

# Economics 134 L15. Water resources

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# Natural resources

We will spend the next few lectures looking at natural resources:

- oil (L13)
- conservation, biodiversity (L14)
- water (today)
- forests, wildfires (L16)

# Water values



Source. Bonnie Keeler (University of Minnesota)

## Conceptual issues with water scarcity

Water allocation rules

Efficient outcome

Water misallocation

## Case study: Australia's water market

Irrigated agriculture and river water trading

A model of irrigated agricultural production

Valuing market-based water reallocation

# Basics

Water is essential to life and civilization

- Available supply of freshwater  $\approx 10\times$  current global consumption
- But this conceals relative **scarcity** across space and time

Water scarcity:

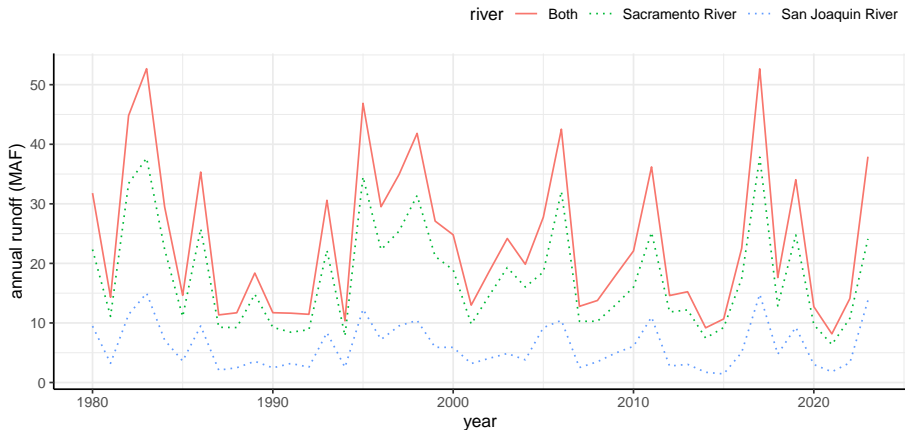
- Surface water **supply** fluctuates over time and space
- Groundwater **depletion** can occur more rapidly than recharge

This lecture: the efficient allocation of scarce water across competing uses.

Central theme:

- property rights often incomplete or inflexible
- limited use of pricing

# Large stochastic, cyclical components of water supply



River inflows from the two largest rivers in California, 1980–2023.

# Water scarcity – California

## A. Surface Water Dams



>20m af water storage in dams

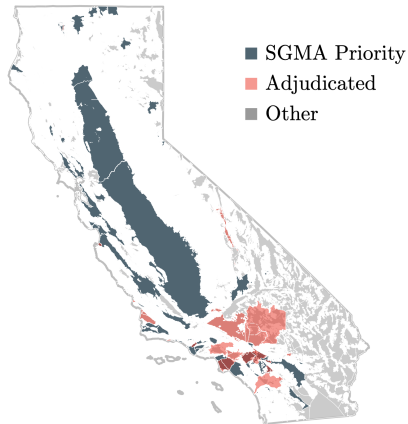
# Water scarcity – California

## A. Surface Water Dams



>20m af water storage in dams

## B. Groundwater Aquifers



gwtr is 41% total use in avg yr



# Brief history of water rights in the U.S.

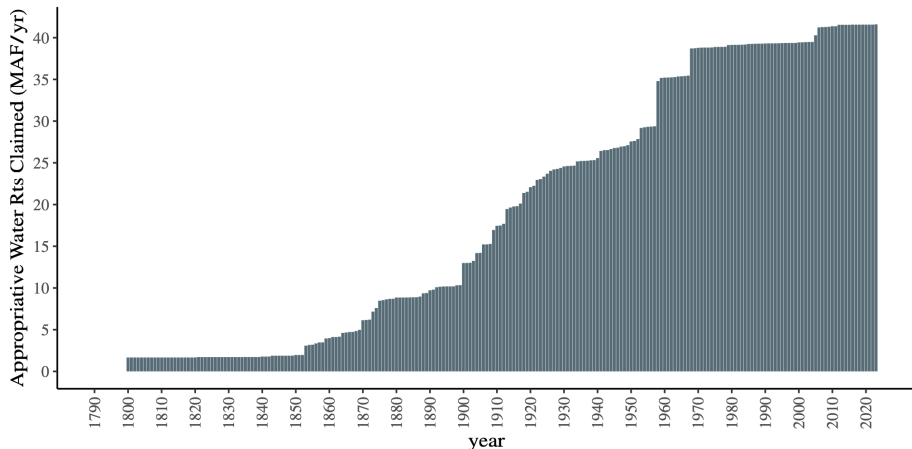
Early settlement in the American West: **riparian rights**

