

1 **Two are Better than One: A Hybrid Policy that Integrates Water Prices and**
2 **Quotas Reinforces the Robustness of Both Instruments Against Lobbying**

3 Iddo Kan,¹ Israel Finkelshtain¹ and Yoav Kislev¹

4 ¹Department of Environmental Economics and Management; The Robert H. Smith
5 Faculty of Agriculture, Food and Environment; The Hebrew University of
6 Jerusalem; P.O.B. 12, Rehovot 761001, Israel

7 Corresponding Author: Iddo Kan iddo.kan@mail.huji.ac.il

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9 **Key Points:**

- 10 • We characterize the political equilibrium under a hybrid policy that integrates
11 quotas and a price and conduct an empirical analysis.
- 12 • We use the equilibrium conditions to show that a hybrid policy that follows a
13 quotas-only regime reduces water usage.
- 14 • We show analytically and empirically that the hybrid policy reinforces the
15 robustness of prices and quotas against political distortion.

16 **Two are Better than One: A Hybrid Policy that Integrates Water Prices and**
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18 **Abstract**

19 Many regions worldwide have replaced quotas, as a means to controlling irrigation-
20 water usage, with a hybrid policy that integrates private quotas and uniform prices.
21 This paper characterizes the political equilibrium in a game in which farmers lobby
22 for lower prices and larger quotas. We show that combining the two instruments
23 reinforces the robustness of each against political distortion; consequently, a hybrid
24 policy that follows a quotas-only regime reduces water usage. However, the social
25 welfare rank of the hybrid policy versus the quotas-only and price-only counterparts is
26 an empirical question. We use the equilibrium conditions to derive a structural
27 discrete/continuous choice model that enables estimating the agricultural sector's
28 lobbying power and the level of political organization used to reduce prices. We
29 employ the model to data from Israel during the 1980s; during that period, quotas
30 were set at a village-specific level and prices were set at a region-specific level,
31 thereby generating the variability required to estimate the model's parameters. We
32 obtain empirical support for the reinforcement hypothesis and evidence of strong
33 political influence, but also evidence of considerable free-riding regarding price
34 reduction. Simulations of political equilibria under the quotas-only, price-only and
35 hybrid regimes indicate a domination of the latter in terms of social welfare.

36 **Key words:** Irrigation, Water Pricing, Political Economy, Structural Estimation

37 **JEL classification:** D72, Q15

And if one prevail against him, two shall withstand him

Ecclesiastes 4:12, KJV

1. Introduction

Irrigation-water consumption—amounting to 70% of global freshwater usage—is associated with external effects and natural monopolies, both of which economically warrant government intervention. Historically, water quotas and non-volumetric charges have been the common policies to control water usage, but since the 1990s water pricing, promoted by international organizations such as the world bank and the OECD, has become a popular rationing tool worldwide (Dinar et al. 2015). In many regions, prices have been added to the customary quantitative regulations to create a hybrid policy, which integrates administrative prices and quotas; examples of this integration can be found in Australia, California, China, Iran, Israel, Peru, and Spain (Molle 2009, OECD 2010). Nevertheless, governmental intervention incentivizes interest groups to exert political power in order to bend policies to their own private benefits; this exertion may lead to an overuse of water resources (Rausser and Zusman 1991, 1992; Zusman 1997) and to deadweight loss. In the last four decades, there has been a succession of studies on environmental and resource regulation by taxes and quotas under political lobbying; examples include Buchanan and Tullock (1975), Finkelshtain and Kislev (1997), Fredriksson (1997), Aidt (1998), Aidt and Dutta (2004), Finkelshtain and Kislev (2004), Yu (2005), Roelfsema (2007), Miyamoto (2014), Lappi (2017) and MacKenzie (2017). However, to our knowledge, a political equilibrium under a hybrid policy of direct and indirect controls has never been formally characterized (Hepburn 2006). Consequently, the literature lacks an answer to the question of which of the policies is more resistant to the detrimental effects of

62 lobbying in terms of inefficient water usage: prices-only, quotas-only, or a hybrid of
63 prices and quotas?

