lowest rates (Appendix A.1). Additionally, the initial
363 investment costs per square meter are lower for farmers with more land and higher incomes. During the last drought
364 (2011-2015), despite high-risk perception, the proportion of farmers with wet wells accessing groundwater
365 declines across all farm sizes (figure 4a-b). Wet well use among large farmers declines most in absolute terms,
366 while smaller farmers experience the largest percentage drop, reducing by more than half. The reduction in wells
367 results both from wells exceeding their 30-year lifespan (S1 3.4.2) and drying up. However, the abrupt drop is
368 likely due to wells drying up, as it occurs quicker than the lifespan would suggest and aligns with a drop in
369 groundwater levels (figure 6d).

370

371 In the Kharif wet season, mainly groundnut increases in prevalence (Figure 4c). Groundnut has steeply risen in
372 profitability compared to other crops during the study period (Appendix A.2). Given that the decision theory
373 primarily focuses on economic maximization, this could account for the sharp rise in groundnut cultivation,
374 although such a steep rise is seemingly unrealistic. In the dry Rabi season we see a large decrease of farmers who
375 leave their field fallow (i.e. no crops), which is mainly replaced by cultivating groundnut, although there is a much
376 greater heterogeneity of cultivated crops in the Rabi season as compared to the wet Kharif season (Figure 4d).
377 Furthermore, the increase and decrease of Jowar cultivation, which is less water-intensive compared to Groundnut
378 and performs well during droughts (A. Singh et al., 2011), aligns very well with drought and non-drought periods.



379

Figure 5 Evolution of Yield ratio (a), Inflation adjusted early Income in Rupees (Rs) m^{-2} after harvesting and selling crops (b), Groundwater Depth in m below surface (c) and the two main crops in the Dry Rabi Season in the Bhima basin (d). Farmers are categorized by whether they have wells in each year into a Not Adapted and Adapted group. Light grey areas indicate years where the average 1 month Standardized Precipitation Evaporation Index (SPEI) was below

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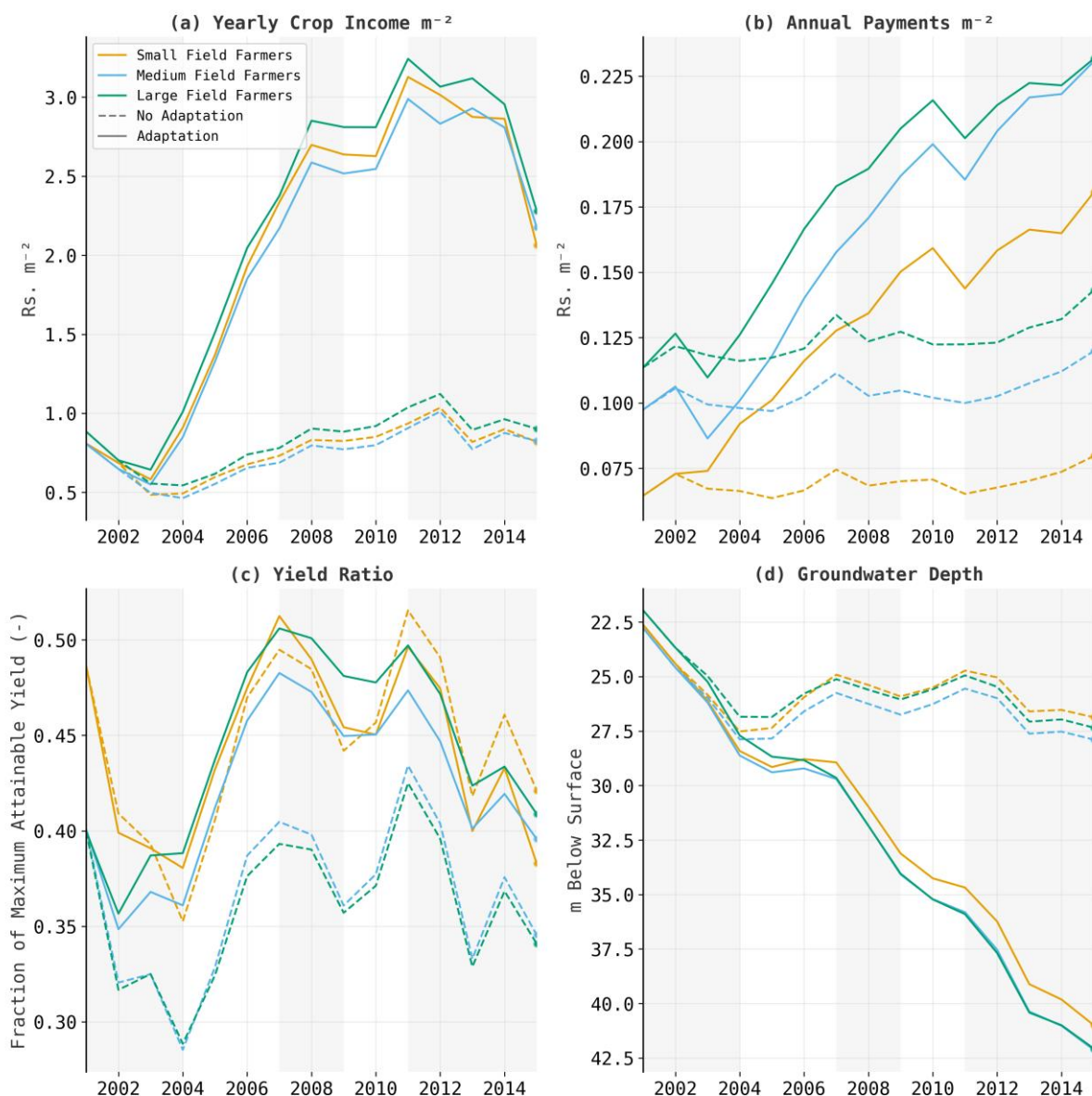
391