- water rights tied to the land
- **problem**: no provision to divert water to other locations

Gold rush: **prior appropriation rights**

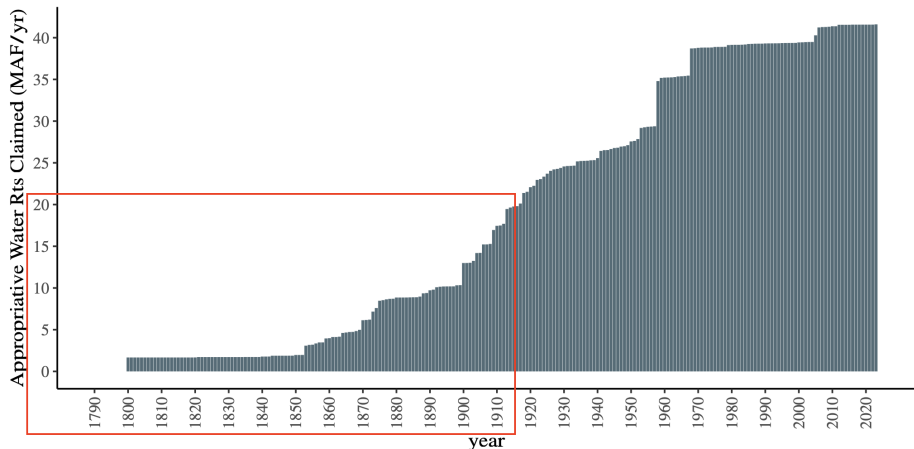
- first-come, first-serve: “**senior**” rights
- later claimants: “**junior**” rights
- adopted in legislation, court rulings, and state constitutions
- allowed water to be reallocated to other uses, like mining and irrigation

# Prior appropriation water right claims



**Source.** Author's calculations using the California State Water Resources Control Board Water Rights Information Management System. Central Valley irrigation water rights only.

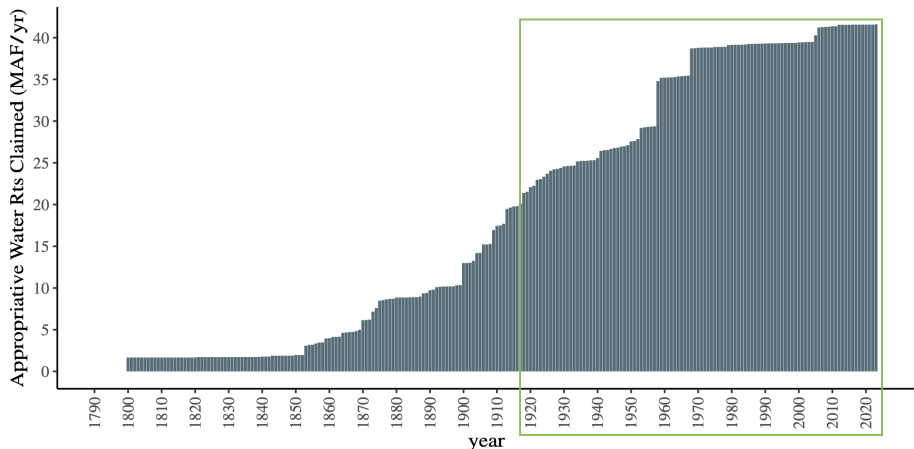
# Prior appropriation water right claims



2,571 water rights claimed prior to 1914

**Source.** Author's calculations using the California State Water Resources Control Board Water Rights Information Management System. Central Valley irrigation water rights only.

# Continued legacy of senior rights



3,069 water rights post-1914

**Source.** Own calculations using the California State Water Resources Control Board Water Rights Information Management System. Central Valley irrigation water rights only.

# Water property rights

Over longer timeframes, who should keep their appropriative rights?

Various approaches:

- keep your water rights if you continue to irrigate (“use it or lose it”)
  - obvious incentive problems
- administratively determined, proportional rules, based on your characteristics
  - e.g., each farm  $i$  gets some share  $\rho_i$
  - hard to determine these shares
  - this is a form of command-and-control

# Efficient water allocation

Suppose that farmers value a volume of water  $q$  in terms of profits  $\pi_i(q)$ .

The marginal value of water for farm  $i$  using  $q_i$  of water is  $\pi'_i(q_i)$ .

Consider a simple example with two farms, 1 and 2, with profits

$$\pi_1(q) = 8q - \frac{1}{2}q^2$$

and  $\pi_2(q) = 4q - \frac{1}{2}q^2$ .