64 The contribution of this paper to the literature on the political economy of
65 resource regulations in general, and irrigation-water control in particular, is both
66 theoretical and empirical. Our theoretical model generalizes that of Finkelshtain and
67 Kislev (1997, hereafter FK), who treat quotas and prices as separate, exclusive
68 controls over the usage of a scarce resource and characterize the political equilibrium
69 conditions for each instrument. FK identify two factors that determine the rank of the
70 two instruments in terms of social welfare: the elasticity of the demand of the resource
71 and the level of free-riding associated with the political organization of users for the
72 purpose of collectively lobbying towards the lowering of regionally uniform prices.
73 Evidently, prices dominate quotas if the demand elasticity is sufficiently large relative
74 to the level of political organization for price reduction. We extend FK's framework
75 by modeling an economy in which the two controls are integrated. In addition, we
76 allow for heterogeneity across the resource users with respect to the marginal supply
77 costs of the resource, and show that that heterogeneity constitutes a necessary
78 condition for the emergence of a political equilibrium under which both quotas and
79 prices are effective controls of resource usage. Moreover, the supply heterogeneity is
80 an additional factor that affects the social rank of the instruments, because it provides
81 an advantage to specific quotas over uniform prices in terms of efficiency (unlike
82 uniform prices, individual quotas can be adjusted to equalize the resource's value of
83 marginal product (VMP) of each user to the user's specific marginal supply cost).

84 While our framework is flexible enough to model various forms of political
85 games and pricing schemes, we follow a two-stage regulation setup, as employed in
86 our empirical case study of irrigation-water control in Israel: first, a regionally

87 uniform water price is set, and in the next stage, user-specific quotas are determined.
88 We characterize the conditions for a political equilibrium in which the two integrated
89 instruments are effective, and therefore they separate the population of farmers into
90 two groups of water users; the consumption of each group is constrained by a
91 different instrument. We show that the lobbying incentives of the two groups are
92 entwined: the larger the first-stage equilibrium regional price, the lower the second-
93 stage users' incentives to lobby for larger private quotas. At the same time, the return
94 from lobbying towards the reduction of the water price is proportional to the total
95 water usage in the region. Therefore, the stricter the second-stage equilibrium quota
96 allocation, the less intensive the first-stage political struggle to lower the price by the
97 users, who foresee the second-stage equilibrium. Accordingly, the model captures the
98 intertwined effects of the interest groups' activities with respect to the price and
99 quotas; activities that reinforce the robustness of both instruments against political
100 distortions. We show that, compared to a quotas-only regime, the hybrid regime
101 reduces the utilization of the scarce water resource and elevates its VMP. Thus, the
102 presence of prices (even as a means to partly covering supply costs rather than
103 controlling consumption) can enhance the effectiveness of quotas. However, the
104 social rank of the hybrid policy versus the quotas-only and price-only counterparts is
105 not unequivocal, and is therefore an empirical question.

106 There are numerous empirical studies that document lobbying in the context of
107 environmental and resource regulations (Oates 2003); however, empirical studies that
108 test the political-economy theory and/or estimate its structural parameters are scarce.
109 Notable exceptions to that scarcity are Fredriksson and Svensson (2003), who study
110 the impact of political corruption and instability on policy formation, and test the
111 theory in the context of environmental policies, and List and Sturm (2006), who show

112 that electoral incentives influence the stringency of environmental policies. In this
113 paper, in addition to testing the theory by estimating the principal parameters of our
114 political economy model, we also quantify the impact of lobbying on economic
115 welfare. In particular, we show that the political equilibrium conditions associated
116 with the hybrid regime yield structural equations that enable estimating the
117 fundamental parameters of the model by applying a maximum-likelihood procedure
118 based on the discrete/continuous choice (DCC) approach. The DCC model of
119 piecewise linear budget constraints (see Burtless and Hausman 1978 and Mofitt 1986)
120 has been employed for estimating water demand functions, by using observations of
121 water usage under increasing block-rate pricing (e.g., Hewitt and Hanemann 1995;
122 Bar-Shira, Finkelshtain and Simhon 2006; Dahan and Nisan 2007; Finkelshtain, Kan
123 and Rapaport-Rom 2020). In our case, however, the observed quotas and prices, of
124 their own accord, are endogenous variables because they are set in a political game.
125 Consequently, in addition to the demand function, the DCC model incorporates a
126 system of structural political equilibrium equations, and thereby enables the
127 identification of the political influence of the regulated sector, as well as the level of
128 free-riding associated with the cooperative lobbying efforts to lower the uniform
129 price. The estimated structural equations enable conducting simulations of a political
130 equilibrium of prices and quotas under the price-only, quotas-only and hybrid
131 regimes, and comparing the relative robustness of these regimes to political distortion.

