

HESS Opinions: Drought impacts as failed prospects

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Abstract. Human actions induce and modify droughts. Yet, there remain scientific gaps regarding how hydrological processes, anthropogenic dynamics and individuals' perception of impacts hydrological processes are intrinsically entangled in drought occurrence and evolution. This poses the challenge of developing ways to evaluate human behavior and its pattern of co-evolution with the hydrological cycle, mainly related through water use and landscape modifications. We propose that prospect theory explains the emergence of drought impacts. This behavioral economic theory is predominantly applied to explain decision-making processes under uncertainty. We argue that it can also contribute to explaining socio-hydrological phenomena such as reservoir effects, such as crop losses and water shortage. From the prospect theory perspective, they impacts are considered as failed welfare expectations ("prospects") due to water shortage. A shifting baseline after prolonged exposure to drought can therefore mitigate experienced drought impacts. We argue that it can also contribute to explaining socio-hydrological phenomena such as reservoir effects. This new approach can contribute to bridging natural and social sciences perspectives for more integrated drought management that takes into account the local context.

1 Introduction

During fieldwork conducted by the authors of this paper in the Semiarid region of Brazil (SAB), a farmer was asked how the historic 2012-2018 multi-year drought event (Marengo, 2020; Cunha et al., 2019a, b, 2018) affected his livelihood and welfare. The farmer responded by asking: "Drought? What drought?". We wondered how a drought event that lasted for almost 7 years and was characterized by an average 60% reduction in annual precipitation had gone unnoticed by someone who had been in the middle of it. A spatial contextualization helped us answer this question. The farmer's property was located at the edge of an upstream reservoir with low water abstraction that retained water throughout this drought event. Therefore, he never experienced water insecurity during this period.

The farmer's simple response implicitly reveals the relationships between human actions that modify hydrological processes (e.g. in this case, the construction of a reservoir) and thereafter which alter the exposure to a drought hazard (in this case, no exposure because of a filled reservoir), and how this in turn influences individuals' own perceptions of this kind of disaster occurrence ("Drought? What drought?"). The farmer's simple response can illustrate this is in line with the concept of "Drought in the Anthropocene" (Van Loon et al., 2016b), which underlines the need to consider the human component as an inseparable part of the complex and interrelated processes of a drought. This concept requires it calls for more balance between the analysis of the physical and human component of drought events, where we define drought as an exceptional period of lack of water compared to normal conditions. This is not restricted to a physical cause (e.g., a negative anomaly in rainfall), but can also

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44 be caused, or mitigated, by human actions. In this context, drought is defined as an exceptional period of lack of
45 water compared to normal conditions, which allows us to consider acute water shortages caused by human actions
46 as a drought event.

47 These ideas are developed in the context of socio-hydrology, which proposes to change the conventional
48 methodological framework applied to studies of disasters related to hydrometeorological extremes (e.g. droughts,
49 floods and their variations). This field aims to study the dynamics and co-evolution of human-water coupled
50 systems, with one of the main premises that human actions are an endogenous part of the hydrological cycle
51 (Sivapalan et al., 2012, 2014; Pande and Sivapalan, 2017). In other words, people interact with the hydrological
52 system in various ways (e.g. water consumption and landscape modification) and this has the potential to alter
53 hydrological processes, which in turn influence and impact human actions, creating a co-evolution. The
54 consideration that

55 Perceiving the human component as an inseparable part of the hydrological cycle opens up the opportunity to
56 study and creates new research avenues, for instance to study this kind of disaster drought events and other disasters
57 at scales that were commonly disregarded. This approach has a starting point. For example, by starting from
58 the individuals in the hydrological system that experience impacts, and by evaluating the decisions they make to
59 avoid these impacts impacts that individuals in the hydrological system experience and the decisions they make to
60 avoid these impacts. This may reveal the emergence of patterns and phenomena unobserved at other dimensions,
61 such as hydrological variables, and spatio-temporal scales or when focusing on other hydrological variables (Wens
62 et al., 2021, 2019; Van Oel et al., 2012; Walker et al., 2022). Although the patterns of co-evolution between the
63 human component and the hydrological cycle have been much widely debated in the scientific literature in
64 recent years (Sivapalan et al., 2012; Di Baldassarre et al., 2015; Van Loon et al., 2016b; Di Baldassarre et al.,
65 2019; Tian et al., 2019), gaps remain regarding the relationship between hydrological hazards (e.g., drought), the
66 perception of impact of this hazard, and occurrence of the drought event hazard itself. With there, we present a
67 complementary idea the ideas presented in this paper we aim to contribute to this discussion, focusing on drought
68 hazards.