The marginal values of water are then

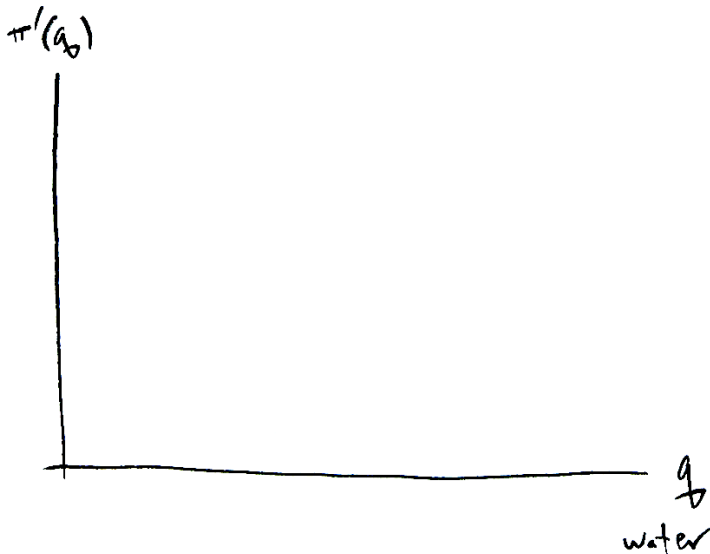
$$\pi'_1(q_1) = 8 - q_1$$

and  $\pi'_2(q_2) = 4 - q_2$ .