132 An estimation of the model's parameters requires a variability of both quotas and
133 prices. We therefore apply the empirical analysis to data on the usage of irrigation
134 water in the Israeli agricultural sector during the late 1980s; during that period, in
135 addition to village-specific water quotas, water prices were specified to different
136 regions. Our estimation results reveal a sizable and statistically significant negative

137 relation between village-level quotas and regional prices, and thereby provide
138 empirical evidence to the theoretically predicted reinforcement effect of the two
139 integrated instruments on the mitigation of political distortion. By using the DCC
140 structural framework, we estimate the weight assigned by policymakers to political
141 support at 31% and the welfare of the society as a whole at 69%. This finding
142 indicates a small reduction in the political power of the Israeli agricultural sector in
143 the 1980s compared to its influence in the 1960s; Zusman and Amiad (1977)
144 estimated the latter at 40–60%. Concomitantly, we estimate the level of regional
145 political organization for lobbying toward lowering regional prices at only 16%; a
146 level that points at the presence of considerable free-riding. We then use the estimated
147 political parameters and the coefficients of the water-demand function to simulate
148 political equilibria under the three alternative regimes (hybrid, quotas only, and a
149 price only), and evaluate the deadweight loss entailed by lobbying under each regime.
150 We find the hybrid policy socially desirable; the deadweight loss under the quotas-
151 only and price-only policies is about 50% and 110% larger than that of the hybrid,
152 respectively. Finally, we show that, despite the large free-riding regarding lobbying
153 for price reduction, the quotas-only regime dominates the price-only regime because
154 of the combined impacts of the low elasticity of water demand and the large
155 heterogeneity of marginal supply costs.

156 The following section presents the theoretical model and characterizes the
157 conditions for a political equilibrium. Section 3 presents an institutional description of
158 the Israeli water economy and the features that facilitate the empirical application of
159 the theoretical model to that case study. In Section 4, the conditions for a political
160 equilibrium are employed to form the system of structural equations that is used to
161 estimate the water-demand functions and the political parameters of the model.

162 Section 5 presents welfare analyses based on simulations of alternative regimes.

163 Section 6 summarizes the paper, and discusses some limitations and potential

164 extensions of the analyses. Appendices A–G provide technical details.

165 **2. Theory**

166 2.1 The Economy

167 Consider a small open regional economy with $N > 1$ heterogeneous, water-using

168 farms. Let the profit of farm i , $i \in N = \{1, \dots, N\}$, be given by $y^i = \pi^i(w^i) - p w^i$, in which

169 w^i is the farm's water usage and $p \in [\underline{p}, \bar{p}]$ is a regionally-uniform agricultural water

170 price, administratively determined by the government. The gross-profit function,

171 $\pi^i(w^i)$, subsumes the prices of all of the variable outputs and inputs, excluding the

172 water expense $p w^i$, and is assumed to be continuous, increasing, strictly concave and

173 twice differentiable. The derivative of $\pi^i(w^i)$ with respect to w^i is the water's VMP,

174 $\pi_w^i(w^i)$; the inverse of this function, $D^i(p) = \pi_w^{i-1}(p)$, is the farm's water demand.

175 However, in addition to the regional water price, the government regulates water

176 consumption via farm-level non-tradeable quotas. The water quota allocated to farm i

177 is $q^i \in [\underline{q}^i, \bar{q}^i]$, and the farm's water usage is then equal to $w^i = \min(D^i(p), q^i)$. We

178 denote by $w \in R^N$ and $q \in [\underline{q}, \bar{q}]$, respectively, the vectors of the water-usage quantities

179 and the quotas of the region's N farms. Our analysis focuses on a set of hybrid

180 controls $[p, q]$, which separates the region's N farms into two subgroups; the price

181 binds the water usage of some farms, for which $D^i(p) < q^i$, whereas the farm specific

182 quotas bind the consumption of the other farms.

183 The cost of providing water, which encompasses delivery costs and scarcity rents,

184 is given by $c(w)$, and is assumed to be increasing in relation to water usage, convex

185 and twice differentiable; we denote the marginal cost by $c_{w^i} \equiv \frac{\partial c(w)}{\partial w^i}$,

186 $c_{w^i} \in [\underline{c}_w, \bar{c}_w] \forall i \in N$. We analyze the short-run water management, in the sense that
 187 the number of farms is predetermined and the infrastructure of water supply is in
 188 place.

