



1 **Adaptive Behavior of Over a Million Individual Farmers**  
2 **Under Consecutive Droughts: A Large-Scale Agent-Based**  
3 **Modeling Analysis in the Bhima Basin, India**

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10 **Abstract.** Consecutive droughts, becoming more likely, produce impacts beyond the sum of individual events by  
11 altering catchment hydrology and influencing farmers' adaptive responses. We use GEB, a coupled agent-based  
12 hydrological model, and expand it with the Subjective Expected Utility Theory (SEUT) to realistically simulate  
13 farmer behavior and subsequent hydrological interactions. We apply GEB to analyze the adaptive responses of  
14 ±1.4 million heterogeneous farmers in India's Bhima basin over consecutive droughts and compare scenarios with  
15 and without adaptation. In adaptive scenarios, farmers can either do nothing, switch crops, or dig wells, based on  
16 each action's expected utility. Our analysis examines how these adaptations affect profits, yields, and groundwater  
17 levels, considering, e.g., farm size, risk aversion and drought perception. Results indicate that farmers' adaptive  
18 responses can decrease drought vulnerability and impact after one drought (x6 yield loss reduction), but increase  
19 it over consecutive due to switching to water-intensive crops and homogeneous cultivation (+15% income drop).  
20 Moreover, adaptive patterns, vulnerability, and impacts vary spatiotemporally and between individuals. Lastly,  
21 ecological and social shocks can coincide to plummet farmer incomes. We recommend alternative or additional  
22 adaptations to wells to mitigate drought impact and emphasize the importance of coupled socio-hydrological  
23 ABMs for risk analysis or policy testing.

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

29 **1 Introduction**

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

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



37 likely and can result in impacts that differ from the sum of the individual events' parts (Anderegg et al., 2020; van  
38 der 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  
52 et 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).

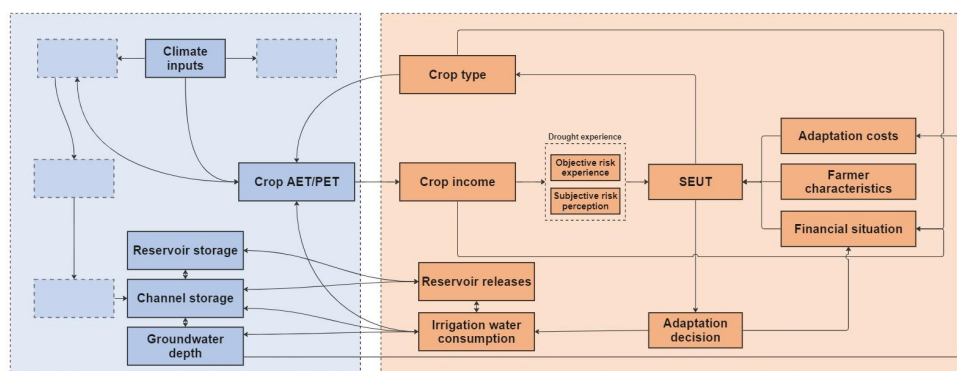
57 A special class of simulation models are agent-based models (ABMs). ABMs are specially designed to capture the  
58 behavior of autonomous individuals (i.e. agents) (Blair & Buytaert, 2016; Schrieks et al., 2021; M. Wens et al.,  
59 2019). When integrated with a hydrological model, they can also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

72 To address these challenges, De Bruijn et al. (2023) developed GEB, an ABM coupled with a hydrological model  
73 (CWatM, Burek et al., 2020), that is able to model the behavior of millions of agents efficiently at one-to-one  
74 scale. With GEB, it is possible to analyze the culminated hydrological and agricultural impacts of many small-  
75 scale processes at river basin scale. However, to analyze the complex human decision-making process under  
76 consecutive droughts we require behavior to change dynamically in response to drought events (Groeneveld et al.,



77 2017; Schrieks et al., 2021). In the current version of GEB this is not possible, as its decision rules for adaptation  
 78 are based on simple assumptions of human behavior (De Bruijn et al., 2023; Schrieks et al., 2021).  
 79 The main goal of this study is to assess the vulnerability and adaptive responses of farmer agents under consecutive  
 80 droughts. Therefore, we integrate the Subjective Expected Utility theory (SEUT, Fishburn, 1981) into the GEB  
 81 model. The SEUT is a well-established behavioral economic theory that explains farmer adaptation decisions as  
 82 economic maximization under risk, influenced by subjective factors such as risk aversion and perception. By  
 83 parametrizing and calibrating the SEUT with local data and letting the risk perception change dynamically in  
 84 response to drought events, we attempt to create a more accurate depiction of adaptation under consecutive  
 85 droughts. We further refine our characterization of farmers—including their drought experience, adaptation costs,  
 86 and loan debts—to better understand changes in their individual vulnerability and risk, such as fluctuations in  
 87 income, debt levels, adaptation uptake, and groundwater levels. We apply and calibrate the augmented GEB in the  
 88 Bhima basin, which is part of the Krishna basin in India. Our work helps in understanding how consecutive drought  
 89 events affect different types of farmer’s vulnerability and impact. The paper is organized as follows: We begin  
 90 with a high-level overview of the model setup (2.1) and a description of the study area (2.2). We then detail our  
 91 implementation of behavior (2.3), crop cultivation methods (2.4), agent initialization (2.5), and conclude with  
 92 model calibration and scenario setup (2.6). Next, in the results section, we analyze the evolution of model  
 93 vulnerability and risk parameters over consecutive droughts in an adaptation scenario (3.1), compare it to a no-  
 94 adaptation scenario (3.2), and review the results of the sensitivity analysis (3.3). This leads into a discussion of our  
 95 key findings and challenges to our methods (4). Finally, we summarize our conclusions and suggest directions for  
 96 future research (5).

97 **2 Methods**



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

99 **2.1 Model setup.**

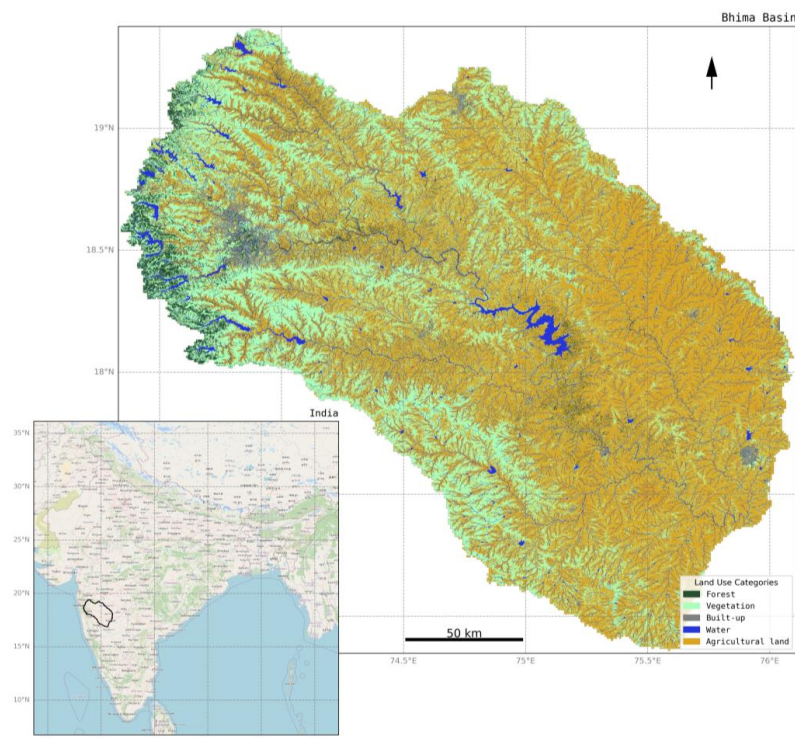
100 Figure 1 shows the structure of the GEB model. In short, GEB couples a large-scale agent-based model  
 101 (orange part) that simulates the adaptation behavior of millions of agents (farmers and reservoir operators) (De  
 102 Bruijn et al., 2023) to a hydrological model (blue part) simulated with the CWatM (Burek et al., 2020) and



103 MODFLOW models (Langevin et al., 2017). The hydrological processes of CWatM operate at daily timesteps at  
104 30 arcsec grid size, while GEB's agent processes are at sub-grid level. The interaction between both, such as  
105 irrigation, occurs daily, while adaptation decisions are made at the end of each growing season for the next one.  
106 The CHELSA-W5E5 v1.0 observational climate input data at 30 arcsec horizontal and daily temporal resolution  
107 was used as climate forcing (Karger et al., 2022). The agent's individual characteristics are derived from socio-  
108 economic data (census data on e.g. income), survey data (on e.g. risk aversion, discount rate), agricultural data  
109 (past yields, crop rotations, farm sizes) and data on past climate and droughts (SPEI) (section 2.3-2.5 and B.1 to  
110 B.4). These data are used to calculate the Subjective Expected Utility (SEUT) equation to determine whether a  
111 farmer adapts or not, given the hydro-climatic context.