# Marginal private values

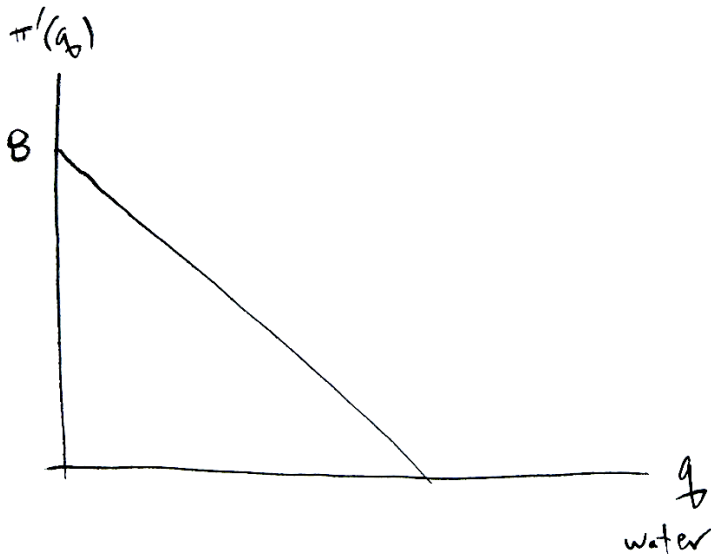
 $\pi'(q_b)$ 

# Marginal private values

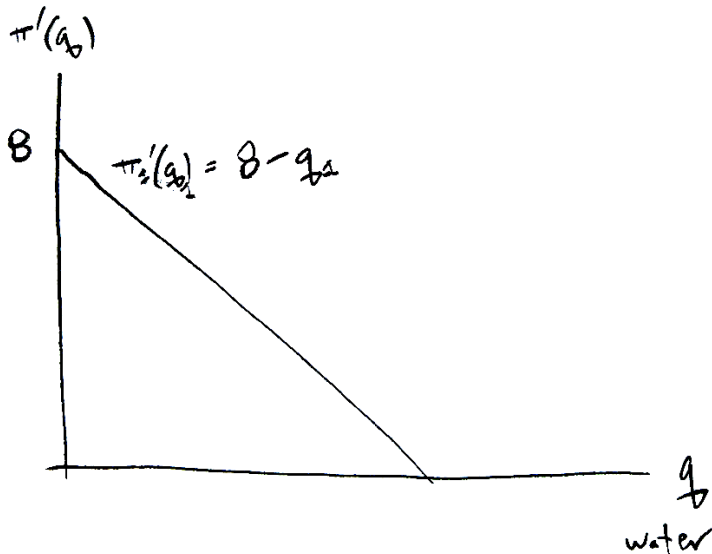




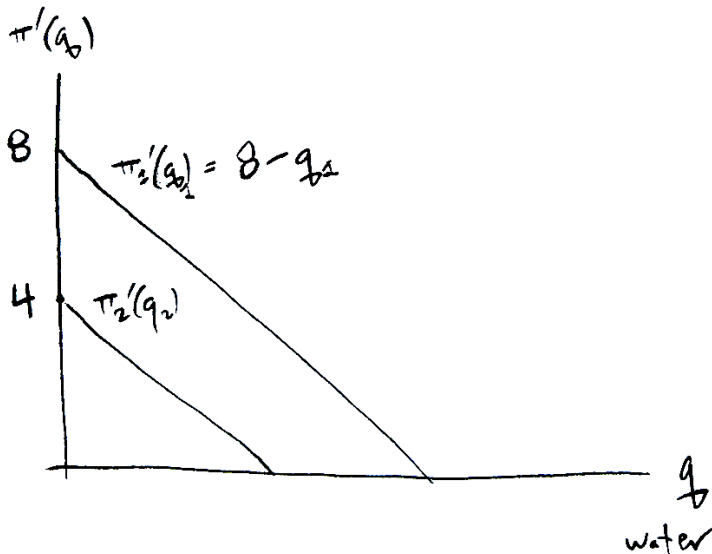
# Marginal private values



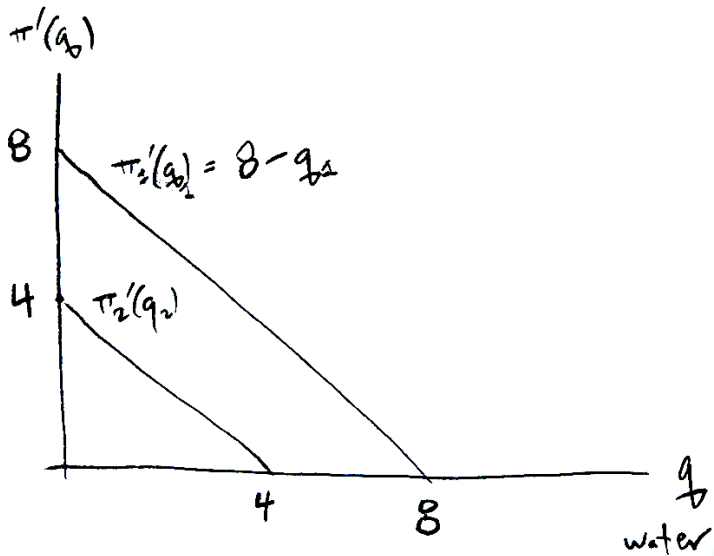
# Marginal private values



# Marginal private values



# Marginal private values



## Example, cont'd

Water has a price of zero, but there is only  $\bar{q}$  in total.

The **water allocation problem** is how to assign a total volume of water  $\bar{q}$ , across the two farms, such that

$$q_1 + q_2 = \bar{q}.$$

Property rights determine this allocation.

For example, suppose farm 1 arrived first, but farm 2 owns the land next to the river. Then:

- **riparian rights**
  - only farm 2 can take the water!
- **prior appropriation**
  - farm 1 takes water until  $\pi'_1(q) = 0$ ,
  - then farm 2 can take water.
- **proportional**
  - e.g., 1 can take  $\rho\bar{q}$ , then 2 can take  $(1 - \rho)\bar{q}$ .

# First-best

**First-best outcome.** To attain efficiency, we maximize

$$[\pi_1(q_1) + \pi_2(q_2)]$$

over all  $(q_1, q_2)$  such that  $q_1 + q_2 \leq \bar{q}$ . Let

$$\Pi(\bar{q})$$

be the first-best aggregate profit for a total quantity of water  $\bar{q}$ .

# First-best marginal value of water

What is the marginal social value of water, when water is allocated across farms efficiently?

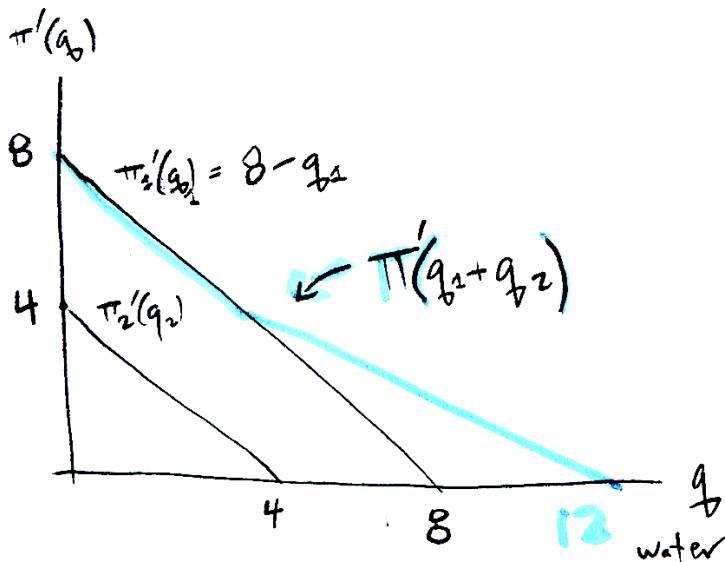
↪ Depends on how much water there is!