Figure 5a shows a large difference in yield ratio between farmers with- or without a well, likely stemming from the increased water reliability due to irrigation wells. Consequently, farmers with wells saw a yield ratio increase instead of decrease during the first drought. Yearly crop income is approximately 30% higher for farmers with wells (5b), though incomes for both groups have increased due to switching to higher-priced crops. Importantly, this data does not only show the effects of wells, but also which farmers are able to initially afford wells, stemming from prior higher yield, income and lower groundwater levels. Groundwater levels are unexpectedly higher for farmers with wells (5c), despite wells being the primary cause of groundwater depletion for most farmers (6d, 7c). However, note that in the figure, farmers whose well dried up count as Not Adapted. Thus, when farmers with wells are in locations where groundwater recharge cannot keep up with extraction, their wells dry and they are switched to the Not Adapted group. Subsequently, only farmers with wells where groundwater is not rapidly depleted, or those who have recently installed wells, remain in the Adapted group, resulting in high average

392 groundwater levels for this group. The extraction and hydroclimatic conditions at the farmers' locations where
393 depletion matches the Adapted group's average thus provide an estimate of the necessary circumstances to
394 sustainably maintain wells. As long as these conditions are present, the increased yield ratios and income (5a-b)
395 can be maintained.

396

397 Figure 5d depicts the development of Fallow, Jowar, and Groundnut cultivation during the dry Rabi season. We
398 show these crops as they are most widely cultivated and dynamic (Figure 4). In the Kharif season, crop patterns
399 are similar for both groups and follow the pattern of figure 4a. During the Rabi season, both agents with and
400 without wells switch to Jowar during the first drought (2001-2004, 5d). However, after the initial drought, the
401 percentage of agents with wells cultivating Jowar massively reduces, while the fraction without wells cultivating
402 Jowar remains stable. Furthermore, during the dry Rabi, more adapted agents cultivate Groundnut, while fewer
403 leave their land fallow. This contrast in cultivation patterns among well-irrigating and non-irrigating groups
404 highlights the critical role of water availability in agent's crop selection. If rainfall is ample, such as during the
405 wet season, the patterns between farmers with and without wells are similar. However, in drier conditions, these
406 patterns diverge because farmers with wells have greater water availability. This aligns with the patterns seen in
407 Figure 4.



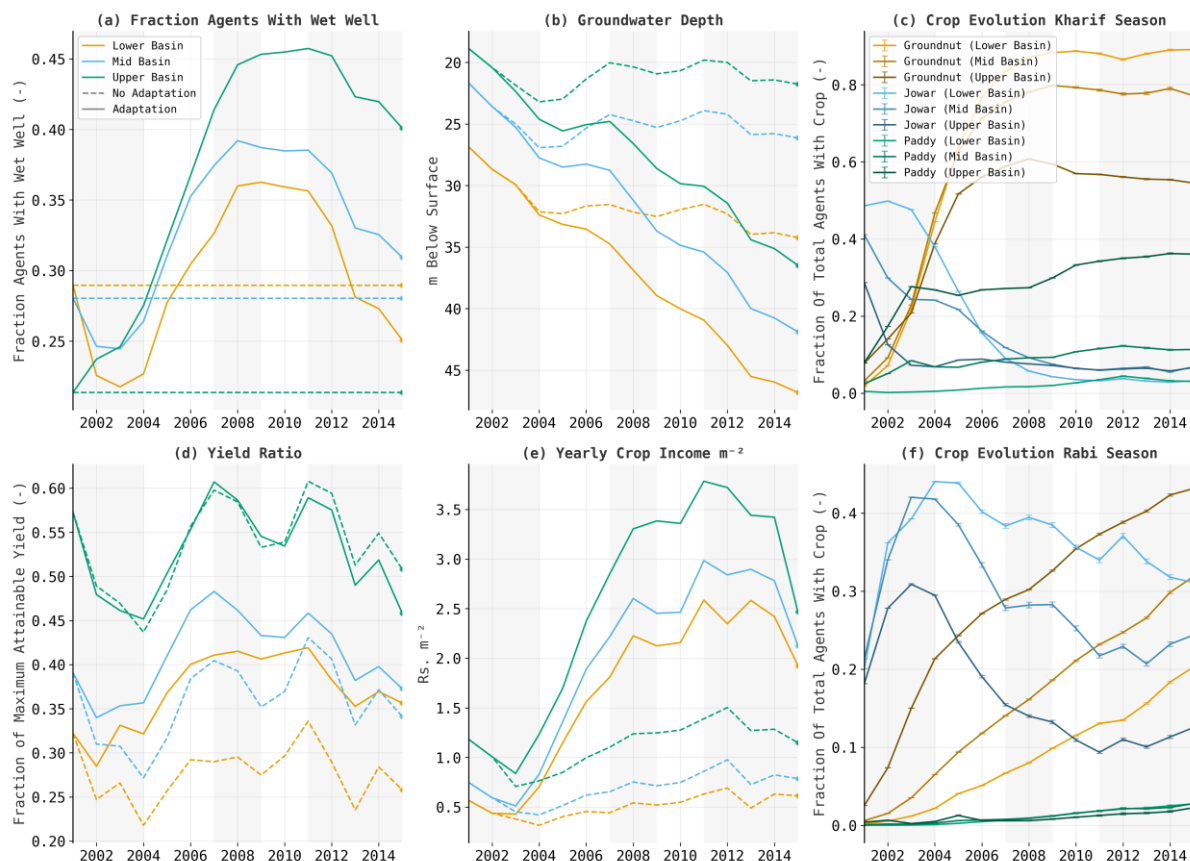
409 **Figure 6** Evolution of Income, Loan Payments, Groundwater Depth and Yield Ratio in the Bhima basin for a scenario where agents adapt (filled line) and where they stick to their initial adaptations and crops (dotted lines). (a-d) Farmers are categorized by field size into small (0-33rd percentile, <0.82 ha), medium (33-67th percentile, 0.82-1.9 ha), and large (67-100th percentile, >1.8 ha) groups; (a) Inflation adjusted early Income in Rupees (Rs) m^{-2} after harvesting and selling crops; (b) Inflation Adjusted Yearly Loan Payments in $Rs m^{-2}$, consisting of payments for cultivation costs, well loans and microcredit in case of crop failure; (c) Average yield ratio of agent groups; (d) Groundwater Depth in m below surface. Values are 60 run means, light grey areas indicate years where the average 1 month Standardized Precipitation Evaporation Index (SPEI) was below 0.