189 Optimal Hybrid Policy and the Incentives to Lobbying

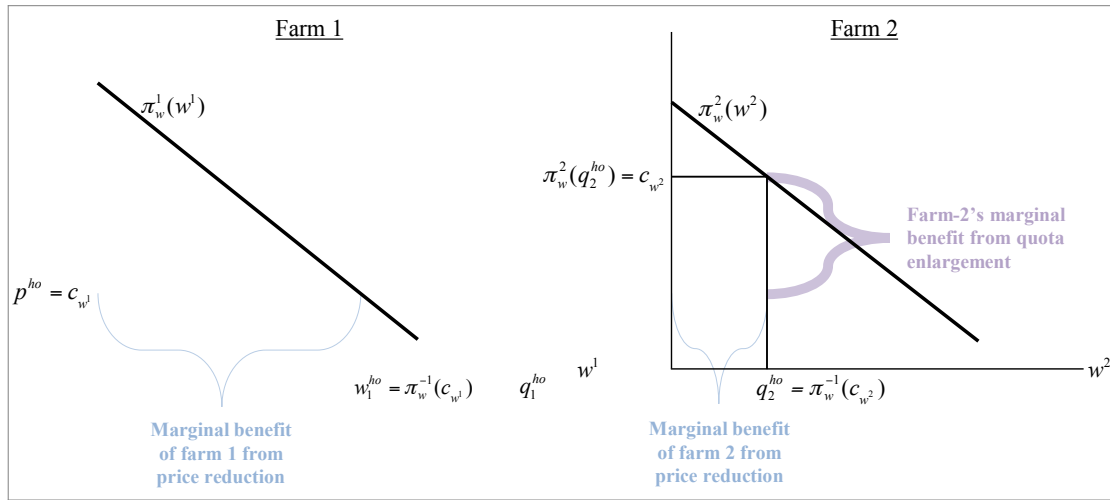
190 Because the economy is small and open, the social welfare function $S(w)$, in our case,
 191 equals the sum of the agricultural producers' gross profits minus the water-supply
 192 cost:

$$193 \quad S(w) = \sum_{i=1}^N \pi^i(w^i) - c(w). \quad (1)$$

194 Denoting any socially optimal levels by the superscript o , $w^o = \underset{w}{argmax} S(w)$ is the
 195 vector of water allocations that maximize social welfare, thereby satisfying the
 196 equality between the water VMP and marginal supply cost, $\pi_w^i(w_i^o) = c_{w^i} \forall i \in N$, in
 197 which w_i^o is the i th element of w^o . In the case that the marginal costs are
 198 heterogeneous, a uniform price, by itself, cannot achieve the first best solution, in the
 199 sense that the VMPs of all farms equal to the uniform price and not necessarily to
 200 their marginal costs. Thus, in a set of hybrid controls (denoted by the superscript h)
 201 that is optimal $[p^{ho}, q^{ho}]$ and separating, the price p^{ho} is equal to the lowest marginal
 202 cost in the region (\underline{c}_{w^i}) , and the quota of every other farm satisfies $q_i^o = w_i^o = \pi_w^{i-1}(c_{w^i})$.

203 Figure 1 illustrates an optimal separating hybrid policy for a region with only two
 204 farms ($i=1,2$) whose marginal costs differ so that $c_{w^2} > c_{w^1}$. The optimal quota assigned
 205 to farm 1, q_1^{ho} , is indeterminable except for the fact that it must be sufficiently large to
 206 become ineffective, thereby ensuring the effectiveness of the price; that is,

207 $q_1^{ho} > \pi_w^{1-1}(c_{w^1})$. The ineffectiveness of q_1^{ho} means that, under the optimal policy, farm 1
 208 has no incentive to lobby for quota enlargement. On the other hand, farm 2 is bound
 209 by its quota ($q_2^{ho} = \pi_w^{2-1}(c_{w^2})$), and therefore its marginal benefit from quota
 210 enlargement equals $\pi_w^2(q_2^{ho}) - p^{ho}$, which implies that if the price p^{ho} increases, then it
 211 reduces farm-2's gain from lobbying for an enlargement of its quota q_2^{ho} . At the same
 212 time, both farms are motivated to lobby for a lower uniform water price, and their
 213 gain from a marginal price reduction equals the total water usage in the region
 214 $w_1^{ho} + q_2^{ho}$. Consequently, the lower the water usage in the region is, the lower the
 215 motivation to exert political pressure to lower the price is, and therefore a smaller
 216 level of the quota q_2^{ho} discourages lobbying. Thus, the price p^{ho} and the quota q_2^{ho}
 217 reinforce each other's resistance to lobbying pressures; as will be shown, this feature
 218 plays an important role in shaping the levels of the hybrid instruments under an
 219 equilibrium in the political game.