69 to the forementioned fields We argue that the collectivity of individuals' perception of the impacts that they
70 experience determines the magnitude and the very occurrence of the a drought event, this being related to both
71 environmental and socio-economic factors. Using Prospect theory (Kahneman and
72 Tversky, 1979), stemming from the field of behavioral economics, we can explain the emergence of drought
73 impacts, considering that they impacted as failures in expected welfare failure expectations due to water
74 shortages. We build our case by first presenting the concept of drought impacts as failed prospects, then the
75 relationship between socio-hydrology and Prospect theory to finally present how this can be applied to real cases
76 of drought events.

77 There is already solid evidence that human actions can modify, intensify and induce drought events (Van Loon et
78 al., 2022; Ribeiro Neto et al., 2022, 2021; Savelli et al., 2022, 2021; AghaKouchak et al., 2021). Thus, it is apparent
79 that the natural sciences do not provide all the necessary means to analyze droughts and the right way forward is
80 interdisciplinarity, especially the integration with social sciences (Di Baldassarre et al., 2018; Massuel et al., 2018;
81 Martin Ortega, 2023). observed at other dimensions, such as hydrological variables, and spatio-temporal scales
82 (Wens et al., 2021, 2019; Van Oel et al., 2012). These patterns can be referred to as Socio-hydrological Phenomena;
83 they arise in different places around the world, in different contexts, and are often portrayed as counter-intuitive
84 or paradoxical (Di Baldassarre et al., 2019). Yet every phenomenon or process can be considered as such when
85 one does not have all the necessary tools to analyze them.

86 The reconsideration of the human component opens the opportunity to study this kind of disaster from the bottom
87 up, taking as a starting point the impacts that individuals in the hydrological system experience/cause and the
88 decisions they make to avoid these impacts (Walker et al., 2022).

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89 Correspondingly, it is possible to expand the definition of an impact and how it is intertwined in the emergence
90 and propagation of a disaster considering the perspectives of individuals. The combined dynamics of these
91 individual behaviors result in macro-scale consequences that generate changes in the system, making it possible
92 to analyze the emergence of patterns not observed at other dimensions, such as hydrological variables, and spatio-
93 temporal scales (Wens et al., 2021, 2019; Van Oel et al., 2012). These patterns can be referred to as Socio-
94 hydrological Phenomena, they arise in different places around the world, in different contexts, and are often
95 portrayed as counter-intuitive or paradoxical (Di Baldassarre et al., 2019). Yet every phenomenon or process can
96 be considered as such when one does not have all the necessary tools to analyze them.

97 2 Impacts as failed prospects

98 Satisfying our needs for welfare, and not just survival, is one of the characteristics that define us as humans. An
99 improvement of ~~It is crucial to improve our~~ understanding of how this influences decision-making related to
100 water use and landscape modification can lead to a better assess drought assessment. ~~It is important to understand~~
101 that human beings, as individuals, anticipate ~~the~~ desirable level of welfare, and then choose among ~~the~~ possible
102 prospects ~~those that~~ they believe have the highest chance of achieving this goal (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979).
103 These prospects are the decision options that are associated with an expected outcome within a scenario of
104 uncertainties.

105 ~~hoki~~The chosen prospects ~~chosen~~ defines how well an individual is adapted to their environmental
106 conditions ~~in which they are being dire, and is therefore directly related to~~ their vulnerability and
107 resilience. We propose that ~~wedue to a lack of water situation, which~~ an individual has a failed prospect
108 because of a lack of water, either be influenced by ~~ahazards (mainly hydroclimatic- anomaly and/or human actions,~~
109 ~~this negatively affects the individuals' level of welfare~~ ~~wh, which eythey~~ will feel as an ~~the~~ impact and consequently
110 ~~the situation will be perceived the situation~~ as a drought by this individual. For example, a prospect can be the
111 choice a farmer makes to grow a certain crop rather than another, to achieve greater gains or fewer losses depending
112 on the context. This choice is made with the expectation that this crop will contribute to the achievement of the
113 aimed welfare level.