## 112 2.2 Case study.

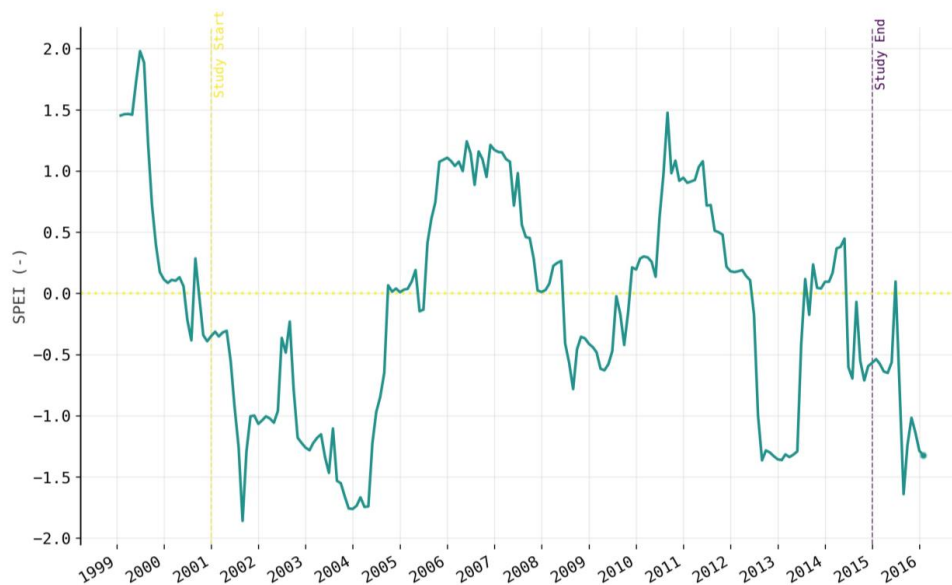
113 The Upper Bhima catchment in Maharashtra, spanning 45,678 km<sup>2</sup>, varies in elevation from 414 m in the east to  
114 1458 m in the Western Ghats mountain range (Figure 2). The catchment is mostly flat, with 95 % of its area below  
115 800 m. The area experiences significant rainfall variation due to interaction of the monsoon and the Western Ghats,  
116 ranging from 5000 mm in the mountains to less than 500 mm in the east (Gunnell, 1997). Over 90 % of this rain  
117 falls during the monsoon months (June–September), with substantial deficits from October to May. The state's  
118 agricultural cycle includes the monsoon Kharif season (June–September) and the dry Rabi season (October–  
119 March), with April and May constituting the hot summer period.





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

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



135

**Figure 3 The average 12-month Standardized Precipitation Evaporation Index (SPEI) in the Bhima basin. Derived from the CHELSA-WSE5 v1.0 dataset (Karger et al., 2022).**

136

### 137 **2.3 Farmer decision rules**

138 Agents make decisions based on the SEUT (Fishburn, 1981), which has been widely used in various ABMs to  
139 simulate adaptive behavior. (Groeneveld et al., 2017; Haer et al., 2020; Tierolf et al., 2023; M. Wens et al., 2020).  
140 A major advantage of the SEUT is that it facilitates economic maximization while accounting for an individual's  
141 subjective characteristics (i.e. risk aversion and discount rate) and dynamic risk perception that adjusts in response  
142 to drought events. At each yearly timestep agents calculate the following (S)EUTs:



143

- 144 1. SEUT of taking no action (Eq. 1)
- 145 2. SEUT of investing in a (tube-) well (Eq. 2)
- 146 3. SEUT of their current crop rotation (Eq. 3)
- 147 4. EUT of their current crop rotation (Eq. 4)

148

149 To decide whether to invest in a well, agents compare the SEUT of taking no action with the SEUT of digging a  
150 well. When the SEUT favors adaptation and adapting is within the agent's budget constraints, the farmers invest  
151 in a well. With respect to crop rotation, there are over 300 unique crop rotations used within the model. It would  
152 be computationally unfeasible for each agent to calculate the SEUT for each rotation. Furthermore, literature shows  
153 that people tend to emulate their neighbors' practices (Baddeley, 2010; Haer et al., 2016). Therefore, all agents  
154 calculate only their own crop rotation's SEUT (Eq. 3) and EUT (Eq. 4, using neutral risk perception, aversion and  
155 discount rate, section 2.5). Then, agents compare their current crop rotation's SEUT with the EUT of all  
156 neighboring farmers using similar irrigation sources (within a 5 km radius, using reservoir, surface, groundwater  
157 or no irrigation). The EUT is used since using a neighbor's SEUT would mean using another agent's subjective  
158 factors. They then adopt the crop rotation of the neighbor who's EUT is highest, if this exceeds their own SEUT.

$$159 \quad SEUT_{no\_action} = \int_{p_2}^{p_1} \beta_t * p_i * U \left( \sum_{t=0}^T \frac{Inc_{i,x,t}}{(1+r)^t} \right) dp \quad (1)$$

$$160 \quad SEUT_{tube\_well} = \int_{p_2}^{p_1} \beta_t * p_i * U \left( \sum_{t=0}^T \frac{Inc_{i,x,t}^{adapt} - C_{t,d}^{adapt}}{(1+r)^t} \right) dp \quad (2)$$

$$161 \quad SEUT_{own\_crop\_rotation} = \int_{p_2}^{p_1} \beta_t * p_i * U \left( \sum_{t=0}^T \frac{Inc_{i,x,t} - C_{t,m}^{input}}{(1+r)^t} \right) dp \quad (3)$$

$$162 \quad EUT_{own\_crop\_rotation} = \int_{p_2}^{p_1} p_i * U \left( \sum_{t=0}^T \frac{Inc_{i,x,t} - C_{t,m}^{input}}{(1+r)^t} \right) dp \quad (4)$$

163

164 Utility  $U(x)$  is a function of expected income  $Inc$  and potential adapted income  $Inc^{adapt}$  per event  $i$  and adaptation  
165 costs  $C^{adapt}$ . In eq. 2,  $C^{adapt}$  is dependent on groundwater levels and in eq. 4 on current market prices. To calculate  
166 the utility of all decisions, we take the integral of the summed and time ( $t$ , years) discounted ( $r$ ) utility under all  
167 possible events  $i$  with a probability of  $p_i$  and adjust  $p_i$  with the subjective risk perception  $\beta_i$ . See table B1 for an  
168 overview of all model parameters.

169 *Predicted income:* To calculate the expected utility, we need information on farmer income during  
170 droughts of varying return periods with and without an adaptation. Since droughts of similar return periods have  
171 different severities depending on the farmer's location, and since this relation is also dependent on each farmer's  
172 crop rotation and irrigation capabilities, no straightforward empirical relationship exists. Therefore, we established  
173 this relationship endogenously for each farmer in the following manner. After each harvest, the 12-month SPEI  
174 (derived from the CHELSA climate data between 1979 and 2016) at the time of harvest and the harvest's yield  
175 ratio (section 2.4) are determined for each agent. The SPEI is converted to a drought probability and these values  
176 are then averaged per year. In order to get more data points, they are then averaged per farmer group, which are  
177 based on farmers' elevation (upstream, midstream, downstream), irrigation (well or no well) and crop rotation.  
178 Then, a relation (eq. 5) is fitted between drought probability and yield ratio for each group using the last 20 years



179 of data (a spin-up period of 20 years is used where no behavior occurs). We refer to this relation as the agent's  
180 objective drought risk experience. The 12-month SPEI and base 2 logarithm were chosen as they returned the  
181 highest R-squared between drought probability and yield ratio for this region (~ 0.50).

182

$$183 \quad SPEI_{i,t} = a * \log_2(yield_{i,t}) + b \quad (5)$$

184

185 The relation between probability and yield ratio is used to derive yield ratios associated with 1, 2, 5, 10, 25 and  
186 50-year return period drought events  $i$ , which are then converted to income per return period event  $Inc_i$  (section  
187 2.4). To determine their potential income after adaptation  $Inc^{adapt}$ , within groups of similar cropping and elevation,  
188 the non-irrigating groups determine their yield ratio gain from the yield ratios of their well-irrigating counterparts.

189 *Cost of wells:* To determine the cost of wells, we adapted the cost equations and parameterization of  
190 Robert et al. (2018) (Appendix B.1). These are a function of pump horse power, pumping hours, electricity costs,  
191 probability of well failure, maintenance costs and drilling costs. Drilling costs are dynamic and dependent on the  
192 well's depth, which are put at 20 m below the current groundwater table. Together with the agent's interest rate  $r$   
193 (section 2.4, B.2), this is converted to an annual implementation cost  $C^{adapt}$  for the n-year loan using eq. 6.

194

$$195 \quad C_{t,d}^{adapt} = C_d^{fixed\ cost} * \frac{r*(1+r)^n}{(1+r)^n - 1} + C_t^{Yearly\ costs} \quad (6)$$

196

197 *Crop costs:* Yearly cultivation input costs  $C^{input}$  per hectare for each crop type, which include expenses  
198 such as purchasing seeds, manure, and labor are sourced from the Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare.  
199 ([https://eands.dacnet.Nic.in/Cost\\_of\\_Cultivation.htm](https://eands.dacnet.Nic.in/Cost_of_Cultivation.htm), last access: 15 July 2022) (De Bruijn et al., 2023).