410
 411 Figure 6 shows that during the first and most severe droughts from 2001 to 2004, the drop in yield ratio of the no-
 412 adaptation scenario was six times worse (5% versus 30% drop, 6c). These initial yield gains were likely due to a
 413 shift towards less water-intensive crops (Jowar), as for medium field size farmers yields also increased, while their
 414 well uptake declined (Figure 4a, 6c). Subsequent yield increases align better with well uptake, with larger farmers
 415 achieving higher yields than smaller ones. Furthermore, after the initial drought period, larger farmers switched to
 416 higher grossing but more water intensive crops (4d), as the yield ratios between small and large farmers were

417 similar, while profits were higher. However, ultimately, well uptake dropped (Figure 4a). Consequently, during
418 the last drought from 2011 to 2015, the relative yield drop for larger farmers was similar across both the adaptation
419 and no-adaptation scenarios, contrasting with the six times decrease seen during the first drought. Furthermore,
420 the income fell 10-20% more in the adaptation scenario (6a).

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422 In Figure 6d, the groundwater levels in the no-adaptation scenario drop 5 meters between 2001-2004 and then
423 stabilize. Conversely, in the adaptation scenario, groundwater levels continue to decrease by an average of 1 meter
424 annually, stabilizing briefly during periods of positive SPEI (i.e., no droughts) and declining rapidly during
425 droughts. The rate of groundwater decline is roughly the same for all farmers, regardless of farm size. The most
426 recent rapid decline in 2011 corresponds with a decrease in wet wells (Figure 4a), suggesting that this decline is
427 primarily due to wells drying up. Since larger farmers were the early adopters, their shallower wells were the first
428 to dry up, which explains their more rapid decline compared to medium and small farmers (Figure 4a). However,
429 despite declining well uptake, loan payments remain high due to prior loans.



431

Figure 7 Evolution of Wells, Groundwater Depth, the two most cultivated crops in the Dry Rabi season, Yield and inflation adjusted Yearly Crop Income in Rupees (Rs) m^{-2} . Farmers are categorized by farmer elevation into Lower Basin (0-33rd percentile elevation), Mid Basin (33-67th percentile), and Upper Basin (67-100th percentile) groups (a-c, e-f). Values are 60 run means, light grey areas indicate years where the average 1 month Standardized Precipitation Evaporation Index (SPEI) was below 0.

432

433 In Figure 7, farmers are categorized as upstream (67-100th percentile elevation), midstream (33-67th percentile),
 434 and downstream (0-33th percentile). Mid- to downstream farmers initially see a reduction in well use, with
 435 increases only occurring at the end of the first drought (2001-2004, Figure 7a). This aligns with increased incomes
 436 late in the first drought as a result of the drought ending and switching to more profitable crops (A.2). The crop
 437 switching has a dual effect: firstly, it boosts income, enabling agents to invest more in wells; secondly, it enhances
 438 well profitability, as now more water leads to a larger absolute increase in income. Upstream, the initial yield,
 439 income and groundwater levels are higher. Higher groundwater levels reduce the price of wells and higher incomes
 440 increase what agents can spend on wells. This reduces the effective investment costs, meaning the wells cost a
 441 smaller percentage of the agents' income, and more agents adapt. This causes upstream farmers to immediately
 442 adapt as the model starts, even during the first drought (2001-2004). Similar to the trends in Figure 6d, groundwater
 443 levels quickly drop during droughts and stabilize when the SPEI is positive (7b). This pattern is mirrored in well
 444 uptake, which increases until 2007 but halts in 2008, coinciding with a sharp decline in groundwater during the
 445 middle drought (2007-2009). During the last drought (2011-2015), groundwater levels rapidly fall again and well
 446 uptake substantially declines due to wells drying up. This decline intensifies downstream, resulting in downstream
 447 farmers having fewer wells than they initially had (7a).

448

449 Despite fewer wells among downstream farmers, groundwater levels decline similarly to those in the mid and
450 lower basins (Figure 7b). Comparing this against spatially varying parameters between the lower-, mid- and upper
451 basin, we mainly see that upstream agent density is lower and precipitation is higher (Appendix A.3). In the upper
452 basin this means less additional irrigation water is required, resulting in more recharge and less agents abstracting
453 groundwater per km². This also correlates with the shown higher yield and income (Figures 7d-e).

454
455 During the wet Kharif season, mid- and downstream farmers grow almost solely groundnut, whereas upstream
456 paddy cultivation is also common (Figure 7c). This follows the earlier shown pattern of higher water availability
457 generally leading to more water intensive crops. The yield ratio is highest upstream and lowest downstream, with
458 downstream also showing a greater difference in yield between the adaptation and no-adaptation scenario (Figure
459 7d). This may be the effect of higher water demand upstream, which is caused by more water-intensive crops
460 offsetting more of the supply gains. This is also reflected in a lower yield ratio compared to the no-adaptation
461 scenario, even though there are more agents with wells.