- If total water availability  $\bar{q} < 4$ , allocate **all** water to farm 1.
- If  $\bar{q} \geq 4$ , allocate the first 4 units to farm 1, then evenly distribute the rest across the two farms!
- Once  $\bar{q} > 12$ , no more water can be used productively.

Summarizing, we have

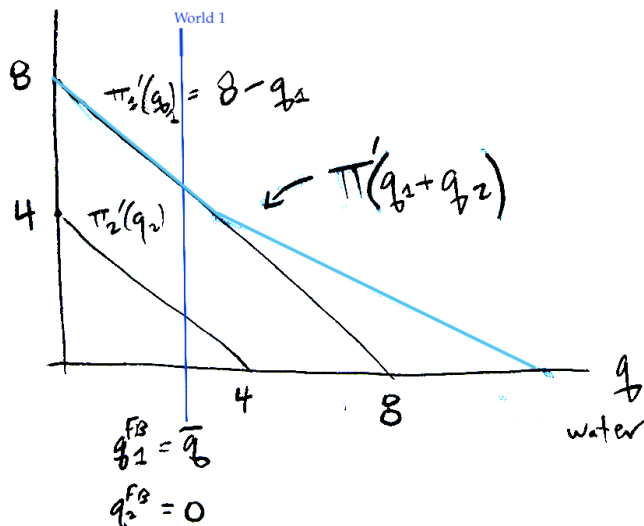
$$\Pi'(\bar{q}) = \begin{cases} 8 - \bar{q} & \text{if } \bar{q} < 4 \\ 4 - \frac{\bar{q}-4}{2} & \text{if } \bar{q} \in [4, 12] \\ 0 & \text{if } \bar{q} > 12. \end{cases}$$

# Marginal social value

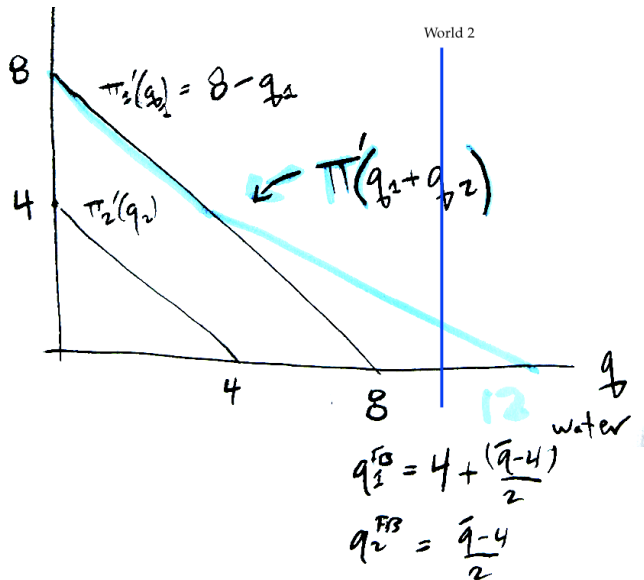




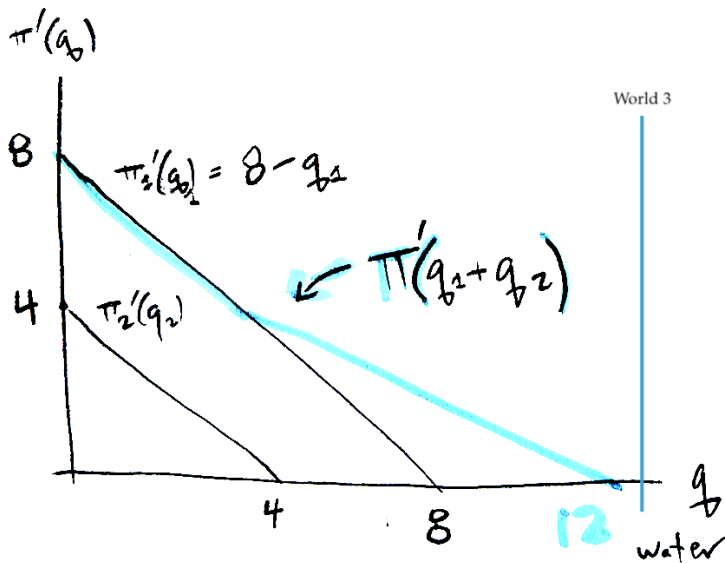
## (a) Extreme scarcity



## (b) Relative scarcity



## (c) Abundance



# Comparing first-best and appropriative rights

(a) Suppose  $\bar{q} = 3$ . Then:

- first-best outcome:

$$8\bar{q} - \frac{1}{2}\bar{q}^2 = 24 - \frac{9}{2} = \frac{39}{2}$$

- prior appropriation, with farm 1 first:

$$8\bar{q} - \frac{1}{2}\bar{q}^2 = \frac{39}{2}$$

- prior appropriation, with farm 2 first:

$$4\bar{q} - \frac{1}{2}\bar{q}^2 = 12 - \frac{9}{2} = \frac{15}{2}$$

- proportional rights: something between  $\frac{15}{2}$  and  $\frac{39}{2}$

## Comparison, cont'd

(b) Suppose  $\bar{q} = 6$ . Then:

- first-best outcome:  $q_1^{\text{FB}} = 5$ ,  $q_2^{\text{FB}} = 1$ .
- prior appropriation, with farm 1 first:  $q_1 = 6$ .
- prior appropriation, with farm 2 first:  $q_2 = 4$ ,  $q_1 = 2$ .
- proportional rights:  $q_1 = 6\rho$ ,  $q_2 = (1 - \rho)6$ .

(c) Suppose  $\bar{q} = 12$ . Then all property rights regimes give the first-best outcome.

# Discussion

Key takeaway: aggregate water scarcity dramatically changes the efficient allocation

- 1 when water is very scarce, want to prioritize highest-value users
- 2 when water is somewhat scarce, want to equalize marginal profits across farms
- 3 when water is abundant, it doesn't matter

## Conceptual issues with water scarcity

- Water allocation rules

- Efficient outcome

- Water misallocation

## Case study: Australia's water market

- Irrigated agriculture and river water trading

- A model of irrigated agricultural production

- Valuing market-based water reallocation

# Climate change, water scarcity, and trade

Water resources: increasingly scarce and variable in a changing climate

- historically not traded; allocated in non-market ways
- growing interest in **water markets** (Dales, 1968) to improve allocative efficiency
- but limited evidence that water markets deliver substantial benefits

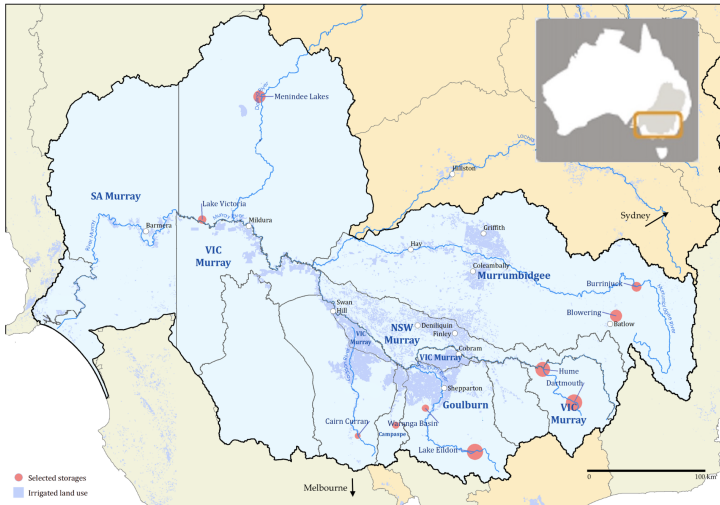
In Rafey (2023), I measure the value of a water market, given that

- flow conditions may constrain water market access differentially across locations and over time
- trading may not be competitive, efficient, or valuable



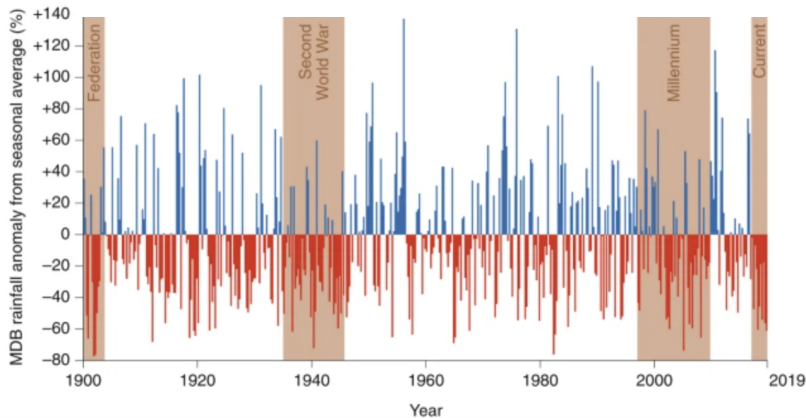
# 1. Australia's water market

Advanced water market in Australia's southern Murray-Darling Basin.



# 1. Water variability in Australia

**Fig. 1: The recent drought in context and the drivers of seasonal rainfall variability in the Murray–Darling Basin of Australia.**



# 1. Australia's water market

Advanced water market in Australia's southern Murray-Darling Basin.