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

208 *Time discounting and risk aversion:* For eq. 1-3 the agent's individual discount rate and risk aversion  
209 (section 2.5) are used. For eq. 4, as the goal is a "neutral" expected utility of farmer's crops, all farmers use the  
210 average discount rate and risk aversion. For eq. 1-2 a time horizon of 30 years following Robert et al. (2018) is  
211 used, while for eq. 3-4 a time horizon of 3 years is used. The utility  $U(x)$  as a function of risk aversion  $\sigma$  is as  
212 follows:

$$213 \quad U(x) = \frac{x^{1-\sigma}}{1-\sigma} \quad (7)$$

214

215 *Bounded rationality:* Bounded rationality is described by the risk perception factor  $\beta$ .  $\beta$  rises after agents  
216 have experienced a drought, overestimating drought risk ( $\beta > 1$ ). After time without a drought, it lowers again,



217 underestimating risk ( $\beta < 1$ ). We follow the setup of Haer et al. (2020 and Tierolf et al. (2023) and define  $\beta$  as a  
218 function of  $t$  years after a drought event:

$$219 \quad \beta_t = c * 1.6^{-d*t} + e \quad (8)$$

220 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  
221 are assumed to retain more awareness of drought risk compared to households of flood risk (van Duinen et al.,  
222 2015). We set the minimum underestimation of risk  $e$  at 0.01 and calibrate the maximum overestimation of risk  $c$   
223 between 2 and 10 (Botzen & van den Bergh, 2009).

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

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

#### 233 2.4 Farmer crop cultivation

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

237

$$238 \quad Kc_t = \begin{cases} Kc1, & t < d_1 \\ Kc1 + (t - d1) \times \frac{Kc2 - Kc1}{d2}, & d_1 \leq t < d_2 \\ Kc2, & d_2 \leq t < d_3 \\ Kc2 + (t - (d1 + d2 + d3)) \times \frac{Kc3 - Kc2}{d4}, & \text{otherwise;} \end{cases} \quad (9)$$

239

240 where  $t$  represents the number of days since planting, and  $d1$  to  $d4$  are the durations of each growth stage. At the  
241 harvest stage, the actual yield ( $Y_a$ ) is determined based on a maximum reference yield ( $Y_r$ ; Siebert & Döll, 2010),  
242 the water-stress reduction factor ( $KyT$ ), and the ratio of actual evapotranspiration (AET) to potential  
243 evapotranspiration (PET) throughout the growth period (Fischer et al., 2021):

244

$$245 \quad Y_a = Y_r \times \left( 1 - KyT \times \left( 1 - \frac{\sum_{t=0}^{t=h} AET_t}{\sum_{t=0}^{t=h} PET_t} \right) \right) \quad (10)$$

246

247 We refer to the latter part of Eq. 10 as the “yield ratio”, i.e., the fraction of maximum yield for a specific crop.

248 Actual yield is then converted into income based on the state-wide market price for that particular month. Historical





249 monthly market prices are sourced from Agmarknet (<https://agmarknet.gov.in>, last accessed on 27 July 2022) (De  
250 Bruijn et al., 2023).

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

## 256 2.5 Agent initialization

257 *Agent initialization:* To generate heterogeneous farmer plots and agents with characteristics statistically  
258 similar to those observed within the Bhima basin, factors from the IHDS (Desai et al., 2008), such as agricultural  
259 net income, farm size, irrigation type or household size, were combined with Agricultural census data (Department  
260 of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare India, n.d.). For this, we use the iterative proportional fitting algorithm, which  
261 reweights IHDS survey data such that it fits the distribution of crop types, farm sizes and irrigation status at sub-  
262 district level reported in the Agricultural Census (De Bruijn et al., 2023). The farmer agents and their plots were  
263 randomly distributed over their respective sub-districts on land designated as agricultural land (Figure 3; Jun et  
264 al., 2014) at 1.5" resolution (50 meter at the equator).

265 *Risk aversion & discount rate:* To set risk aversion and discount rate, we first normalized the distribution  
266 of agricultural net income. Then, as risk aversion and discount rate correlate with household income (Bauer et al.,  
267 2012; Just & Lybbert, 2009; Maertens et al., 2014), we rescaled the normalized income distribution with the mean  
268 and standard deviation of the (marginal) risk aversion  $\sigma$  (0.02, 0.82; Just & Lybbert, 2009) and discount rate  $r$   
269 (0.159, 0.193; Bauer et al.2012) of Indian farmers. Noise was added to both to prevent that each present-biased  
270 agent is also risk taking by definition.

271 *Interest rates:* To account for the variation in access to credit and interest rates among farmers, we  
272 assigned each agent an interest rate based on their total landholding size, with smaller farmers receiving higher  
273 and larger farmers lower rates (Appendix B.2, Maertens et al., 2014; P. D. Udumale et al., 2015). This assignment  
274 is based on the interest rates observed among Indian farmers (Hoda & Terway, 2015; P. D. Udumale et al., 2015).

## 275 2.6 Calibration, validation, sensitivity analysis and runs

276 *Calibration:* We calibrated the model from 2001 to 2010 using observed daily discharge data and yield  
277 data. The full data range of available observed data was used to calibrate the model, following the  
278 recommendations of Shen et al. (2022), which found that  
279 calibrating fully to historical data without conducting model validation is the most robust approach for hydrological  
280 models. The daily discharge data was obtained from 5 discharge stations at various locations in the Bhima Basin.  
281 The yield data was obtained by dividing the total production by the total cropped area from ICRISAT (2015) to  
282 determine yield in tons per hectare. This figure was then divided by the reference maximum yield in tons per  
283 hectare to calculate the percentage of maximum yield, aligning with the latter part of Eq. 10. Calibration is done  
284 for several standard hydrological parameters, including the maximum daily water release from a reservoir for  
285 irrigation, typical reservoir outflow, and the irrigation return fraction (Burek et al., 2020). Furthermore, it was done  
286 for the expenditure cap, base yield ratio, drought loss threshold and the maximum risk perception (Appendix B.3).



287 The process utilizes the NSGA-II genetic algorithm (Deb et al., 2002) as implemented in DEAP (Fortin et al.,  
288 2012), to optimize the calibration based on a modified version of the Kling-Gupta efficiency score (KGE; Eq. 11;  
289 Kling et al., 2012), similar to (Burek et al., 2020, De Bruijn et al., 2023).

290

$$291 \quad KGE' = 1 - \sqrt{(r - 1)^2 + (\beta - 1)^2 + (\gamma - 1)^2} \quad (11)$$

292

293 Where  $r$  is the correlation coefficient between monthly and daily simulated and observed yield ratio and discharge,  
294 respectively.  $\beta = \frac{\mu_s}{\mu_o}$  represents the bias ratio, and  $\gamma = \frac{CV_s}{CV_o} = \frac{\sigma_s \mu_s}{\sigma_o \mu_o}$  is the variability rate. The optimal values for  $r$ ,  
295  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  are 1. The final KGE scores were  $\pm 0.63$  for the discharge and  $\pm 0.60$  for the yield.

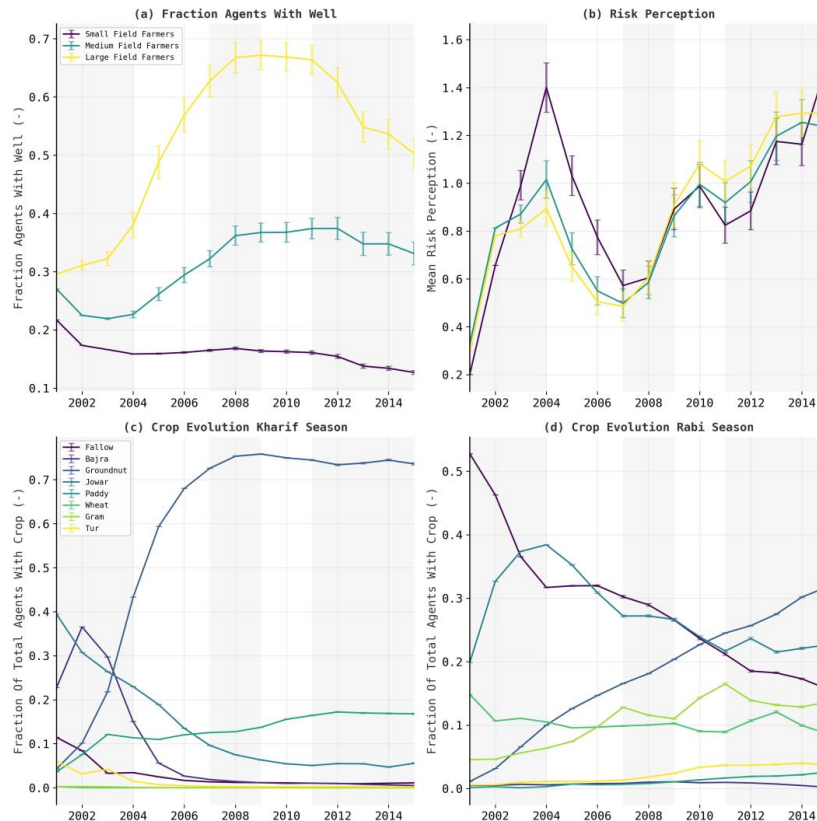
296 *Sensitivity analysis:* A Delta Moment-Independent Analysis with 300 distinct samples was done using  
297 the SALib Delta Module (Iwanaga et al., 2022). Risk aversion, discount rate, interest rate, well cost, and the  
298 drought loss threshold were varied to assess their impact on well uptake, crop income, yield, risk perception,  
299 groundwater depth, reservoir storage, and discharge upstream and downstream. For detailed parameter settings,  
300 refer to Appendix B.4.