220 **Figure 1** – An optimal separating hybrid policy in a two-farms region with
 221 heterogeneous marginal costs.

223 2.2 Regulation under Lobbying

224 The uniform price p and the vector of allocated quotas q are set through a political
 225 process in which politicians may bend policies in favor of interest groups, who, in
 226 return, provide the politicians with political support. Farm- i 's investment in lobbying
 227 for a larger individual quota is denoted r_i^q . In addition, the farm may contribute r_i^p to a
 228 regional lobby that negotiates the region's water price; therefore, the farm's profit, net
 229 of political contributions, is $y^i - r_i^p - r_i^q$. Quotas are farm-specific; therefore, free riding
 230 regarding lobbying for larger quotas is improbable, and consequently all of the farms
 231 that are bound by their water quotas negotiate those quotas. On the other hand, while
 232 every farm in the region has an interest to lower the uniform price, the political
 233 pressure exercised by the regional lobby acts as a public-good service by benefitting
 234 all of the farms, and therefore triggers free-riding. Indeed, several studies (e.g.,
 235 Bombardini 2008, Furusawa and Konishi 2011 and Gawande and Magee 2012)
 236 present theoretical support and empirical evidence for the presence of free-riding
 237 regarding lobbying towards common interests. While endogenizing the lobby
 238 formation is beyond the scope of this paper, we account for free-riding by letting a
 239 subset L ($L \subseteq N$) of L ($L \leq N$) farms form the political lobby that pursues the lowering
 240 of the uniform price. Thus, the contribution of the regional lobby is $r^p = \sum_{i \in L} r_i^p$, which
 241 is to be determined by the equilibrium in the political game described below (the
 242 equilibrium conditions determine r^p , but not the farm-specific contribution r_i^p for all
 243 $i \in L$; we assume that the contribution of the regional lobby r^p is allocated across the
 244 L contributing farms based on some rule that is known to all players; e.g., a fixed
 245 payment per acre of cultivated land).

246 The government's objective function, G , depends on the economy's social welfare

247 $S(w)$ and the aggregate contributions of the campaign $r = r^p + \sum_{i \in N} r_i^q$:

248
$$G = \alpha r + S(w), \quad (2)$$

249 in which $\alpha \geq 0$ is the weight attached by the government to political rewards relative to
250 social welfare $S(w)$; thus, the politicians' preferences can be presented as two weights:

251 political support, $\frac{\alpha}{1+\alpha}$, and social welfare, $\frac{1}{1+\alpha}$.

252 Our political-economy model draws on the menu-auction game under complete
253 information described by Bernheim and Whinston (1986) and Grossman and Helpman
254 (1994) (hereafter BW and GH, respectively). In line with the practice in Israel, prices
255 are set before quotas are announced; we therefore extend the above authors'
256 framework to a two-stage game. The first stage is a menu-auction game that
257 encompasses a single regional lobby that negotiates the regional water price with the
258 government. In the second stage, N lobbies, each of which represents a specific water
259 user (farm), simultaneously negotiate their individual quotas with the government.
260 The levels of the controls at each stage constitute a perfect Nash equilibrium policy.
261 While the instruments are uniquely determined by the perfect Nash equilibrium in
262 both stages of the game (Proposition 1 of GH), the political reward functions under an
263 equilibrium may take alternative forms and induce different net payoffs to the farmers
264 and politicians. We follow BW and GH and refine the equilibrium by selecting
265 truthful equilibria, which were shown by BW to have the attractive property of being
266 coalition-proof, and ensure a unique equilibrium under reasonable assumptions. To
267 characterize the equilibrium, we employ a backward induction. We first characterize
268 the equilibrium quotas and the associated political rewards determined in the second-

stage quota game, all of which are computed for any level of the price, p , and any reward, $r_i^p \forall i \in L$, chosen in the first stage. Then, we characterize the equilibrium condition with respect to the price; the equilibrium condition accounts for the price's impact on the equilibrium quotas in the second stage, which are assumed to be anticipated by all players in the first stage.