114 If, for instance, the prospect is to grow a water-consuming crop in a region characterized by low water availability,
115 it can be an indication of maladaptation and vulnerability of the individual. In this example, if a precipitation deficit
116 occurs (hazard) and this negatively affects the chosen crops, resulting in an unsatisfactory production (failed
117 prospect), the individual will feel the impact and consider this event to be a drought. ~~If there is, at some point, a~~
118 ~~critical mass that experiences impacts, this might lead to the (official) declaration of a drought. This is the result~~
119 ~~of a complex interaction including many factors: those experiencing impact, their societal position, media~~
120 ~~exposure, power-relations, the political consequences of formally declaring a drought, et cetera. It is up to society~~
121 ~~to decide when a set of individuals impacted by a water shortage is sufficiently serious for such an event to be~~
122 ~~considered a drought.~~

123 Returning to the real example of the farmer mentioned above. He never had any failed prospects during the ~~multi-~~
124 ~~year~~ drought event, mainly because he had a secure water source throughout this period and consequently his
125 aimed level of welfare was ~~never~~ affected. Considering this, the simple answer he gave us is coherent and
126 logical, ~~since He~~ did not experience impacts related to the ~~drought event~~ negative hydroclimatic anomaly
127 (meteorological drought) that occurred in that region and therefore, for him, ~~this~~ drought event never
128 existed ~~happened~~. This is yet another example that demonstrates the limitation of evaluating drought events by only
129 considering methods that do not incorporate impacts and ignore the human component (Kehouk et al., 2021):

130 ~~Considering drought as the collective impacts that emerge as failed prospects due to a lack of water make it~~
131 ~~necessary to predict how individuals choose which prospects are more attractive to follow. Prospect theory (PT)~~
132 ~~explains how individuals choose alternatives when the outcome is uncertain (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979)~~
133 ~~(Tversky and Kahneman, 1986). This theory has been widely debated, especially in the socio-economic sciences.~~

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134 In the environmental sciences it has been applied in different contexts, such as reservoir operation (Bahrami et al.,
135 2022), asymmetries in drought response (Tian et al., 2019), disaster management (Osberghaus, 2017), and
136 irrigation water resources management (Wang et al., 2022).

137 One of the novel concepts that PT presented is that individuals in the real world do not maximize total wealth, but
138 react to possible or perceived gains or losses, which are emotional and short-term. In other words, human beings
139 do not necessarily seek to maximize their net benefits, or utilities, by always choosing the prospects that produce
140 the highest level of benefits (Jones, 1999). To clarify this concept, we invite the reader to participate in a simple
141 experiment (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979) consisting of choosing one of the options in the following two
142 problems: 1) 80% chance of winning \$4000 or 100% chance of winning \$3000; 2) 80% chance of losing \$4000 or
143 100% chance of losing \$3000.

144 If you chose the second and first options in problems 1 and 2, respectively, you behaved like most people who
145 participated in such an experiment (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979). This means that you presented "risk aversion"
146 behavior when the prospects are related to certain gains (problem 1) and "risk seeking" behavior when the
147 prospects are related to certain losses (problem 2). The combination of these two patterns illustrates the idea
148 presented by PT that the human tendency is to overvalue a certain (or highly likely) outcome, relative to outcomes
149 that are probable (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979; Edwards, 1996; Levy, 1992). Problem indirectly illustrates
150 another concept presented by PT, which is the "loss aversion" effect. This highlights the asymmetry in an
151 individuals' perception of gains and losses; losses feel more "painful" than gains of equal magnitude feel
152 "pleasurable". The consequences can be the preference for the status quo and the acceptance of riskier prospects
153 to avoid certain losses ("risk seeking" behavior).

154 To define whether the outcome of a prospect is seen as a gain or as a loss, the prospect is compared with a Reference
155 point. The Reference point can be influenced by what is experienced as the status quo or the 'normal' situation,
156 but also by the way the decision problem is perceived (Kahneman and Tversky, 1984). This latter is called the
157 "framing effect", whereby, depending on how individuals perceive and make sense of decision prospects in terms
158 of gains or losses, they will show a tendency towards risk aversion or risk seeking behavior, respectively.

159 **3 Socio-hydrology and prospect theory**

160 Considering drought as the collective impacts that emerge as failed prospects due to a lack of water make it
161 necessary to predict how individuals choose which prospects are more attractive to follow. Prospect theory (PT)
162 emerges (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979) (PT) as a descriptive technique that explains how individuals choose
163 alternatives when the outcome is uncertain (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979) (Tversky and Kahneman, 1986). This
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180 relative to outcomes that are probable (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979; Edwards, 1996; Levy, 1992). Problem two
181 indirectly illustrates another concept presented by the PT, which is the "Loss aversion" effect. This one highlights
182 the asymmetry in an individuals' perception of gains and losses; thus, losses feel more "painful" than gains of
183 equal magnitude feel "pleasurable". The consequences can be the preference for the status quo and the acceptance
184 of riskier prospects to avoid certain losses ("risk seeking" behavior).