301 *Model runs & scenarios:* The model had a spin-up period from 1980 to 2001, and ran from 2001 to 2015.  
302 The periods with a prolonged negative 12-month SPEI during this period were: a severe- (2000-2005), mild- (mid-  
303 2009 to 2010), and a moderate-mild (mid-2012 to 2015) drought (McKee et al., 1993). Two scenarios were run:  
304 one without adaptation, where agents maintained the same crop rotation and irrigation status as at the start of the  
305 model, and another where agents could change their crops or dig wells according to the decision rules outlined in  
306 section 2.3. To account for stochasticity, both scenarios were run 60 times, after which the average results and the  
307 standard error of the mean were calculated.



308 **3 Results**

309 **3.1 Crop switching and well uptake in the Adaptation scenario**



310

**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), medium (33-67th percentile), and large (67-100th percentile) groups; (a) the fraction of the total group with a 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.**

311

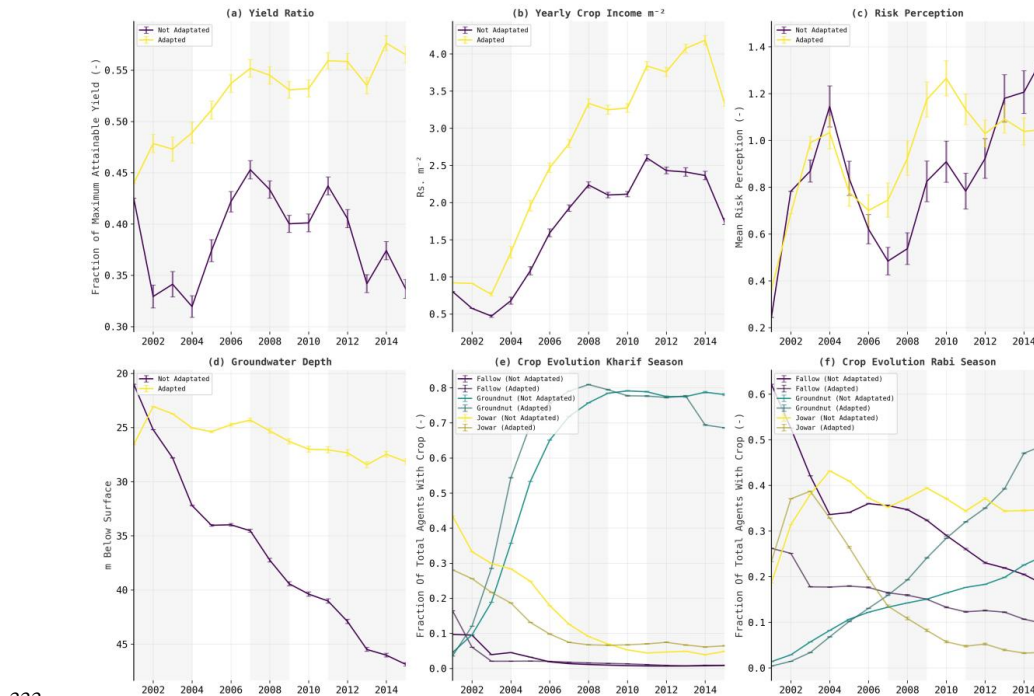
312 Figure 4 shows how agent characteristics change over time for three different field sizes: large scale (67-100  
313 percentile of size, >1.8 ha; yellow), medium scale (33-67 percentile of size, 0.82-1.9 ha; blue), and small scale (0-  
314 33 percentile of size, <0.82 ha; purple) farmers. Panel 4a shows that for large scale farmers adaptation first slowly  
315 rises and speeds up after the first drought (2001-2004), alongside an increase in risk perception from the first  
316 drought. For medium farmers, well uptake initially decreases but then increases alongside a similarly heightened  
317 risk perception. For smallholder farmers, the number of well owners declines and then only slightly recovers after  
318 the first drought, even though they have a higher risk perception compared to medium and large field farmers. This  
319 difference between well owners mirrors the differences in interest rates, where smallholder farmers have the  
320 highest interest rates on loans, and large farmers the lowest rates (Appendix A.1). This highlights that loan interest



321 is an important factor in whether agents adapt. During the last drought (2011-2015), despite high-risk perception,  
322 the proportion of farmers owning wells declines across all farm sizes (figure 4a-b). The adaptation by large farmers  
323 declines the steepest, although they do remain the most adapted group (Section 3.2).

324

325 In the Kharif wet season, all crop types except paddy-irrigated rice and groundnut decrease in prevalence (Figure  
326 4c). Both groundnut and paddy cultivation have steeply risen in profitability during the study period (7g), however,  
327 paddy cultivation is substantially more water intensive than groundnut. In the dry Rabi season we see a large  
328 decrease of farmers who leave their field fallow (i.e. no crops), which is mainly replaced by cultivating groundnut,  
329 although there is a greater heterogeneity of cultivated crops in the Rabi season as compared to the wet Kharif  
330 season (Figure 4d). Furthermore, the increase and decrease of Jowar cultivation, which is less water-intensive  
331 compared to Groundnut and Paddy irrigation and performs well during droughts (Singh et al., 2011), aligns very  
332 well with drought and non-drought periods. Lastly, we see almost no Paddy cultivation in the dry season.



333

**Figure 5 Evolution of Yield ratio, Income, Risk perception, Groundwater Depth and the two main crops in the Wet Kharif and Dry Rabi Season in the Bhima basin. (a-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 0.**

334

335 Figure 5a shows a large difference in yield ratio between farmers with- or without a well, likely stemming from  
336 the increased water reliability due to irrigation wells. Consequently, farmers with wells saw a yield ratio increase  
337 instead of decrease during the first drought. Yearly crop income is approximately 30 % higher for farmers with  
338 wells (5b), though incomes for both groups have increased due to switching to higher-priced crops. Importantly,  
339 this data does not only show the effects of wells, but also which farmers are able to initially afford wells, stemming



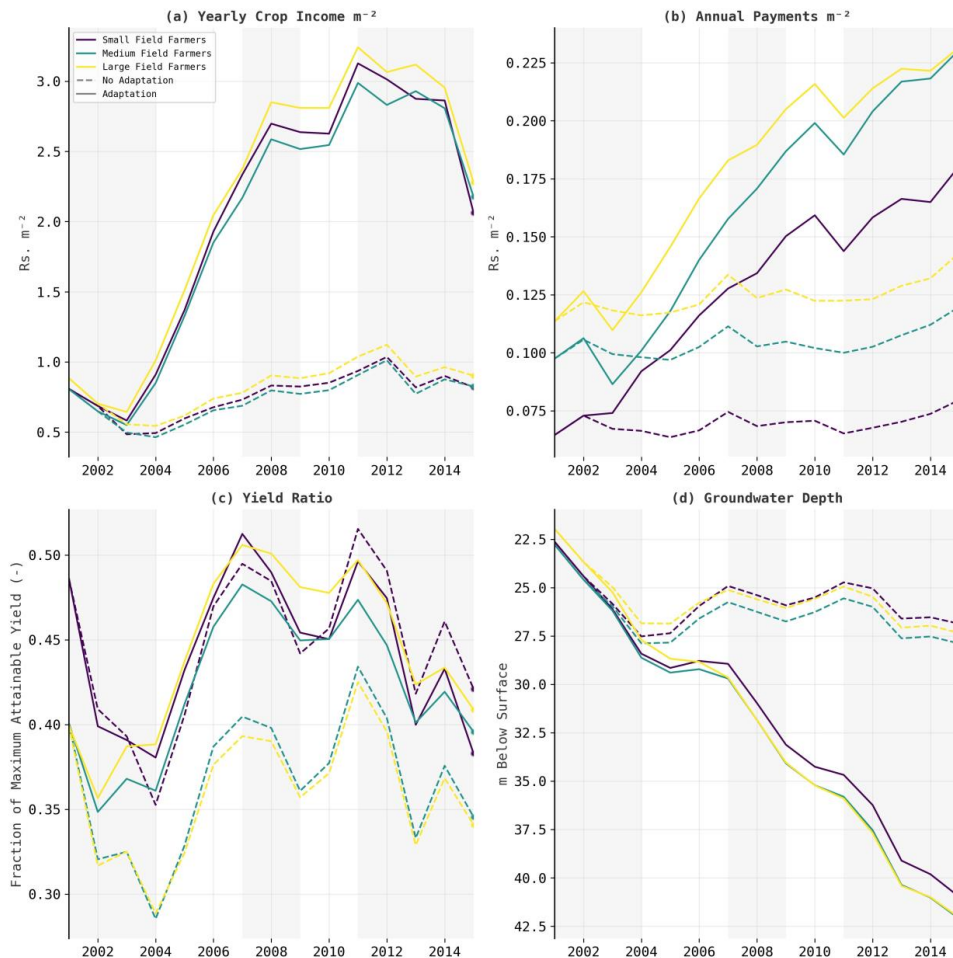
340 from prior higher yield, income and lower groundwater levels. Groundwater levels are unexpectedly higher for  
341 farmers with wells (5d), despite wells being the primary cause of groundwater depletion for most farmers (6d, 7c).  
342 However, note that in the figure, farmers whose well dried up count as Not Adapted. Thus, when farmers with  
343 wells are in locations where groundwater recharge cannot keep up with extraction, their wells dry and they are  
344 switched to the Not Adapted group. Subsequently, only farmers with wells where groundwater is not rapidly  
345 depleted, or those who have recently installed wells, remain in the Adapted group, resulting in high average  
346 groundwater levels for this group. The extraction and hydroclimatic conditions at the farmers' locations where  
347 depletion matches the Adapted group's average thus provide an estimate of the necessary circumstances to  
348 sustainably maintain wells. As long as these conditions are present, the increased yield ratios and income (5a-b)  
349 can be maintained.