2.3 The Second Stage: Quota Game

Our political game involves two types of farm-specific quotas. The first type is the historical quota, denoted \check{q}_i for all $i \in N$; we denote by \check{q} the vector of historical quota-allocations to farms, which is known to all players. The second type is the equilibrium-quota rule determined by an equilibrium in the political game involving farm i and the government under the hybrid policy. Denoting the hybrid equilibrium by superscript he , the equilibrium-quota rule $q_i^{he}(p)$ depends on the price p , which is given in the first stage. Under separating hybrid policies, the set of farms with binding equilibrium quotas is given by $Q \equiv \{i \in N : \max(\check{q}_i, q_i^{he}(p)) \leq D_i(p)\}$, $Q \subseteq N$. Given \check{q} and p , the government identifies the group of quota-bound farms Q , and picks the specific socially-optimal quota $q_i^{ho} = \pi_w^{-1}(c_w)$ for each farm, unless the farm donates positive political rewards r_i^q ; thus, q_i^{ho} is the threat point for any quota-bound farm in the political game, and thereby it incentivizes political payments. The equilibrium quota, denoted q_i^{he} , equals the equilibrium-quota rule $q_i^{he}(p)$ for each farm i from the quota-bound group Q . On the other hand, the water usage is smaller than both the historical and the equilibrium-quota rule for each price-bound farm $i \notin Q$.

The extensive form of the quota game is as follows: first, each water user with a binding quota presents a contribution schedule, which is a function of the vector of

quotas q , to the government. Second, the government chooses a vector of quotas q that maximizes its objective function, and then collects contributions from each farm. The equilibrium conditions of the game are identical to those described by Proposition 1 of GH. We adopt GH's assumption that the contribution schedules are locally differentiable around the equilibrium contributions and are therefore locally truthful; this assumption yields the following quota-allocation rule (see proof in Appendix A):

Proposition 1 *If the farms' contribution schedules are differentiable around the equilibrium, then the equilibrium quota q_i^{he} for each farm that is bound by its quota satisfies:*

$$\frac{c_w + \alpha p}{1 + \alpha} = \pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) \quad \forall i \in Q. \quad (3)$$

The allocation rule in Eq. (3) implies that the political process yields an efficient intra-group water usage, which equates the VMPs of all the farms with binding quotas and with identical marginal costs. Moreover, according to Eq. (3), $c_w = \pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) + \alpha(\pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) - p)$ for all $i \in Q$; because farms with binding quotas are characterized by $\pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) > p$, if $\alpha > 0$, then $\pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) < c_w$ for all $i \in Q$. This inequality implies the existence of welfare loss.

Because $\pi_w^i(\cdot)$ is monotonic, the quota rule defined by Eq. (3) can be written explicitly as

$$q_i^{he}(p) = \pi_w^{i-1}\left(\frac{c_w + \alpha p}{1 + \alpha}\right) \quad \forall i \in Q, \quad (4)$$

which, together with the demand function, is used in the empirical analysis below to estimate α .

Intriguingly, Eq. (4) generates a pseudo-political demand equation, in which the equilibrium quota decreases with the rise of the predetermined water price. This result

315 corresponds with the intuitive conclusion derived from Figure 2: the presence of the
 316 price reinforces the robustness of the quotas to the distorting impact of political
 317 pressures, thereby leading to tightened equilibrium quotas. Moreover, the marginal
 318 benefit of a quota-bound farm from a quota enlargement, $\frac{c_{w^i} + \alpha p}{1 + \alpha} - p \forall i \in Q$, becomes
 319 lower as the price rises $(\partial \left(\frac{c_{w^i} + \alpha p}{1 + \alpha} - p \right) / \partial p = \frac{-1}{1 + \alpha})$. Our empirical results (see Section
 320 5) suggest that the elasticity of the water quotas with respect to the administrative
 321 price is -0.27, and therefore we obtain that the hybrid regime in the Israeli water
 322 economy creates considerable welfare benefits in comparison with a quotas-only
 323 regime.