185 To define whether the outcome of a prospect is seen as a gain, or as a loss, is assessed by
186 comparing the prospect is compared with a Reference point. The Reference point which can be influenced by what
187 is experienced as the status quo or the "normal" situation, but also by the way the decision problem is perceived
188 (Kahneman and Tversky, 1984). This latter is called the "framing effect whereby", whereby depending on how
189 individuals perceive and make sense of decision prospects in terms of gains or losses, they will show a tendency
190 towards risk aversion or risk seeking behavior, respectively.

191 We argue that the onset and propagation of human drought impacts (which we consider to be those that
192 negatively affect the individual's welfare), and some socio-hydrological phenomena (e.g. the Reservoir effect and
193 supply demand cycle), can also be explained through the lens of prospect theory. Fig. 1 presents an overview of
194 how prospect theory is related to socio-hydrology phenomena and drought emergence. The relevance of the
195 concept of human drought impacts as a failed prospects becomes more evident when the emergence and
196 propagation of the impacts are placed at the center of drought assessment studies. In this sense, it can be considered
197 that this disaster arises from the moment a hazard (natural or human related) results in an anomalous lack of water
198 that generates negative impacts, which can be social-economic (human), or environmental, and ceases when these
199 impacts are no longer observed.

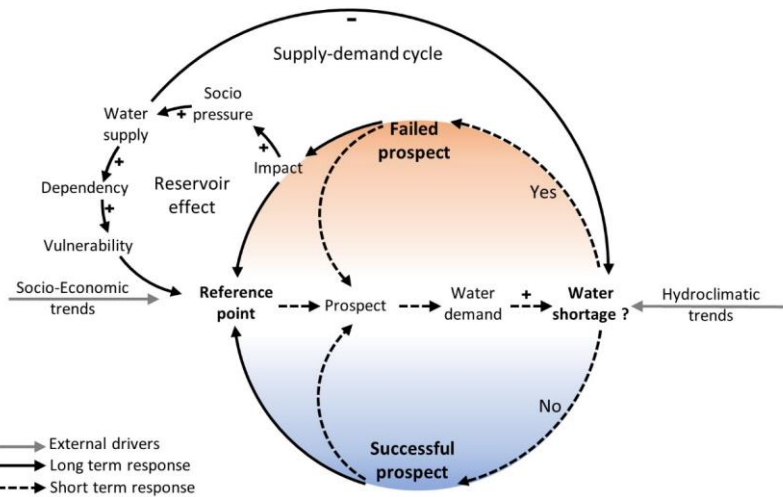
200 The first concept to consider from PT is the Reference point concept, which is the general term for the starting
201 point from which to making different kinds of decisions. For drought assessment, we consider the Reference
202 point as the minimum welfare level that individuals tolerate to feel satisfied and secure with the results of chosen
203 prospects, and deviations from this are what defined as a gain or loss. An individual's welfare is a combination of
204 general health, happiness, fortune, prosperity and security. The individual's perception of their environment
205 defines the Reference point. The environment guides the individuals' expectations regarding their level of
206 welfare (Reference point), and therefore with that for choosing the prospects to achieve them. For instance, in this
207 sense, we consider that the Reference point can be influenced. This perception is influenced by (e.g. water
208 availability) environmental conditions such as water availability, which is related to aspects of food and water
209 security, previous experiences (e.g. past drought events), community interactions (e.g. peer comparison), and
210 socio-economic trends (e.g. production costs, goods prices, local culture and governance). Importantly, the
211 Reference point will vary over space and time. For instance, a higher acceptable yield loss might be incorporated
212 as acceptable in the Reference point after years of drought, or in a region with consequent insecure water supply,
213 and it can change over time. The higher the Reference point, the greater the potential for human drought impacts
214 once it is not achieved. Fig. 1 presents an overview of how prospect theory is related to socio-hydrology
215 phenomena and drought emergence.

216 Once the individual has defined their Reference point and delineates the desired level of welfare, they evaluate the
217 decision prospects for achieving it. When faced with a situation of high water availability, individuals have more
218 freedom to choose prospects that offer certain gains (risk aversion behavior, blue cycle Fig. 1) even if this promotes
219 a reckless water use pattern and/or the development of activities that are not necessarily the most adapted to the
220 environmental conditions of the region where they are inserted. Successive gains associated with this behavior, in
221 the short term, will reinforce the selected prospect (short term response, dashed arrow Fig. 1) and, in the long term,
222 raise the Reference point. Levels of welfare below the Reference point will be perceived as losses and avoided,

223 even though the individual may have already experienced such levels as a gain in a previous situation (Framing
 224 effect).