Connected river network in southeastern Australia.

- $\approx 40\%$  of Australian agriculture
- rainfall **highly variable**

Surface water used primarily for irrigation

- irrigated farms: 80–90% of water diversions in the sMDB
- irrigated agriculture:  $\approx 70\%$  of all freshwater diversions globally

Regulated river system:

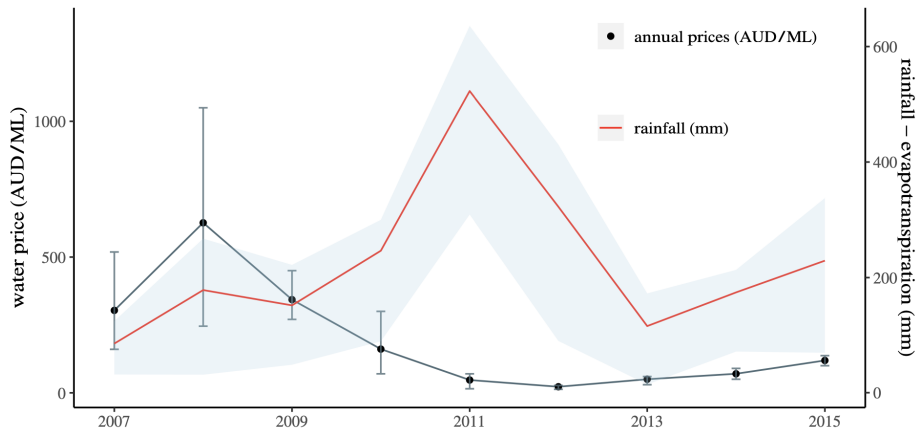
- environmental regulation  $\times$  distribution of permanent water rights  $\implies$  initial allocation of water in each year,
- then continuous water trading throughout the growing season.



# Data sources

- ① Farm-level panel data from a survey of irrigators in the sMDB, 2007–2015  
([Australian Department of Agriculture](#))
- ② Climate data: farm rainfall, evapotranspiration ([Bureau of Meteorology](#))
- ③ Administrative data on regional allocations, water prices
  - from regulatory [MDBA](#), state gov't records

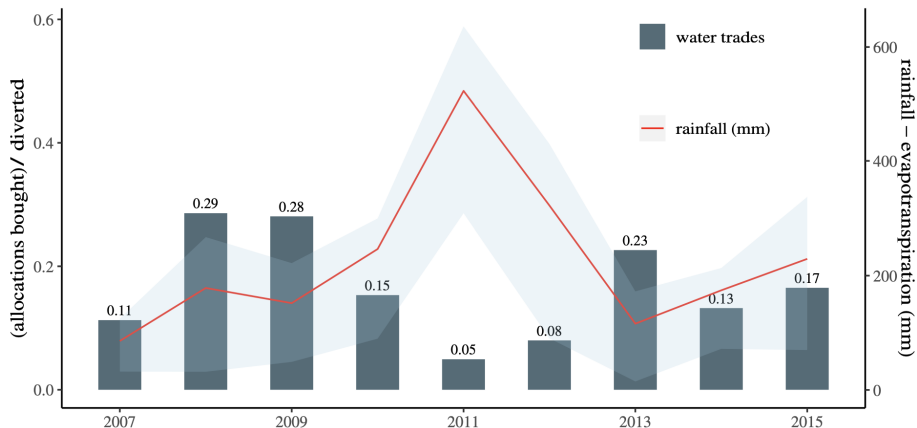
# Water prices and rainfall



**Blue line (whiskers):** Average water allocation prices, AUD/ML (interdecile range)  
**Red line (ribbon):** Average farm-level rainfall net of evapotranspiration (interdecile range).

Source: MDBA, private broker, and state government water registries; Australian Bureau of Meteorology.

# Water-trading volumes and rainfall



**Bars:** Fraction of total irrigation volume traded in the annual market

**Red line:** same rainfall series

**Source:** Australian Department of Agriculture survey data; Australian Bureau of Meteorology.

# Measuring the value of water reallocation

## Approach:

- ① estimate irrigation production functions to value water across users
  - use data on water rights, irrigation, and agricultural production
- ② apply to value actual market-based water reallocation:
  - ① how do pre- and post-trade farm profits differ?
  - ② how does the value of the market interact with water variability?
    - ↪ use variation in relative water scarcity across the basin and over time



## 2. A model of irrigated agricultural production

Fixed set of farms, producing different crops.