350

351 Figures 5e and 5f depict the development of Fallow, Jowar, and Groundnut cultivation during the wet Kharif and  
352 dry Rabi seasons. We show these crops as they are most widely cultivated and dynamic (Figure 4). In the Kharif  
353 season, crop patterns are similar for both groups (5e). During the Rabi season, both agents with and without wells  
354 switch to Jowar during the first drought (2001-2004, 5f). However, after the initial drought, the percentage of  
355 agents with wells cultivating Jowar massively reduces, while the fraction without wells cultivating Jowar remains  
356 stable. Furthermore, during Rabi, more adapted agents cultivate Groundnut, while fewer leave their land fallow.  
357 This contrast in cultivation patterns among well-irrigating and non-irrigating groups highlights the critical role of  
358 water availability in agent's crop selection. If rainfall is ample, such as during the wet season, the patterns between  
359 farmers with and without wells are similar. However, in drier conditions, these patterns diverge because farmers  
360 with wells have greater water availability. This aligns with the patterns seen in Figure 4.



361 **3.2 Crop switching and well uptake in the Adaptation vs. the No Adaptation scenario**



362

**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-c) Farmers are categorized by field size into small (0-33rd percentile), medium (33-67th percentile), and large (67-100th percentile) groups; (a) Inflation adjusted early Income in Rs / m<sup>2</sup> after harvesting and selling crops; (b) Inflation Adjusted Yearly Loan Payments in Rs / m<sup>2</sup>, 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 (a-d), light grey areas indicate years where the average 1 month Standardized Precipitation Evaporation Index (SPEI) was below 0.**

363

364 Figure 6 compares a scenario where agents adapt (i.e., switch crops or dig wells) to one where agents stick with  
 365 their initial adaptation. Figure 6a shows that despite the increased well uptake for larger farmers, the average  
 366 income per square meter varies by no more than 5 % between farm size groups, which contrasts the difference  
 367 shown in Figure 5-b. This is illustrated by the yield ratio (6c), where initially, smaller farmers achieve substantially  
 368 higher yields than larger farmers due to cultivating crops with lower water demand. Once larger farmers switch  
 369 crops and install more wells, yields match or exceed those of smaller farmers.



370

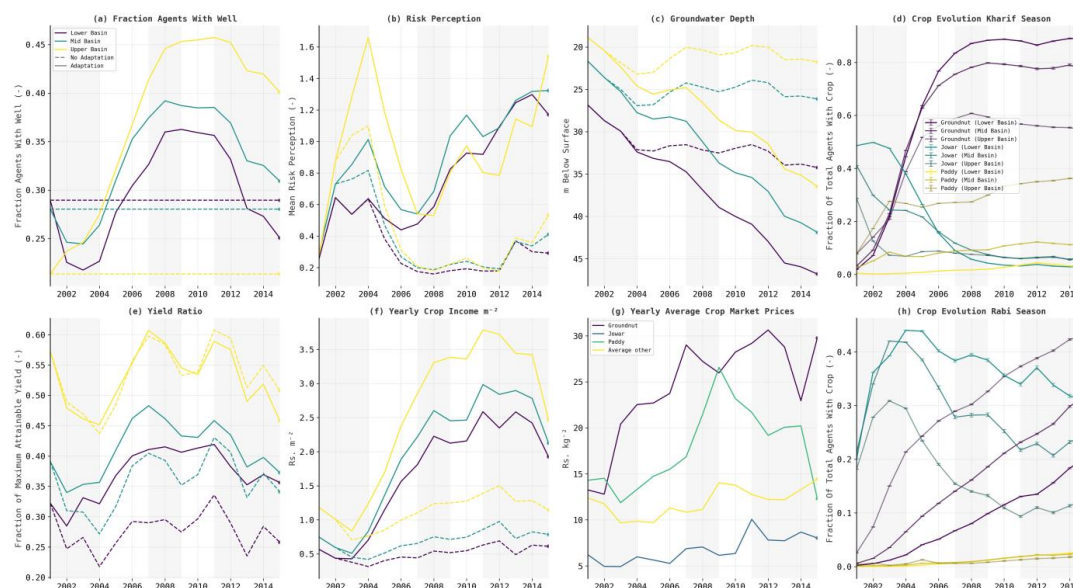
371 During the first and most severe droughts from 2001 to 2004, the drop in yield ratio of the no-adaptation scenario  
372 was six times worse (5 % versus 30 % drop, figure 6c). These initial yield gains were likely due to a shift towards  
373 less water-intensive crops (Jowar), as for medium field size farmers yields also increased, while their well uptake  
374 declined (Figure 4a, 6c). Subsequent yield increases align better with well uptake, with larger farmers achieving  
375 higher yields than smaller ones. Furthermore, after the initial drought period, larger farmers switched to higher  
376 grossing but more water intensive crops (4d), as the yield ratios between small and large farmers were similar,  
377 while profits were higher. However, ultimately, well uptake dropped (Figure 4a). Consequently, during the last  
378 drought from 2011 to 2015, the relative yield drop for larger farmers was similar across both the adaptation and  
379 no-adaptation scenarios, contrasting with the six times decrease seen during the first drought. Furthermore, the  
380 income fell 10-20 % more in the adaptation scenario.

381

382 For larger farmers with access to low interest loans (Appendix A.1), the annual cost to invest in wells is a smaller  
383 percentage of the agents' income. The influence of this 'effective investment cost  $m^{-2}$ ' (Sayre & Taraz, 2019) is  
384 reflected in the annual loan payments  $m^{-2}$  in Figure 4b, where the payments are equal for the medium and large  
385 farmers, while the large farmers have a higher fraction of adapted agents (Figure 4a). Moreover, even compared  
386 to smaller farmers—who have 80-84% fewer adapted agents—the annual payments  $m^{-2}$  are not substantially  
387 higher. Lastly, the annual payments  $m^{-2}$  are lower than what the expenditure cap ( $\pm 29$  % of income) would suggest  
388 (Figure 4b). This likely results from using group averages, where not adapted agents with smaller loans lower the  
389 average, and from using non-drought income based on the yield-probability relation instead of the most recent  
390 incomes. The latter adjusts more slowly to increased income, making agents more risk averse. Switching to using  
391 the most recent incomes could change this.

392

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



401

**Figure 7** Evolution of Wells, Risk Perception, Groundwater Depth, the two most cultivated crops in the Wet Kharif and Dry Rabi season, Yield and inflation adjusted Yearly Crop Income and Observed Crop Market Prices in the Bhima basin. Farmers are categorized by farmer elevation into Lower Basin (0-33rd percentile), 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.

402

403 In Figure 7, farmers are categorized as upstream (67-100<sup>th</sup> percentile elevation), midstream (33-67<sup>th</sup> percentile),  
 404 and downstream (0-33<sup>th</sup> percentile). Mid- to downstream farmers initially see a reduction in well use, with  
 405 increases only occurring at the end of the first drought (2001-2004, Figure 7a). This aligns with increased incomes  
 406 late in the first drought as a result of the drought ending and switching to more profitable crops (7g). The crop  
 407 switching has a dual effect: firstly, it boosts income, enabling agents to invest more in wells; secondly, it enhances  
 408 well profitability, as now the same amount of water leads to a larger absolute increase in income. Upstream, the  
 409 initial yield, income and groundwater levels are higher. Higher groundwater levels reduce the price of wells and  
 410 higher incomes increase what agents can spend on wells. Similar to what was seen for larger farmers in Figures 4  
 411 and 6, this reduces the effective investment costs, meaning the wells cost a smaller percentage of the agents'  
 412 income and more agents adapt. This causes upstream farmers to immediately adapt as the model starts, even during  
 413 the first drought (2001-2004). Similar to the trends in Figure 6d, groundwater levels quickly drop during droughts  
 414 and stabilizes when SPEI is positive. This pattern is mirrored in well uptake, which increases until 2007 but halts  
 415 in 2008, coinciding with a sharp decline in groundwater during the middle drought (2007-2009). During the last  
 416 drought (2011-2015), groundwater levels rapidly fall again and well uptake substantially declines due to wells  
 417 drying up. This decline intensifies downstream, resulting in downstream farmers having fewer wells than they  
 418 initially had.