462
463 For mid- and downstream farmers, yield ratios increased during the first drought compared to the no-adaptation
464 scenario, even though well uptake declined (Figure 7a, d). Similar to what was discussed at Figures 4-6, this
465 increase was due to a shift toward a less water-intensive crop (Jowar, 7f). Subsequently, as water availability
466 increased, the prevalence of Jowar declined, while Groundnut, which requires more water than Jowar but less than
467 Paddy, continued to rise due to its steep price increase (7f, Appendix A.2). This pattern again followed water
468 availability, as this was more pronounced for the mid- and upstream farmers. The economic maximalization
469 through crop switching boosted incomes without requiring additional water from wells (7a, 7e). However, yields
470 in the adaptation scenario for mid- and downstream farmers continued to rise compared to the no-adaptation
471 scenario. Furthermore, both yields fell less during the middle drought. This pattern aligns with the initial rise well
472 usage for these groups (7a). Ultimately, well uptake fell, and during the last droughts (2011-2015) yield ratios fell
473 by 18-22%, approximately equally as much as in the no-adaptation scenario. However, from 2011 to 2015, crop
474 income in the adaptation scenario fell by 25-35%, a 10-15% greater decline compared to the no-adaptation
475 scenario. This is a larger fall than what only the yield ratios would suggest, and can be explained by a simultaneous
476 drop in prices for the main cultivated crops (Appendix A.3).

477 **4 Discussion and recommendations**

478 In this study, we further developed a large-scale socio-hydrological ABM to assess the adaptive responses of
479 different farmer agents under consecutive droughts. We show that farmers with more financial resources invest in
480 irrigation quickly, when a drought occurs, whereas farmers with less resources switch to less water intensive crops
481 to increase yields (T. Birkenholtz, 2009; T. L. Birkenholtz, 2015; Fishman et al., 2017). After the first drought, as
482 risk perception is still high, and income had increased, well uptake also increased among farmers with less financial
483 resources. In the short term, this increased the area's income and resilience, reflected in rising yields and income
484 over consecutive droughts. However, similar to reservoir supply-demand cycles (Di Baldassarre et al., 2018), the
485 widespread adoption of wells led to an increase in water-intensive crops and growing of crops during the dry
486 season, which in turn raised water demand. During wet periods the available groundwater could support this
487 demand, but during dry periods the groundwater rapidly declined. Consequently, despite being less severe than

488 the first, the last drought resulted in many wells drying up quickly and yields declining. Furthermore, homogeneous
489 cultivation as a result of economic maximization made the region more sensitive to market price shocks. This was
490 seen from 2013 to 2015, where crop market prices of the main cultivated crops dropped, which led to a much
491 larger drop in farmers' average income compared to the no-adaptation scenario. Thus, although initially drought
492 vulnerability decreased and incomes rose, ultimately, farmer's adaptive responses under consecutive droughts
493 increased drought vulnerability and impact. This underscores the importance of considering consecutive events,
494 as focusing solely on the first event would overlook the ultimate impact. Suggested policies to address groundwater
495 decline and well drying while maintaining higher incomes include promoting efficient irrigation technologies
496 (Narayanamoorthy, 2004), implementing fixed water use ceilings (Suhag, 2016), encouraging rainwater harvesting
497 (Glendenning et al., 2012) or combinations of all (Wens et al., 2022).

498
499 The maladaptive path of tubewell irrigation expansion, growth of water-intensive crops, the subsequent rapid
500 depletion of groundwater and resulting economic decline we simulated here has been commonly observed in India
501 (Roy & Shah, 2002). Previous studies modelling the economics of wells show the income and groundwater
502 fluctuations from wells and crop changes occurring gradually (Robert et al., 2018; Sayre & Taraz, 2019). Aside
503 from investment costs, they show profits and groundwater levels rising and falling gradually over time, with the
504 simulations never experiencing shocks. However, we here observe that this is not a steady process, but rather one
505 characterized by periods of stabilization and rapid reduction of groundwater levels and incomes during wet and
506 dry periods. Additionally, under consecutive droughts, we see social- (i.e. continued loan payments, crop price
507 drops) and ecological shocks (i.e. lower groundwater levels, drought) coinciding (Folke et al., 2010). Therefore,
508 agricultural decline as described by Roy & Shah (2002) may occur more sudden and rapidly in a socio-hydrological
509 systems approach than what previous studies predict (Manning & Suter, 2016; Robert et al., 2018; Sayre & Taraz,
510 2019). Such sudden shocks are harder to adapt to, potentially leading to more severe impacts or disasters
511 (Rockström, 2003). Thus, for future analyses, we recommend transitioning to similar coupled agent-based
512 hydrological models, combined with climate data, to identify areas where drought risk is or will be high.

513
514 We also observed that adaptive patterns are spatiotemporally heterogeneous. For example, the farmers' location
515 determined the number of wells that could be held before depleting groundwater levels, influenced by factors like
516 precipitation and agent density. Water availability, resulting from precipitation and irrigation, along with market
517 dynamics, influenced crop choices, leading to varied cropping patterns as prices fluctuated, between wet and dry
518 periods, seasons, and locations upstream or downstream. Furthermore, at individual scale, we observed that
519 variations in farm size, access to credit, time preferences, or risk attitudes influenced farmers' adaptation decisions.
520 Building on our demonstration of the impact of varying hydroclimatic conditions and farmer characteristics on
521 adaptation behavior, and the substantial effects of this behavior on a river basin's hydrology, we again highlight
522 the value of large-scale coupled socio-hydrological models. These models can further enhance understanding of
523 both basin hydrology and farmer behavior. This is needed to design policies such that they, for example, minimize
524 overall impacts and specifically reduce impacts on smallholder farmers (Wens et al., 2022). By further exploiting
525 our methods, it is possible to attempt to identify policies that can slow the expansion of wells in areas where it is
526 unsustainable, while simultaneously avoiding interference in regions where growth is more sustainable, which is
527 recommended by Roy & Shah (2002). Furthermore, it can help in determining which adaptation alternatives and

528 policies can decrease drought vulnerability while simultaneously being financially attractive enough to see
529 adaptation beyond the village scale (Fishman et al., 2017).