225 A series of successful prospects keep the upward trend in the Reference point, and this is maintained as long as
 226 the water resources to which the individual has access can sustain their water demand. This continues even if there
 227 is an impending drought situation, since the reduction in water consumption while the Reference point is associated
 228 with satisfactory water availability can be framed by individuals as a direct decrease in welfare, hence a certain
 229 loss which is avoided. When water is lacking and it is no longer possible to maintain the water consumption
 230 standards that the individual requires, this results in failed prospects and, consequently, drought impacts arise.

231 Initially, the drought situation is typically perceived as a loss, as we consider that it starts after a failed prospect.
 232 In the short term, individuals tend to focus on prospects that can at least prevent further losses, even if they were
 233 previously seen as risky (risk seeking behavior, orange cycle Fig. 1). However, in the long term, if the low water
 234 availability persists, it can cause individuals to adjust their expectations by lowering the Reference point. In other
 235 words, individuals can be less impacted by water shortages simply because they accept suboptimal outcomes (e.g.
 236 lower agricultural production or productivity). Once this shift in Reference point occurs, individuals may no longer
 237 view the situation as a drought, but rather as the "new normal".



238
 239 **Figure 1. – The cycle of human drought impacts.** Our hypothesis emphasizes the centrality of the human component (starting
 240 from the Reference point) in the emergence of drought impacts with the individual as the primary scale. Moreover, the
 241 combination of how they link to the hydroclimatic and socio-economic trends results in the emergence of long-term socio-
 242 hydrological dynamics (reservoir effects and supply-demand cycle) that can be explained by concepts related to Prospect theory
 243 such as: Reference point; Framing effect; Risk aversion (blue cycle) and risk-seeking (orange cycle) behavior.

244 As water availability gradually increases, either due to natural causes (hydroclimatic trends) or due to the
 245 expansion of water infrastructure, individuals are likely to shift away from their lower Reference point and search
 246 for prospects that offer more certainty, which restarts a new cycle (blue cycle Fig. 1). We hypothesize that the
 247 demand to expand the water infrastructure can be related to when individuals attribute the occurrence of drought
 248 impacts to low water availability without considering the suitability of their own chosen prospects in local
 249 environmental conditions. This behavior can then, in the long term, result in social pressure to increase water
 250 supply (e.g. reservoir construction and water transfer), and when this is met, individuals can re-enter the cycle of
 251 increasing water consumption (blue cycle, Fig.1). As the demand continues to rise, it can eventually offset the new
 252 maximum supply capacity. This can lead to more social pressure to increase water availability, thereby creating a

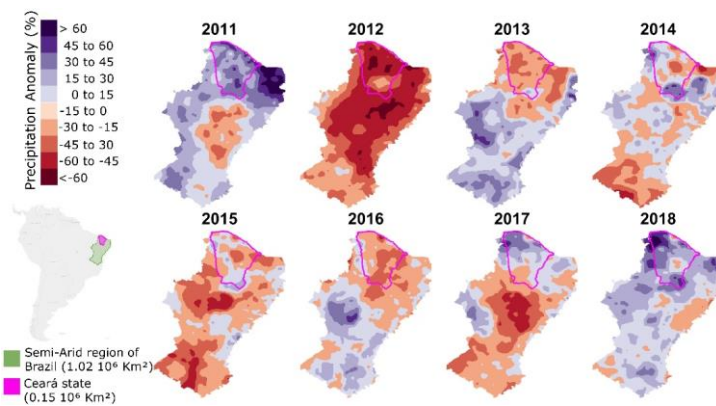
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253 vicious cycle (Supply-demand cycle, Fig.1), greater ~~dependencedependency~~ on water infrastructure, and greater
254 vulnerability to drought events (Reservoir effect, Di Baldassarre et al., 2018, Fig.1).

255 4 Prospect theory and drought - insights from the Brazilian semiarid region

256 The 2012-2018 ~~meteorological~~ drought ~~event~~ in the Semi-Arid region of Brazil (SAB) is used as a practical
257 example that highlights how prospect theory fits into the narrative of ~~this kind of disaster~~ ~~drought impacts as failed~~
258 ~~prospects~~. ~~Here w~~~~We will~~ focus on Ceará state, which ~~i~~~~was~~ one of the sub-regions most impacted by ~~this~~~~-this~~
259 event. Fig. 2 presents the percentage anomaly of annual precipitation relative to the long-term climatological
260 average (1981-2011) of SAB and Ceará state (~~magenta polygon~~) during the 2012-2018 drought event. The years
261 prior to this drought were characterized by precipitation levels above the climatological average, which meant that
262 most reservoirs in Ceará had stored volumes close to their maximum capacity.