324 The characterization of the set of equilibrium-quota rules, denoted $q^{he}(p)$, relies
 325 on the differentiability of the schedules of contribution, which yields locally-truthful
 326 schedules. As already noted, if the stronger condition of globally-truthful schedules is
 327 assumed, the uniqueness of the equilibrium contributions $r_i^q(q^{he}(p)) \forall i \in Q$ is proven
 328 (see Appendix B). Hereafter, we assume that the set of political equilibrium quotas
 329 and political contributions $\{q_i^{he}(p), r_i^q(q^{he}(p))\}$ for all $i \in Q$ is unique. Therefore, the
 330 impact of the price p on the water consumption and quota of each farm $i \in N$ at the
 331 second-stage quota game is predictable at the first-stage price game by all of the
 332 players.

333 2.4 The First Stage: Price Game

334 In Israel and other countries farmers establish regional organizations to coordinate the
 335 provision of a variety of local public goods, such as marketing, research,
 336 advertisement, and the organized procurement of farming inputs. Farmers tend to use

the same organizations to promote various common local interests, such as lowered water prices. Nevertheless, the level of organization may be incomplete (as we show in the empirical section of the paper, in which we use the equilibrium conditions to estimate the extent of free-riding in the case of Israel).

Given the unique second-stage set of equilibrium-quota rules and contributions, $\{q_i^{he}(p), r_i^q(q^{he}(p))\} \forall i \in Q$, which is foreseen by all of the players in the first stage, the objective function of the regional lobby (denoted Y) is:

$$Y = \sum_{i \in L} \{y^i(p, q_i^{he}(p)) - r_i^q(q^{he}(p))\} - r^p(p) \quad (5)$$

(recall that the subset L of farms that contribute to the regional lobby to pursue a lower water price may also include farms from the subset of quota-bound farms Q), and the government's objective function is:

$$G = \alpha \left[\sum_{i=1}^N r_i^q(q^{he}(p)) + r^p(p) \right] + S(w(p, q^{he}(p))). \quad (6)$$

The equilibrium price, denoted p^{he} , is characterized as follows (see proof in Appendix C):

Proposition 2 *If the farms' contribution schedules are differentiable around the equilibrium, then the equilibrium price p^{he} satisfies:*

$$\sum_{i \notin Q} (p^{he} - c_{w^i}) D_p^i = \alpha \sum_{i \in L} w^i = \alpha \phi \left[\sum_{i \in Q} q_i^{he}(p^{he}) + \sum_{i \notin Q} D^i(p^{he}) \right], \quad (7)$$

in which $\phi \equiv \sum_{i \in L} w^i / \sum_{i \in N} w^i$ is the share of the members of the regional lobby in the aggregate regional water consumption, and represents the "regionally organized water" in the price game.

Recall that our analysis presumes the existence of a set of a price and quotas that constitutes a political equilibrium $\{p^{he}, q^{he}(p^{he})\}$; these instruments separate the

359 regional farms into price-bound and quota-bound groups. That is, given the historical
 360 quotas \check{q} and the political equilibrium price p^{he} , the set of quota-bound farms

361 $Q \equiv \left\{ i \in N : \max(\check{q}_i, q_i^{he}(p^{he})) \leq D_i(p^{he}) \right\}$ satisfies $N \supseteq Q \neq \emptyset$. Appendix D characterizes
 362 the sufficient conditions for the existence of a separating equilibrium.

363 Eq. (7) has a simple, intuitive interpretation. The left-hand side is the price-
 364 change's marginal effect on social welfare. On the right-hand side, the aggregate water
 365 usage of the members of the regional lobby is the price-change's marginal effect on
 366 the members' welfare. In an equilibrium, the first term equals α times the second term.

367 Worth noting is the dependence of the equilibrium price in the first-stage on the
 368 (foreseen) equilibrium quotas determined in the second stage. Larger equilibrium
 369 quotas in the second stage (which are, for example, due to larger inverse-VMP
 370 functions $\pi_w^{i-1}(\cdot)$) incentivize the regional lobby to struggle more intensely to lower
 371 the price p^{he} (i.e., the R.H.S of Eq. (7) is larger), which enlarges the aggregate

372 marginal deadweight loss associated with the water price $\sum_{i \notin Q} (p^{he} - c_{w^i})$ (i.e., the L.H.S
 373 of Eq. (7)). This reflects the intuition, discussed in relation to Figure 1, that the
 374 presence of effective quotas in a separating hybrid regime reinforces the robustness of
 375 the price to political pressures.