530

531 In this study we were able to model emergent patterns as a result of many combined small-scale processes due to
532 human behavior under consecutive droughts at a river basin scale and quantitatively assess their hydrological and
533 agricultural impacts. The model almost exactly replicated the commonly observed stages of well expansion,
534 groundwater extraction, groundwater table decline, and agricultural economy in India, as detailed in Figure 20 of
535 Roy & Shah (2002). Furthermore, the water table decline of approximately 1 m/year fits with the many reports of
536 groundwater decline of 1-2 m/year by D. K. Singh & Singh (2002). However, the 2011-2012 agricultural survey
537 reported that only approximately 25% of farmers in our area owned a well (Department of Agriculture & Farmers
538 Welfare India, 2012), which is lower than what our findings suggest. This discrepancy likely stems from the timing
539 of our simulations not aligning with the study area's current stage of the cycle of well expansion and decline (figure
540 20, Roy & Shah, 2002). In reality, well expansion occurred before the first census and simulation period (Central
541 Ground Water Board, 1995), and declined from 2001 to 2011-12 (Department of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare
542 India, 2001, 2012). Consequently, the area's groundwater levels should have been lowered and the cost of
543 adaptation increased. However, as there were no spatial (longitudinal) groundwater level observations available to
544 initialize or calibrate the model with, our simulation had to move through the first stages of well expansion (Roy
545 & Shah, 2002) before groundwater levels and adaptation costs matched that of the area's. Thus, our well uptake is
546 lagging behind. For these reasons, and given that other inputs like drought loss thresholds are theoretical (Bubeck
547 et al., 2012; Kahneman & Tversky, 2013; Neto et al., 2023) and not specifically defined for droughts, this paper
548 focuses on patterns, variations among farmers, locations, and scenario differences rather than on temporally
549 specific absolute values. For future studies where timing is more important, e.g., those focused on future policy
550 scenarios, initializing groundwater levels, either through lowering it during calibration or collecting observations,
551 is crucial. In general, we highly recommend the development of detailed spatial and behavioral data to improve
552 the accuracy of large-scale ABMs. Regarding agents' crop choices, we observed a trend toward highly
553 homogeneous cultivation of certain crops that experienced significant price increases. Albeit a progression towards
554 uniform cultivation of crops has been observed under similar circumstances (Birkinshaw, 2022), the degree seen
555 here is unlikely. We incorporate economic rational decisions influenced by subjective risk perception as a result
556 of experiencing droughts into our analysis, as this was the central focus of our study. However, other subjective
557 behaviors exist, such as decisions influenced not by personal benefit assessments, but by perceptions of others'
558 beliefs, cultural norms, attitudes, or habits (Baddeley, 2010). Including this type of behavior in future research
559 may reduce homogeneity; however, no behavioral theory perfectly encompasses all adaptive behavior (Schrieks
560 et al., 2021). Therefore, we recommend keeping the SEUT, while incorporating a market feedback, that lowers the
561 profitability of commonly cultivated crops due to increased cultivation costs and reduced market prices, calibrated
562 with observed prices. Alternatively, we suggest adding a calibrated unobserved cost factor for all crops (Yoon et
563 al., 2024). Both modulate the profitability of crops and reduce the modelled divergence from historical patterns.
564 Furthermore, subsistence farming, which involves cultivating crops for household consumption, could reduce
565 homogeneity as well (Bisht et al., 2014; Hailegiorgis et al., 2018). Subsistence farms cultivate more diverse crops
566 and take up most of smallholder farmer's cultivated area (Bisht et al., 2014). A proposed model implementation
567 could mandate that all farmers dedicate one plot to subsistence crops. This would limit the smallest farmers to their
568 initial crop rotations, while larger farmers would be free to cultivate commercial crops on their remaining land.

569 Incorporating perceptions of economic conditions could also make crop choice modeling more realistic by farmers
570 forecasting and adjusting future crop prices based on their likelihood. For instance, while current high prices for
571 groundnuts might not persist, government-regulated sugarcane prices provide certainty. Thus, e.g., risk-averse
572 farmers might favor the predictability of sugarcane over crops with more volatile pricing. Lastly, while GEB
573 efficiently simulates agents at a "one-to-one" scale, exploring how aggregate phenomena shift with varying degrees
574 of agent aggregation could be valuable, since higher levels of aggregation might optimize model runtimes.

575 **5 Conclusions**

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577 text.Click or tap here to enter text.Click or tap here to enter text.Click or tap here to enter text.Click or tap here to
578 enter text.Click or tap here to enter text.In this study, we assess the adaptive responses of heterogenous farmers
579 under consecutive droughts at river basin scale in the Bhima basin, India. To do so, we further developed a large-
580 scale socio-hydrological agent-based model (ABM) by implementing the Subjective Expected Utility Theory
581 (SEUT) alongside heterogeneous farmer characteristics and dynamic adaptation costs, risk experience and
582 perceptions to realistically simulate many individual's behavior. From the emergent patterns of all individual's
583 behavior under consecutive droughts we were able to assess river basin scale patterns and come to these three main
584 conclusions.

585 First, farmer's adaptive responses under consecutive droughts ultimately led to higher drought
586 vulnerability and impact. Although farmer's switching of crops and uptake of wells initially reduced drought
587 vulnerability and increased incomes, subsequent crop switching to water-intensive crops and intensified cropping
588 patterns increased water demand. Furthermore, the homogeneous cultivation encouraged by economic
589 maximization made the region more sensitive to market price shocks. These findings highlight the importance of
590 looking at consecutive events, as focusing solely on adaptation during first events would overlook the ultimate
591 impact.