419

420 Despite fewer wells among downstream farmers, groundwater levels decline similarly to those in the mid and  
 421 lower basins (Figure 7c). Comparing this against spatially varying parameters between the lower-, mid- and upper  
 422 basin, we mainly see that upstream agent density is lower and precipitation is higher (Appendix A.2). In the upper





423 basin this means less additional irrigation water is required, resulting in more recharge and less agents abstracting  
424 groundwater per km<sup>2</sup>. This also correlates with the shown higher yield and income (Figures 7e-f).

425

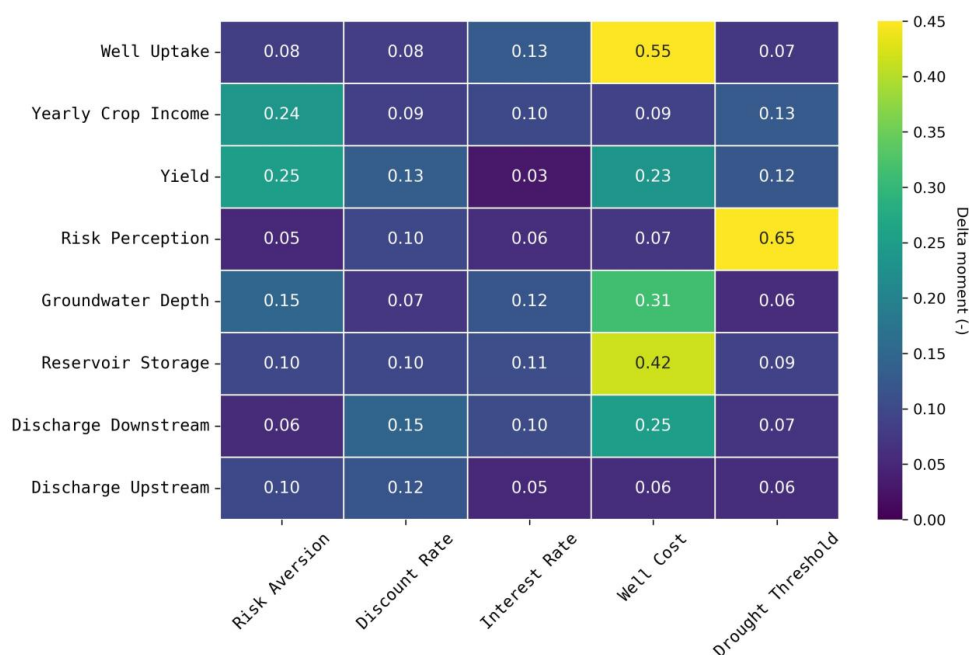
426 During the wet Kharif season, mid- and downstream farmers grow almost solely groundnut, whereas upstream  
427 paddy cultivation is also common (Figure 7d). This follows the earlier shown pattern of higher water availability  
428 generally leading to more water intensive crops. The yield ratio is highest upstream and lowest downstream, with  
429 downstream also showing a greater difference in yield between the adaptation and no-adaptation scenario (Figure  
430 7e). This may be the effect of higher water demand upstream, which is caused by more water-intensive crops  
431 offsetting more of the supply gains. This is also reflected in a lower yield ratio compared to the no-adaptation  
432 scenario, even though there are more agents with wells.

433

434 For mid- and downstream farmers, yield ratios increased during the first drought compared to the no-adaptation  
435 scenario, even though well uptake declined (Figure 7a, e). Similar to what was discussed at Figures 4-6, this  
436 increase was due to a shift toward a less water-intensive crop (Jowar, 7h). Subsequently, as water availability  
437 increased, the prevalence of Jowar declined, while Groundnut, which requires more water than Jowar but less than  
438 Paddy, continued to rise due to its steep price increase (7g). This pattern again followed water availability, as this  
439 was more pronounced for the mid- and upstream farmers. The economic maximalization through crop switching  
440 boosted incomes without requiring additional water from wells (7a, 7f). However, yields in the adaptation scenario  
441 for mid- and downstream farmers continued to rise compared to the no-adaptation scenario. Furthermore, both  
442 yields fell less during the middle drought. This pattern aligns with the initial rise well usage for these groups (7a).  
443 Ultimately, well uptake fell, and during the last droughts (2011-2015) yield ratios fell by 18-22 %, approximately  
444 equally as much as in the no-adaptation scenario. However, from 2011 to 2015, crop income in the adaptation  
445 scenario fell by 25-35%, a 10-15% greater decline compared to the no-adaptation scenario. This is a larger fall  
446 than what only the yield ratios would suggest, and can be explained by a simultaneous drop in prices for the main  
447 cultivated crops (7g).



448 **3.3 Sensitivity Analysis**



**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.

449

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

459

460 However, Figure 8 shows that well cost substantially influences all hydrological parameters except upstream  
 461 discharge. Recorded in regions with higher precipitation and fewer agents (Appendix A.2), upstream discharge  
 462 shows little sensitivity to well cost, suggesting groundwater extraction makes up a smaller fraction of total river  
 463 inflow. Similar to income, yield reacts to risk aversion through crop choice. Risk perception is sensitive to the  
 464 drought loss threshold and is the second most influential factor for income.

465

466 Appendix A.1 shows that the interest rate significantly impacts farmers' ability to afford wells and influences their  
 467 income more than risk aversion and discount rate. This contrasts Figure 8, which shows that all three input factors



468 are equally affecting well uptake, and that risk aversion and discount rate are more important for income. This  
469 likely stems from the sensitivity analysis parameters, where the change in interest rate is based on a factor  
470 multiplied by the agent's initial rate, leading to minimal variation if the initial value is low. Furthermore, agents  
471 with higher initial interest rates are already not adapting (Appendix A.1), thus are only sensitive to (one-way)  
472 decreasing interest changes.

#### 473 **4 Discussion and recommendations**

474 In this study, we further developed a large-scale socio-hydrological ABM to assess the adaptive responses of  
475 different farmer agents under consecutive droughts. We show that farmers with more financial resources invest in  
476 irrigation quickly, when a drought occurs, whereas farmers with less resources switch to less water intensive crops  
477 to increase yields (T. Birkenholtz, 2009; T. L. Birkenholtz, 2015; Fishman et al., 2017). After the first drought, as  
478 risk perception is still high, and income had increased, well uptake also increased among farmers with less financial  
479 resources. In the short term, this increased the area's income and resilience, reflected in rising yields and income  
480 over consecutive droughts. However, similar to reservoir supply-demand cycles (di Baldassarre et al., 2018), the  
481 widespread adoption of wells led to an increase in water-intensive crops and growing of crops during the dry  
482 season, which in turn raised water demand. During wet periods the available groundwater could support this  
483 demand, but during dry periods the groundwater rapidly declined. Consequently, despite being less severe than  
484 the first, the last drought resulted in many wells drying up quickly and yields declining. Furthermore, homogeneous  
485 cultivation as a result of economic maximization made the region more sensitive to market price shocks. This was  
486 seen from 2013 to 2015, where crop market prices of the main cultivated crops dropped, which led to a much  
487 larger drop in farmers' average income compared to the no-adaptation scenario. Thus, although initially drought  
488 vulnerability decreased and incomes rose, ultimately, farmer's adaptive responses under consecutive droughts  
489 increased drought vulnerability and impact. This underscores the importance of considering consecutive events,  
490 as focusing solely on the first event would overlook the ultimate impact. Suggested policies to address groundwater  
491 decline and well drying while maintaining higher incomes include promoting efficient irrigation technologies  
492 (Narayanamoorthy, 2004), implementing fixed water use ceilings (Suhag, 2016), encouraging rainwater harvesting  
493 (Glendenning et al., 2012) or combinations of all (Wens et al., 2022).

494  
495 The maladaptive path of tubewell irrigation expansion, growth of water-intensive crops, the subsequent rapid  
496 depletion of groundwater and resulting economic decline we simulated here has been commonly observed in India  
497 (Roy & Shah, 2002). Previous studies modelling the economics of wells show the income and groundwater  
498 fluctuations from wells and crop changes occurring gradually (Robert et al., 2018; Sayre & Taraz, 2019). Aside  
499 from investment costs, they show profits and groundwater levels rising and falling gradually over time, with the  
500 simulations never experiencing shocks. However, we here observe that this is not a steady process, but rather one  
501 characterized by periods of stabilization and rapid reduction of groundwater levels and incomes during wet and  
502 dry periods. Additionally, under consecutive droughts, we see social- (i.e. continued loan payments, crop price  
503 drops) and ecological shocks (i.e. lower groundwater levels, drought) coinciding (Folke et al., 2010). Therefore,  
504 agricultural decline as described by Roy & Shah (2002) may occur more sudden and rapidly in a socio-hydrological  
505 systems approach than what previous studies predict (Manning & Suter, 2016; Robert et al., 2018; Sayre & Taraz,  
506 2019). Such sudden shocks are harder to adapt to, potentially leading to more severe impacts or disasters



507 (Rockström, 2003). Thus, for future analyses, we recommend transitioning to similar coupled agent-based  
508 hydrological models, combined with climate data, to identify areas where drought risk is or will be high.