263 This region has a historical susceptibility to drought events and in recent times, there has been observable change
264 in the preparation and management of such disasters. This change ~~i~~~~was~~ related to a shift from a “fighting against
265 drought” perspective, which relied on hard solutions such as significant investments in water infrastructure, to ~~a~~
266 “cope with drought” ~~perspective~~~~eeptive~~ which relies on soft solutions such as renewed focus on public policy
267 towards adaptative measures and integrated water resources management (Cavalcante et al., 2022; Medeiros and
268 Sivapalan, 2020). Nevertheless, the high water availability experienced during the ~~years prior~~ ~~evious~~ ~~years~~ to the
269 2012-2018 drought contributed to the support of high water demand productive activities, such as rice paddies and
270 irrigated fruit crops.

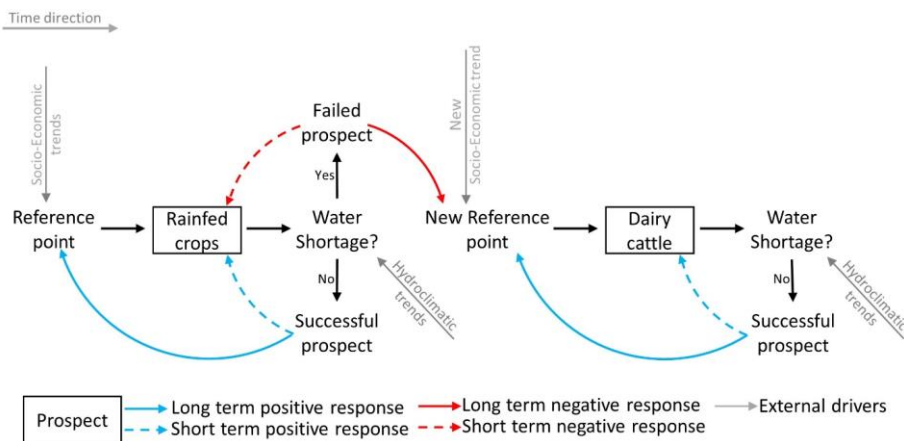


271
272 **Figure 2. Precipitation variability in the Semi-Arid of Brazil during the drought 2012-2018.** Percentage anomaly of annual
273 precipitation relative to the long-term average (1981 to 2011) using the Climate Hazards center InfraRed Precipitation with
274 Stations (CHIRPS, Funk et al., 2015) dataset available on <https://www.chc.ucsb.edu/data>. ~~The location of Ceará state (magenta~~
275 ~~outline) and the Semi-Arid region of Brazil (green outline) are presented in relation to South America as well as their respective~~
276 ~~areas.~~

277
278 Before the occurrence of this drought, Ceará had already been experiencing a gradual growth of dairy cattle
279 farming which was intensified during this event. Farmers increasingly started to see this activity as a prospect more
280 adapted, from a local perspective, to droughts because it guarantees a source of perennial income and serves as a
281 capital reserve (part of the herd can be sold at any time). Furthermore, it is considered that cattle farming is less
282 dependent on locally produced inputs and on the spatio-temporal heterogeneity of the precipitation regime when
283 compared to rainfed crops.

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284 Fig. 3 presents an overview of prospect theory applied to the Ceará study case. We hypothesized, based on
 285 field interviews, that periods of high water availability provided a certain stability to farmers who depended on
 286 rainfed crops (short term positive response, first blue dashed arrow, Fig. 3). However, the following and more
 287 frequent occurrence of intense meteorological drought events caused them to experience consecutive production
 288 losses (failed prospects) which led the individuals to view the exclusively production of rainfed crops as a riskier
 289 prospect (short term negative response, red dashed arrow, Fig. 3) and which led them to view dairy production as
 290 a prospect that would avoid further losses (long term negative response, red arrow, Fig. 3). One of the barriers that
 291 made individuals view this activity as unattractive or risky was the low and volatile price of a liter of milk in the
 292 local market. This changed when associations of small dairy producers were created, and they started to have more
 293 bargaining power within the dairy industry. In this new socio-economic configuration trend, individuals
 294 began to see cattle farming as a prospect more adapted to drought and which promotes more certain gains
 295 (short term positive response, second blue dashed arrow, Fig. 3). This is further evidenced by farmers who had
 296 already adopted this activity due to previous drought events and that continued to favor this kind of prospect even
 297 in later periods of greater water availability (long term positive response, second blue arrow, Fig. 3).