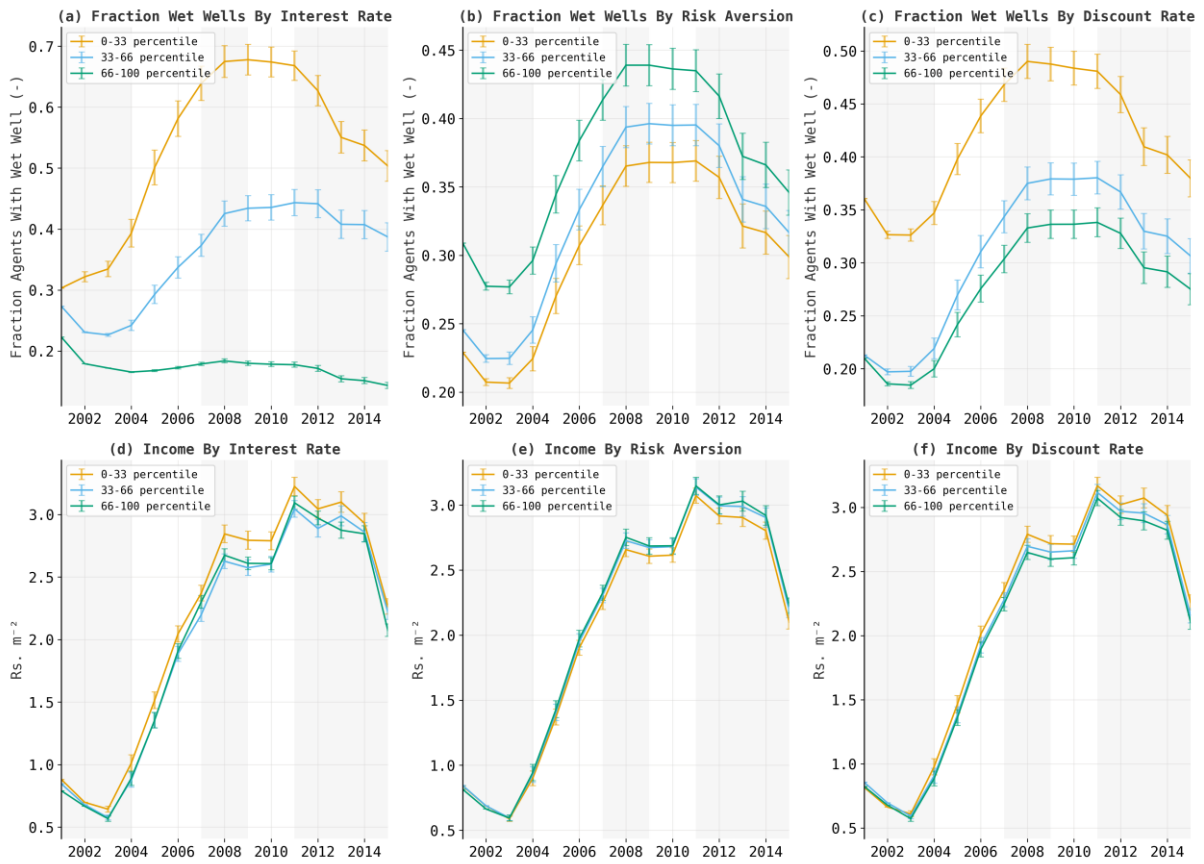
592 Second, the impacts of droughts on (groundwater irrigating) farmers are higher and can happen more
593 suddenly in a socio-hydrological system under realistic climate forcings compared to what just gradual numerical
594 economical models can predict. This is because groundwater depletion happens in periods of stabilization and
595 rapid reduction instead of gradually, and because ecological shocks (i.e. droughts) and social shocks (i.e. crop
596 price drops) can coincide to rapidly decrease farmer incomes.

597 Third, adaptive patterns, vulnerability, and impacts are spatially and temporally heterogeneous. Factors
598 such as market prices, received precipitation, farmers' characteristics and neighbors, and access to irrigation
599 influence crop choices and adaptation strategies. This variability underscores the benefits of using large-scale
600 ABMs to analyze specific outcomes for different groups at different times.

601
602 This research presents the first analysis of farmer's adaptive responses under consecutive droughts using a large-
603 scale coupled agent-based hydrological model with realistic behavior. We emphasize the added value of employing
604 coupled socio-hydrological models for risk analysis or policy testing. We recommend using these models to, for
605 example, test policies designed to minimize overall impacts or to minimize them for smallholder farmers. Further
606 research could also explore alternative adaptations to wells that reduce drought vulnerability and are financially
607 viable enough to encourage wider adoption. Lastly, we advocate for research aimed at developing detailed regional

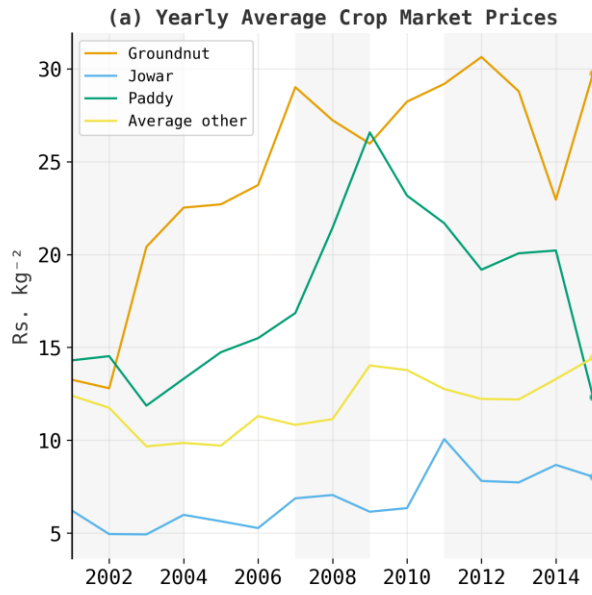
608 data to improve the accuracy of large-scale ABMs, along with acquiring empirical data on behavioral aspects to
609 refine behavioral estimates.