509

510 We also observed that adaptive patterns are spatiotemporally heterogeneous. For example, the farmers' location  
511 determined the number of wells that could be held before depleting groundwater levels, influenced by factors like  
512 precipitation and agent density. Water availability, resulting from precipitation and irrigation, along with market  
513 dynamics, influenced crop choices, leading to varied cropping patterns as prices fluctuated, between wet and dry  
514 periods, seasons, and locations upstream or downstream. Furthermore, at individual scale, we observed that  
515 variations in farm size, access to credit, time preferences, or risk attitudes influenced farmers' adaptation decisions.  
516 Building on our demonstration of the impact of varying hydroclimatic conditions and farmer characteristics on  
517 adaptation behavior, and the substantial effects of this behavior on a river basin's hydrology, we again highlight  
518 the value of large-scale coupled socio-hydrological models. These models can further enhance understanding of  
519 both basin hydrology and farmer behavior. This is needed to design policies such that they, for example, minimize  
520 overall impacts and specifically reduce impacts on smallholder farmers (Wens et al., 2022). By further exploiting  
521 our methods, it is possible to attempt to identify policies that can slow the expansion of wells in areas where it is  
522 unsustainable, while simultaneously avoiding interference in regions where growth is more sustainable, which is  
523 recommended by Roy & Shah (2002). Furthermore, it can help in determining which adaptation alternatives and  
524 policies can decrease drought vulnerability while simultaneously being financially attractive enough to see  
525 adaptation beyond the village scale (Fishman et al., 2017).

526

527 In this study we were able to model emergent patterns as a result of many combined small-scale processes due to  
528 human behavior under consecutive droughts at a river basin scale and quantitatively assess their hydrological and  
529 agricultural impacts. However, there are several challenges related to our methods. First, coupled-ABMs require  
530 many inputs such as calibration and validation data (McCulloch et al., 2022; Schrieks et al., 2021). Some of this  
531 data was readily available, however, others such as spatial explicit longitudinal groundwater levels were not.  
532 Additionally, other inputs such as drought loss thresholds are based off theory (Bubeck et al., 2012; Kahneman &  
533 Tversky, 2013; Neto et al., 2023) and have not been determined for droughts. The precise levels of, e.g., well  
534 uptake or income, depend on the reliability and precision of data inputs and can therefore vary (Robert et al., 2018).  
535 Although the model is thoroughly calibrated, this paper concentrates on patterns, variations among farmers, places,  
536 and scenario differences, rather than on absolute values. We recommend further research to develop detailed  
537 regional data to improve the accuracy of large-scale ABMs, along with acquiring empirical data on behavioral  
538 aspects to refine behavioral estimates. Second, crop switching steered the region to an extremely homogeneous  
539 cultivation of certain crops that had substantially risen in price. Albeit a progression towards uniform cultivation  
540 of crops has been observed under similar circumstances (Birkinshaw, 2022), the degree seen here is unlikely. We  
541 incorporate economic decisions influenced by subjective risk behaviors into our analysis, as they were the central  
542 focus of our study. However, other subjective behaviors exist, such as decisions influenced not by personal benefit  
543 assessments, but by perceptions of others' beliefs, cultural norms, attitudes, or habits (Baddeley, 2010). Including  
544 this type of behavior in future research may reduce homogeneity; however, no behavioral theory perfectly  
545 encompasses all adaptive behavior (Schrieks et al., 2021). Therefore, we recommend keeping the SEUT, while  
546 incorporating a market feedback, that lowers the profitability of commonly cultivated crops due to increased  
547 cultivation costs and reduced market prices, calibrated with observed prices. Alternatively, we suggest adding a



548 calibrated unobserved cost factor for all crops (Yoon et al., 2024). Both modulate the profitability of crops and  
549 reduce the modelled divergence from historical patterns. Furthermore, subsistence farming, which involves  
550 cultivating crops for household consumption, could reduce homogeneity as well (Bisht et al., 2014; Hailegiorgis  
551 et al., 2018. Subsistence farms cultivate more diverse crops and take up most of smallholder farmer's cultivated  
552 area (Bisht et al., 2014. A proposed model implementation could mandate that all farmers dedicate one plot to  
553 subsistence crops. This would limit the smallest farmers to their initial crop rotations, while larger farmers would  
554 be free to cultivate commercial crops on their remaining land.

## 555 **5 Conclusions**

556 In this study, we assess the adaptive responses of heterogenous farmers under consecutive droughts at river basin  
557 scale in the Bhima basin, India. To do so, we further developed a large-scale socio-hydrological agent-based model  
558 (ABM) by implementing the Subjective Expected Utility Theory (SEUT) alongside heterogeneous farmer  
559 characteristics and dynamic adaptation costs, risk experience and perceptions to realistically simulate many  
560 individual's behavior. From the emergent patterns of all individual's behavior under consecutive droughts we were  
561 able to assess river basin scale patterns and come to these three main conclusions.

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

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

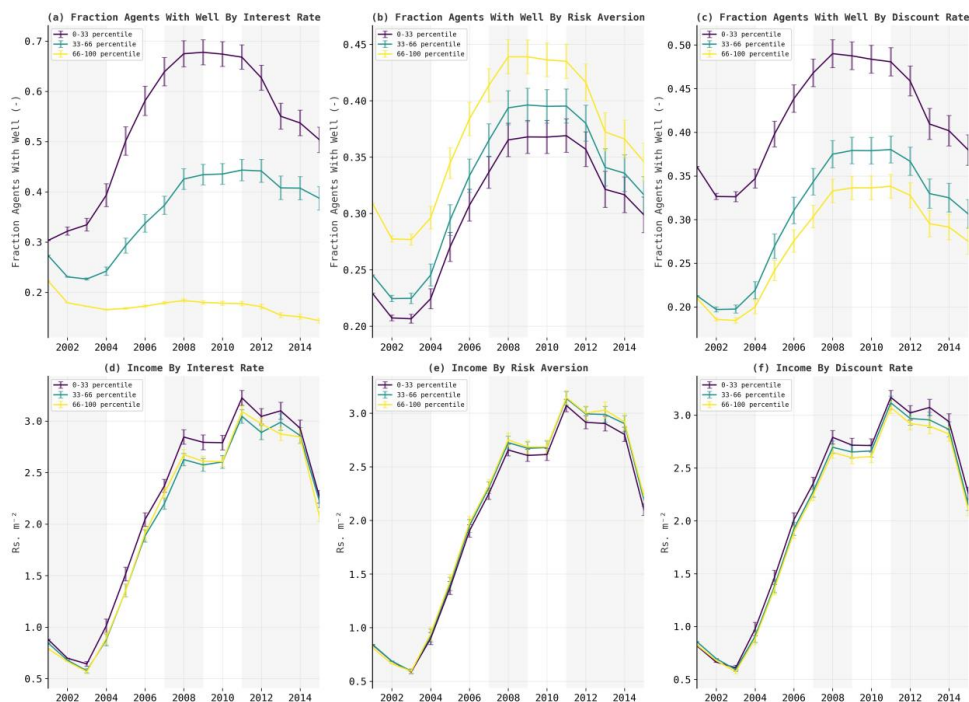
574 Third, adaptive patterns, vulnerability, and impacts are spatially and temporally heterogeneous. Factors  
575 such as market prices, received precipitation, farmers' characteristics and neighbors, and access to irrigation  
576 influence crop choices and adaptation strategies. This variability underscores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

578

579 This research presents the first analysis of farmer's adaptive responses under consecutive droughts using a large-  
580 scale coupled agent-based hydrological model with realistic behavior. We emphasize the added value of employing  
581 coupled socio-hydrological models for risk analysis or policy testing. We recommend using these models to, for  
582 example, test policies designed to minimize overall impacts or to minimize them for smallholder farmers. Further  
583 research could also explore alternative adaptations to wells that reduce drought vulnerability and are financially  
584 viable enough to encourage wider adoption. Lastly, we advocate for research aimed at developing detailed regional  
585 data to improve the accuracy of large-scale ABMs, along with acquiring empirical data on behavioral aspects to  
586 refine behavioral estimates.

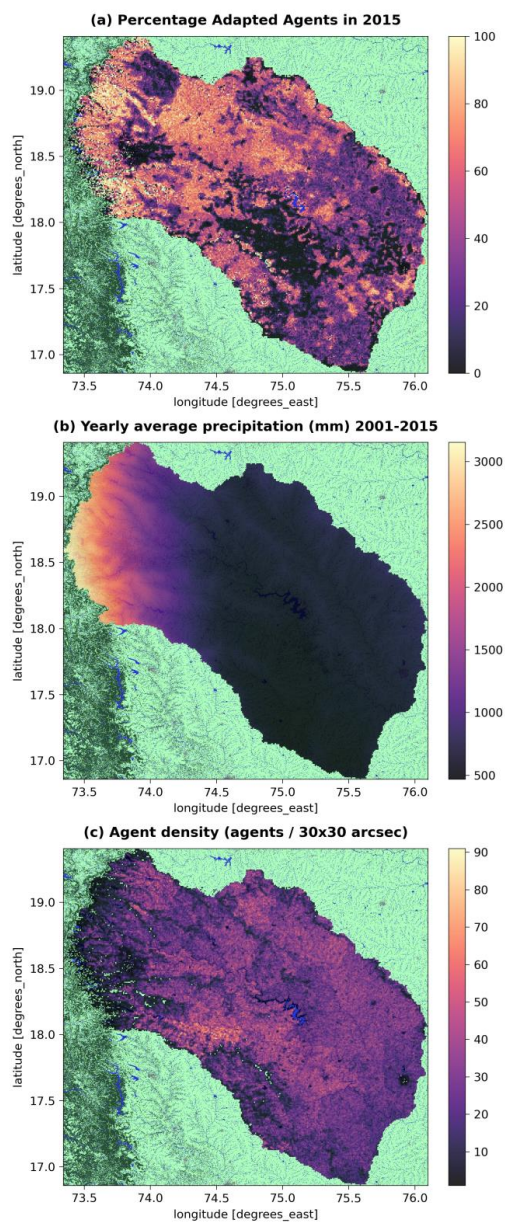


587 **Appendix A: Additional figures**



588

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



591

592 **Figure A2.** Spatial patterns of adaptation (a), precipitation (b) and agent density (c) in the Bhima basin.