298
 299 **Figure 3. Prospect theory in socio-hydrology applied to Ceara study case (see main text for further description).**

300 The expansion of dairy production in Ceará has resulted in the increase of small (informal) reservoirs to support
 301 forage production and to provide water for livestock consumption. In some regions the high concentration of such
 302 structures can reduce small reservoirs decreased the hydrologic-surface runoff connectivity of the watershed,
 303 impacting the recharge of large reservoirs downstream that serve multiple purposes and prolonging the
 304 hydrological drought impacts (Ribeiro Neto et al., 2022). As a result, the persistence of this hydrological impact
 305 affects the region's water availability, since the large reservoirs remain at reduce water storage levels for longer
 306 periods, which in turn can influence individuals' perception of water security (component of welfare) and
 307 consequently their definition of the Reference point. As result, the persistence of a low water availability condition
 308 can influence the individuals' perception of the environment and, consequently, their definition of the Reference
 309 point.

310 Interviews with farmers and agricultural extension officers regarding desirable reservoir volumes illustrated the
 311 concept of the Reference point and how it can vary according to previous experiences. Reservoir levels as low as
 312 20% of capacity were unexpectedly celebrated. Interviews revealed that volumes were consistently around 5%
 313 during the 2012-2018 drought; the lower water availability had become the status quo (or the Reference point).
 314 Therefore, increased volumes up to 20% of capacity were celebrated, because they were considered gains, even
 315 though such a level would have been considered a loss prior to the multi-year drought.

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316 Based on the case study presented here we ~~can exemplify some identified~~ situations that can be analyzed
317 ~~underusing~~ the Loss aversion effect ~~concept~~. ~~We consider that such patterns are~~ Loss aversion is related to the
318 attempts of individuals to adapt to drought, aiming in general to avoid greater losses through measures that reduce
319 water demand. We observed that one of these adaptations was the search for hybrid bovine breeds, resulting from
320 the crossing of local breeds that are resistant to drought with European breeds that have a higher milk production.
321 These hybrid breeds were already known by the local farmers, but they were long seen as ~~a~~-not worth ~~the~~
322 investment, due to the high cost of acquisition. However, during the ~~2012-2018~~last drought, an acceleration in
323 herd replacement by these hybrid breeds was observed. Many farmers decided to sell part of their herd to raise
324 capital to invest in these hybrid breeds. They realized that it would be safer, in a scenario of low water availability,
325 to maintain a smaller but more productive herd.

326 The increase in the number of wells in Ceará ~~during this drought event~~between 2012-2018 is another practical
327 example that illustrates the Loss aversion effect ~~concept~~. For Ceará, this alternative water supply can be considered
328 a risky prospect, as it presents high implementation costs and is associated with uncertainties to whether a viable
329 water resource will be found for exploitation. Either because of the water quality (brackish groundwater is
330 common) or because crystalline geology often provides low yield. Therefore, it is perceived that individuals in this
331 region who chose to install wells were willing to take more risks to avoid greater losses.

332

333 5 Simulating prospect theory effects - applications, challenges and opportunities

334 The ~~failure to~~lack of considering patterns of co-evolution between hydrological processes and human dynamics
335 within a hydrological system was ~~rooted mainly in the fact that because~~ human dynamics were considered
336 insignificant ~~to cause noticeable consequences~~ and due to the low spatio-temporal resolution at which hydrological
337 models originally operated. Implicitly ~~th~~, ~~the idea existed~~ that it would be impossible or unfeasible to implement
338 anthropogenic actions as an intrinsic component of the hydrological cycle, which has been successively refuted by
339 various studies related to drought assessment (Wens et al., 2021, 2019; Van Oel et al., 2012; Streefkerk et al.,
340 2023; Wens et al., 2020; Bakarji et al., 2017; Van Oel et al., 2018).

341 The ~~concept~~presented ~~here~~concept of (human) drought impacts as failed prospects provides a different perspective
342 to incorporate ~~into the analyses of~~ the socio-hydrological characteristics of ~~each~~ region ~~into drought analysis~~.
343 ~~This can~~Drought impacts as failed prospects can especially contribute ~~especially~~ to the improvement and
344 development of drought monitoring and early warning systems, socio-hydrological characterization, drought risk
345 analysis, forecast/re-analysis of drought events, and support the development of public policies for the mitigation
346 and prevention of drought impacts. On the other hand, the prospect theory has limitations - mainly related to ~~the~~
347 ~~lack of explanatory power~~ ~~in how decision-making on how decisions are made~~, especially related to the definition
348 of an individual's Reference point, ~~and how this~~ is influenced by the environment and the full range of affective
349 and emotional states.