610 **Appendix A: Additional figures**



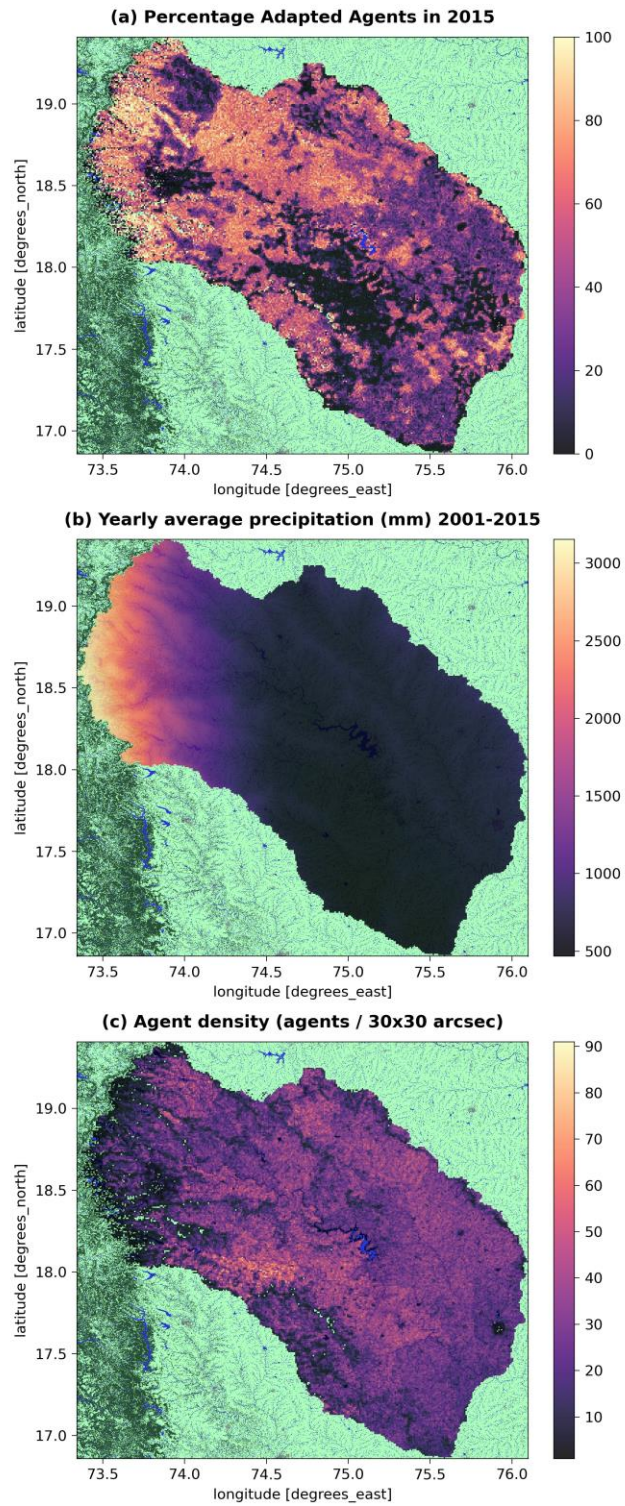
611

612 **Figure A1.** Well uptake and income grouped based on agent's interest rate, risk aversion and discount rate. The
613 values indicate the means of 60 runs, while the error bars indicate the standard error.



614

615 **Figure A2.** Inflation adjusted crop market prices for Groundnut, Jowar, Paddy and the mean of all other crops.



616

617 **Figure A3.** Spatial patterns of adaptation (a), precipitation (b) and agent density (c) in the Bhima basin.

618 **Appendix B: Model Sensitivity analysis**

619 **B.1** Robert et al. (2018)(Just & Lybbert, 2009)(Bauer et al., 2012)(Burek et al., 2020; De Bruijn et al., 2023P. D.
 620 Udmale et al. (2015 **Sensitivity analysis method description**

621 Sensitivity parameters were changed differently per parameter. The function `latin.sample` using Latin hypercube
 622 sampling from SALib (Iwanaga et al., 2022) was used to generate 300 sets of values of each sensitivity parameter
 623 between their min and max. The min and max were used as inputs to change either the absolute values of a
 624 parameter (drought loss threshold), to change the distributions of all agent’s values (risk aversion, discount rate)
 625 or change all agent’s individual parameters with a fixed rate (interest rate).

626 *Risk aversion:* See section 2.5 on how the initial risk aversion was determined. To change this, this distribution
 627 was normalized and rescaled using a new standard deviation, which was a `latin.sample` value between the given
 628 min and max.

629 *Discount rate:* Similar to risk aversion, but now instead of the standard deviation, the mean was sampled between
 630 the min and max and used to rescale the distribution.

631 *Interest rate:* Each agent’s individual interest rate (section 2.5, S1 2.1.4) was multiplied with a sampled value
 632 between the given min and max.

633 *Well cost:* The well cost factor is determined by adjusting the fixed and yearly costs by an absolute factor. This
 634 absolute factor adjusts the price based on a normal distribution of values. The standard deviation is 0.5 (50%
 635 higher/lower price) and the mean is 1 (no price change). `Latin.sample` then samples quantile values between 0 and
 636 1, and uses the standard deviation and mean to calculate the adjustment factor. Thus, the percentual adjustment
 637 factor follows a normal distribution around the original price (1).

638 *Drought loss threshold:* An absolute value was added/subtracted from the drought loss threshold based on the
 639 sampled values between the min and max.