593

594

595 **Appendix B: Model Settings & Parameters**

596 **Table B1.** Model settings and parametrization

| Variable / Parameter                                    | Definition, unit   | Value / range   |
|---|--|---|
| <b>Well costs</b>                                       | (Adapted from Robert et al. (2018))                          |   |
| $C_{adapt}$   | Annual irrigation investment cost (Rs)                       | See B.1   |
| $D$   | Depth of Borewell (m)  | Current groundwater depth + 20 m                                    |
| $D_I$   | Initial depth of borewell of agents with well during spin-up | 42.5 m  |
| $pr_D$  | Probability of well failure                                  | 0.2   |
| $Lifespan = Loan\ duration\ (n) = Time\ horizon\ (R_t)$ | Years  | 30  |
| $C_D$   | Cost of drilling well  | See B.1   |
| $C_m$   | Maintenance costs (Rs)                                       | See B.1   |
| $W$   | Potential amount of water pumped                             | See B.1   |
| $FR$  | Flow rate (cubic meter per hour)                             | See B.1   |
| $Pr_I$  | Proportion of available water for irrigation                 | 1   |
| $HP$  | Pump horse power (HP)  | 10  |
| $C_{HP}$  | Pump unit purchase costs (Rs)                                | See B.1   |
| $A_t$   | Daily power supply (hours per day)                           | 3.5   |
| $L$   | Total planted time (days)                                    | Dependent on agent crop rotation, total nr of days crop is planted. |
| $C_I$   | Cost of pumping (Rs)   | See B.1   |
| $E$   | Electric power used for irrigation (Rs per kilowatt hour)    | See B.1   |
| $H$   | Number of hours pumping                                      | See B.1   |
| $C_E$   | Electricity unit costs (Rs per kilowatt hour)                | 0   |
| <b>Social parameters</b>                                | See sect. 2.3 & 2.5  |   |
| $\sigma$  | Risk aversion  | See sect. 2.5 Mean: 0.02; STD: 0.82. (Just & Lybbert, 2009          |
| $r$   | Discount rate  | See sect. 2.5 Mean: 0.159; STD: 0.193. (Bauer et al., 2012          |





|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| $r$                                    | Interest rate   | See B.2  |
| <b>Risk perception</b>                 |   |  |
| $\beta$                                | Risk perception   | See sect. 2.3 for calculation                            |
| $c$                                    | Maximum overestimation of risk, calibrated                      | Min: 2; Max: 10; Final:<br><b>4.320833061643743</b>      |
| $d$                                    | Risk reduction factor   | -2.5   |
| $e$                                    | Minimum underestimation of risk                                 | 0.01   |
| <b>Hydrological parameters (CWATM)</b> |   |  |
| SnowMeltCoef*                          | Snow melt coefficient. *not calibrated as no snow in study area | 0.004  |
| arnoBeta_add                           |   | 0.14375536957497898                                      |
| factor_interflow                       |   | 0.7613961217818681                                       |
| lakeAFactor                            |   | 3.221318627249794  |
| lakeEvaFactor                          |   | 2.44551165779312   |
| manningsN                              |   | 1.3993375807912372                                       |
| normalStorageLimit                     |   | 0.645563228322237  |
| preferentialFlowConstant               |   | 1.426435027367161  |
| recessionCoeff_factor                  |   | 4.091720268164577  |
| soildepth_factor                       |   | 1.7727423771361288                                       |
| return_fraction                        |   | 0.44501083424619015                                      |
| <b>Calibrated parameters (ABM)</b>     |   |  |
| base_management_yield_ratio            | See B.3   | Min: 0.4; Max: 1; Final:<br><b>0.9942851661004738</b>    |
| expenditure_cap                        | See 2.3   | Min: 0.2; Max: 0.5; Final:<br><b>0.29686828121956016</b> |
| drought_threshold                      | Drought loss threshold. See 2.3                                 | Min: 5; Max: 25; Final:<br><b>15.317595486070905</b>     |
| risk_perception_max                    | See 2.3   | Min: 2; Max: 10; Final:<br><b>4.320833061643743</b>      |
| <b>Sensitivity settings</b>            |   |  |
| risk_aversion                          | See B.4   | Min: 0.5<br>Max: 0.9                                     |
| discount_rate                          | See B.4   | Min: 0.059<br>Max: 0.259                                 |
| interest_rate                          | See B.4   | Min:<br>Max:   |
| well_cost                              | See B.4   | Min norm: 0.5; Max norm: 1.5<br>Min: 0; Max: 1           |
| drought_threshold                      | See B.4   | Min: -5  |



Max: 5

597

598 **B.1 Well costs**

599 *Annual investment cost:* The yearly adaptation costs are a function of the well depth, the pump's horsepower  
600 (HP), its maintenance costs and the cost of groundwater pumping. This is adjusted for the loan duration ( $n$ ) using  
601 the agent's yearly interest rate ( $r$ ).

$$602 \quad C_{t,d}^{adapt} = (C_D + C_{HP}) * \frac{r*(1+r)^n}{(1+r)^n - 1} + C_M + C_I$$

603 *Borewell construction cost:* The borewell construction cost is dependent on the probability of well failure ( $pr_D$ )  
604 and the groundwater depth for the agent ( $D$ ). The constants are adjusted yearly based on inflation.

$$605 \quad C_D = (1 + 100 * pr_D) * (486.33 * D - 0.00824 * D^2)$$

606

607 *Initial borewell depth:* Initial borewell depth ( $D_I$ ) of agents who had wells before the adaptation started was  
608 based on the average groundwater depth in the Bhima basin + 20 m.

609 *Pump Cost:* The pump cost is dependent on the horsepower (HP) of the pump. The constant is adjusted yearly  
610 based on inflation.

$$611 \quad C_{HP} = 3570 * HP$$

612 *Irrigation maintenance cost:* The irrigation maintenance cost is dependent on the potential amount of water  
613 pumped ( $W$ ). The constant is adjusted yearly based on inflation.

$$614 \quad C_M = 6598 * W^{0.16}$$

615 *Potential amount of water:* The potential amount of water pumped is dependent on the flow rate (FR), the total  
616 planted time ( $L$ ), the number of hours pumping per day ( $A_t$ ) and the proportion of available water for pumping  $pr_I$ .

$$617 \quad W_t = FR * L * A_t * pr_I$$

618 *Flow rate:* The flow rate is dependent on the groundwater table ( $G$ ).

$$619 \quad FR = 79.93 * G^{-0.728}$$

620 *Cost of groundwater pumping:* The yearly cost of groundwater irrigation ( $C_I$ ) is dependent on the total planted  
621 time ( $L$ ), the number of hours pumping per day ( $A_t$ ), the proportion of available water for pumping  $pr_I$ , the electric  
622 power ( $E$ ) and the electricity unit costs ( $C_E$ ).

$$623 \quad C_I = L * A_t * pr_I * E * C_E$$

624 *Electric power (kilowatt hour):* The electric power is dependent on the horsepower (HP) to watt conversion.

$$625 \quad E = 745.7 * HP$$

626

627 **B.2 Interest rates**

628 See section 2.5 for how interest rates were determined. The average for all farmers comes out at approximately  
629 10.6 %, close to the observed 10.7 % of P. D. Udmale et al. (2015). Below is the table relating landholding size to  
630 interest rate:

631 **Table B2.** The relation between size class and interest rate to generate interest rates for the farmer population.



| Size class               | < 0.5 | 0.5- 1.0 | 1.0- 2.0 | 2.0- 3.0 | 3.0- 4.0 | 4.0- 5.0 | 5.0- 7.5 | 7.5- 10.0 | 10.0- 20.0 | > 20.0 |
|--------------------------|-------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|------------|--------|
| <b>(ha)</b>              | 0.5   | 1.0      | 2.0      | 3.0      | 4.0      | 5.0      | 7.5      | 10.0      | 20.0       |        |
| <b>Interest rate (%)</b> | 16    | 11.5     | 10       | 7.75     | 6.5      | 6.5      | 6.5      | 5         | 3          | 3      |

632

633 **B.3 Calibration**

634 In addition to the parameters explained in section 2.3., there is also a base management yield ratio adjustment.

635 This is a parameter that shifts each agent’s yield ratio with a flat rate to do a mean adjustment.

636 **B.4 Sensitivity**

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

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

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

647 *Interest rate:* Each agent’s individual interest rate (section 2.5, B.2) was multiplied with a sampled value between the given min and max.

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

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

656 **Code and data availability**

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



662 **Author contributions**

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

666 **Competing interests**

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

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