350 ~~As argued above, w~~We consider that, when applied to drought assessment, the Reference point is related to the
351 minimum level of individuals' well-being to feel satisfied with the outcome of the chosen ~~perspectives~~prospects.
352 To represent this concept, it is necessary to study the evolution of human dynamics, mainly related to how water
353 and land have been used over time by individuals in the hydrological system. Agent-based models (ABM) are a
354 promising framework for ~~th~~these kind ~~iey as of studies, as they~~ allow explicit probabilistic simulation of human
355 decision-making with the ability to respond, learn and adapt to variations in environmental states and other agents
356 (Schrieks et al., 2021). Moreover, it has been successfully applied in socio-hydrological studies, ~~mainly~~ combined
357 with hydrological and/or agricultural models (Wens et al., 2021, 2019; Streefkerk et al., 2023). These types of
358 analyses often require expertise ~~and methods~~ usually associated with the social sciences, such as interviews,
359 workshops, companion modelling, and serious games (Massuel et al., 2018; Acosta-Michlik and Espaldon, 2008;
360 Pouladi et al., 2019; van Duinen et al., 2016). This further underlines that drought assessment studies are

361 conceptually interdisciplinary and therefore require solutions beyond those associated only with the natural
362 sciences.

363 The possibility of ~~explaining~~~~plaining~~~~explaining~~ the occurrence of a drought event through the ~~use~~~~concepts~~ of
364 Prospect theory, ~~which was initially presented to explain human behavior in economic decision making~~, endorses
365 the importance of the human component in drought assessment, besides bringing new discussions on this topic.
366 The core concept presented here advocates for a greater focus on the human component within drought assessment
367 studies and places the emergence of human impacts as a precursor to the disaster. ~~This viewpoint contrasts with~~
368 ~~the methodological approach of numerous studies in which drought events are analyzed only considering the~~
369 ~~spatial-temporal variability of hydrometeorological variables, disassociated from the human component~~ (Kchouk
370 ~~et al., 2022). Furthermore, the Reference point concept provides a theoretical basis for considering drought impacts~~
371 ~~dynamically, in contrast to the static vision on drought impacts that is now often encountered: in drought~~
372 ~~assessment studies. Prolonged drought impacts lead to a change in the individuals' perception of drought~~
373 ~~occurrence, the impacts have become the new "normal" situation and are therefore no longer experienced as~~
374 ~~impacts. Moreover, we argue that the concept of drought impacts as failed prospects reinforces the perspective~~
375 ~~that drought is first and foremost a socio-hydrological phenomenon that materializes in the form of a disaster.~~~~The~~
376 ~~reconsideration of what drought impacts are and how they occur through the concepts of prospect theory allows~~
377 ~~us to consider that drought is first and foremost a socio-hydrological phenomenon that materializes in the form of~~
378 ~~a disaster.~~

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379 There is already an understanding and acceptance of the concept of "human-induced", "climate-induced" and
380 "human-modified" droughts (Van Loon et al., 2016a) that explore the main causes that trigger different types of
381 drought events. ~~The~~ ~~d~~ drought impacts as failed prospects concept does not refute these terminologies, since they
382 are useful in indicating the main forces that are disrupting the hydrological system, ~~n~~~~and causing the anomalous~~
383 ~~water shortage that characterizes a drought event.~~ Nor does it invalidate established concepts of definition or
384 classification of ~~this disaster~~ ~~drought~~ such as 'agricultural drought' and 'hydrological drought', as these
385 terminologies relate to the main types of impacts that individuals suffered during the analyzed event.

386 The hypothesis presented here can contribute to the identification of new socio-hydrological phenomena and
387 improve the understanding of others already described in the literature. Furthermore, it contributes to the call for
388 a change of perspective on how studies related to disasters of hydro-meteorological extremes, especially drought
389 events, should be conducted, bringing new ideas about the importance of incorporating the human component in
390 these issues. Finally, we also support the idea of bringing more balance between the "socio" and "hydro"
391 component in the studies related to drought assessment, in which more interdisciplinarity should be sought as
392 hydrology and meteorology alone simply do not provide the means to understand human dynamics within the
393 (socio-)hydrological cycle.

394 **Competing interests**

395 The contact author has declared that none of the authors has any competing interests.

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