640

Variable / Parameter	Value / range
<code>discount_rate</code>	Min: 0.059, Max: 0.259
<code>interest_rate</code>	Min:, Max:
<code>well_cost</code>	Min norm: 0.5; Max norm: 1.5, Min: 0; Max: 1
<code>drought_threshold</code>	Min: -5, Max: 5

641

642

643 **B.2 Sensitivity analysis results**

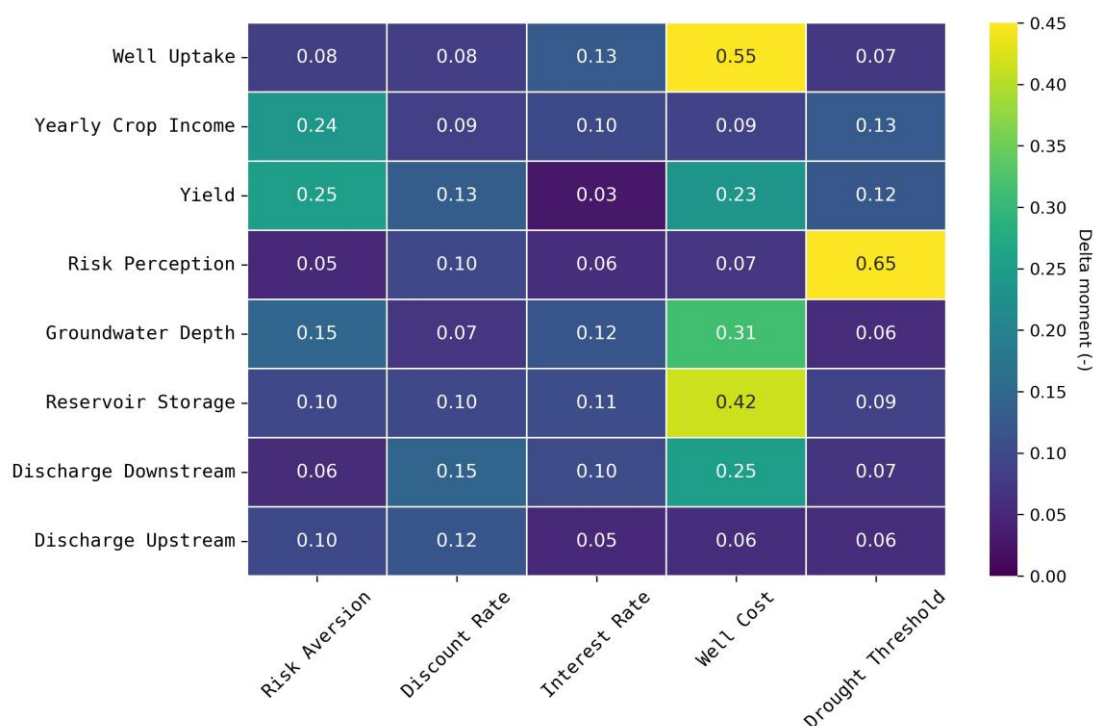


Figure 8 Delta moment Sensitivity Analysis. Values indicate how sensitive an output factor (y-axis) is to the influence of a specific input factor (x-axis), in relation to the influence of all other input factors. The output consists of number of wells, yearly crop income, yield, risk perception, groundwater depth, reservoir storage and discharge up- and downstream. The changed input parameters consist of risk aversion, discount rate, interest rate, well cost and drought threshold.

644
 645 Our results show that well uptake is highly sensitive to well cost. Diving deeper in this relation, Figure 8 shows
 646 that although well cost substantially affects the adoption of wells and yield, its impact on income is minimal
 647 compared to other factors. This notion is supported by Figures 4 to 7 who reveal that many farmers cannot afford
 648 wells regardless of cost changes and that decreasing groundwater levels result in the loss of wells for more. Thus,
 649 although the effect of wells is large for farmers with wells (Figure 4), there remains a large group without wells
 650 throughout the basin. In contrast, risk aversion substantially affects both well adoption and crop selection, and
 651 crop selection is relevant for all farmers. Furthermore, crop selection is especially impactful as the price of
 652 groundnut, the primary crop farmers switch to in the main season, doubled relative to other crops (Figure 7g). This
 653 illustrates that farmer’s adaptive behavior is a mix of climate and market dynamics.

654
 655 However, Figure 8 shows that well cost substantially influences all hydrological parameters except upstream
 656 discharge. Recorded in regions with higher precipitation and fewer agents (Appendix A.3), upstream discharge
 657 shows little sensitivity to well cost, suggesting groundwater extraction makes up a smaller fraction of total river
 658 inflow. Similar to income, yield reacts to risk aversion through crop choice. Risk perception is sensitive to the
 659 drought loss threshold and is the second most influential factor for income.

660
 661 Appendix A.1 shows that the interest rate significantly impacts farmers' ability to afford wells and influences their
 662 income more than risk aversion and discount rate. This contrasts Figure 8, which shows that all three input factors
 663 are equally affecting well uptake, and that risk aversion and discount rate are more important for income. This
 664 likely stems from the sensitivity analysis parameters, where the change in interest rate is based on a factor

665 multiplied by the agent's initial rate, leading to minimal variation if the initial value is low. Furthermore, agents
666 with higher initial interest rates are already not adapting (Appendix A.1), thus are only sensitive to (one-way)
667 decreasing interest changes.

668

669 **Code and data availability**

670 The most recent version of the GEB and adapted CWatM model, as well as scripts for data acquisition and model
671 setup can be found on GitHub (github.com/GEB-model). The model inputs, parametrization and code used for this
672 manuscript are accessible through Zenodo (Kalthof & De Bruijn, 2024). This page also includes the averages
673 and standard deviations of the 60 runs of the adaptation and non-adaptation scenario which are featured in all
674 figures.

675 **Author contributions**

676 MK, JB, HDM, HK and JA did the research conceptualization; JB, HDM, HK and JA provided supervision; MK
677 and JB MK developed the methodology and code; MK obtained and analyzed the data; MK wrote the manuscript
678 draft; JA, JB, HDM and HK reviewed and edited the manuscript.

679 **Competing interests**

680 One of the co-authors is editor of NHESS. Furthermore, the author and several of the co-authors work at the same
681 department of two other NHESS editors: Anne Van Loon and Philip Ward.

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