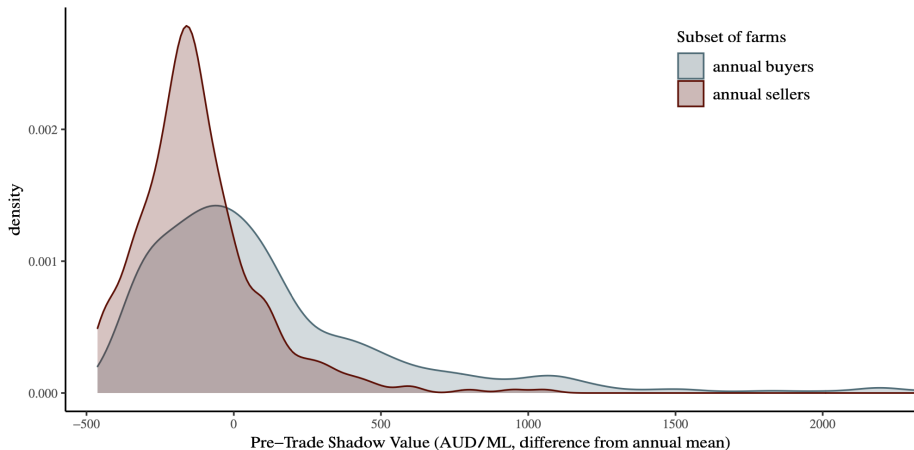
A farm's output depends on its observed inputs

- irrigation,
- land,
- rainwater,
- labor and materials.

Output also depends on a farm's unobserved **productivity**, which is

- specific to each farm for each crop type;
- flexibly correlated over time

# Water shadow values (marginal products)



### 3. Valuing the realized trades

For each farm  $i$ ,

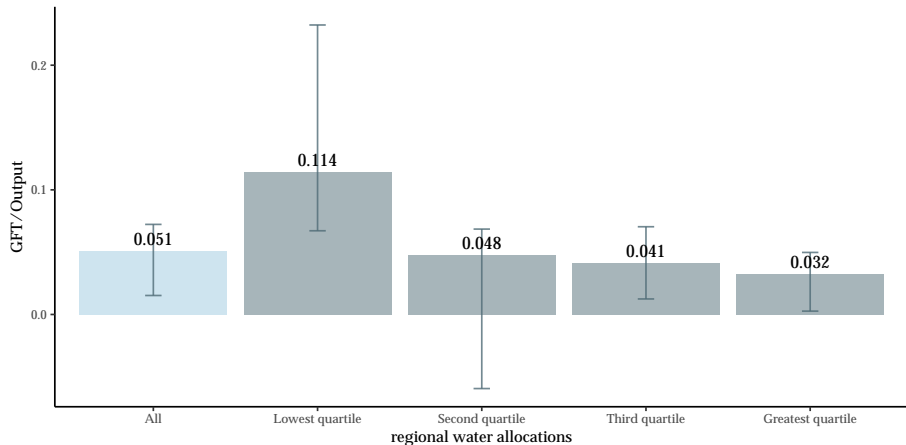
- 1 compare post-trade irrigation  $W$  with pre-trade endowments  $W^a$
- 2 water + production functions  $\mapsto$  expected profits at harvest,  $\pi_i(W)$
- 3 realized **gains from trade** = the difference between  $\pi_i(W)$  and  $\pi_i(W^a)$

Summed over all farms gives **5.1%** [1.6%, 7.1%] of output from 2007–2015.

Interpreting this number:

- $-5.1\%$  output from eliminating the market  $\approx -10.5\%$  uniform decline in water resources
- cf. climate models: Murray-Darling surface water  $\downarrow 11\%$  for  $1^\circ\text{C}$  warming (CSIRO, 2012)

# Water variability and the value of annual trade



Value of annual allocation trading by regional water cap

# Summary of findings

Given estimated production functions and observed trade flows,

- ① how do pre- and post-trade farm profits differ?
  - find: water flows from low- to high-marginal productivity farms  
output  $\uparrow$  4–6%
- ② how does the value of the market interact with climate change?
  - find: gains from trade increasing + highly convex in water scarcity  
output  $\uparrow$  10–12% during drought

# Discussion

Worldwide: few active water markets (<1% traded annually)

Competing explanations:

- ① inefficient persistence of institutions designed when water was more abundant
- ② efficient response to the costs of establishing and monitoring transferable property rights

This paper:

- both explanations can be important!
- water market creates value, but remains imperfect
- water market has a nonlinear (very convex) value in water scarcity:
  - retrospective analyses may understate the prospective benefits of trade
  - water markets may be important for climate adaptation going forward

# Next time

Last problem set due before lecture on Wednesday.

On Wednesday, we will discuss natural disasters and wildfires!

Next lecture occurring via **Zoom**, link via course website.