376 Denoting by s^i the share of farm i in the aggregate water consumption and by η^i
 377 its demand elasticity, we may rewrite Eq. (7) as:

$$\begin{aligned}
 378 \quad & \sum_{i \notin Q} \frac{(p^{he} - c_{w^i})}{p^{he}} s^i \eta^i = \alpha \phi \Leftrightarrow \\
 379 \quad & p^{he} = \sum_{i \notin Q} c_{w^i} \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \notin Q} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha \phi} \quad (8)
 \end{aligned}$$

380 (recall that $\eta^i = 0 \forall i \in Q$). To comprehend Eq. (8), it is useful to consider the socially
 381 optimal price under a price-only regime (denoted p^{po}), which is given by

382
$$p^{po} = \sum_{i \in N} c_w \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \in N} s^i |\eta^i|}.$$
 That is, the optimal price, operating as a single control, equals

383 the weighted average of the marginal costs of all of the regions' farms, in which the
 384 weights comprise the products of the farms' consumption shares and the demand
 385 elasticities. Therefore, an optimal uniform price under a price-only regime does not
 386 achieve the first-best water allocation (that equates marginal costs to VMPs), but
 387 rather yields the second-best optimum. The equilibrium price under the hybrid-policy,
 388 given by Eq. (8), preserves this second-best principle, but creates an additional
 389 welfare loss through the political influences reflected by the product of α and ϕ .

390 As we have already noted, the empirical section employs Eq. (4) to identify the
 391 parameter α . Combining Eqs. (7) and (4) enables us to also identify the parameter ϕ ,
 392 and thereby to compute the extent of free-riding in the region with respect to lobbying
 393 for price reduction: $1 - \phi$.

394 2.5 Hybrid vs. Quotas-Only Regimes

395 As we have mentioned earlier, hybrid water-control instruments have gained
 396 popularity in recent decades and have replaced, in many places, the use of quotas-only
 397 regimes. In this subsection, we use the characterization of the hybrid equilibrium
 398 (Eqs. 3 and 7) to examine the implications of this "constitutional" reform on welfare.

399 Suppose that only quotas regulate the water economy (i.e., $p = 0$). Then,
 400 according to Eq. (4), the quotas under a political equilibrium (in this case denoted q_i^{qe} ,

401 $i \in N$) are given by the quota allocation rule $q_i^{qe} = \pi_w^{i-1} \left(\frac{c_{w^i}}{1+\alpha} \right) \forall i \in N$. Now assume
 402 that a price is introduced in addition to the quotas, and therefore that a hybrid-policy
 403 political equilibrium emerges, wherein the quotas-only political-equilibrium
 404 allotments constitute the historical quotas; formally: $\check{q}_i = q_i^{qe} \forall i \in N$. Under a hybrid-
 405 equilibrium price $p^{he} > 0$, the equilibrium quotas are given by $q_i^{he} = \pi_w^{i-1} \left(\frac{c_{w^i} + \alpha p^{he}}{1+\alpha} \right)$
 406 $\forall i \in N$, which implies that the historical quotas exceed the hybrid-equilibrium quotas;
 407 formally: $\check{q}_i = q_i^{qe} > q_i^{he}$ for all $i \in N$. Therefore, the set of quota-bound farms Q is
 408 dictated only by the historical quotas (i.e., because $\check{q}_i = q_i^{qe}$ and $\max(q_i^{qe}, q_i^{he}(p^{he})) = q_i^{qe}$
 409 for all $i \in N$, the condition $Q \equiv \{i \in N : \max(\check{q}_i, q_i^{he}(p^{he})) < D_i(p)\}$ becomes
 410 $Q \equiv \{i \in N : q_i^{qe} < D_i(p)\}$). Consequently, the set Q includes those farms for which
 411 $\frac{c_{w^i}}{1+\alpha} > p^{he}$, and for whom the hybrid-equilibrium VMP, $\frac{c_{w^i} + \alpha p^{he}}{1+\alpha}$, exceeds the quotas-
 412 only equilibrium VMP, $\frac{c_{w^i}}{1+\alpha}$. Likewise, the VMP of the price-bound farms, p^{he} ,
 413 exceeds $\frac{c_{w^i}}{1+\alpha}$. Therefore:
 414 **Proposition 3** *Under a political equilibrium, a hybrid regime that follows a quotas-*
 415 *only regime increases the VMPs of all water users.*

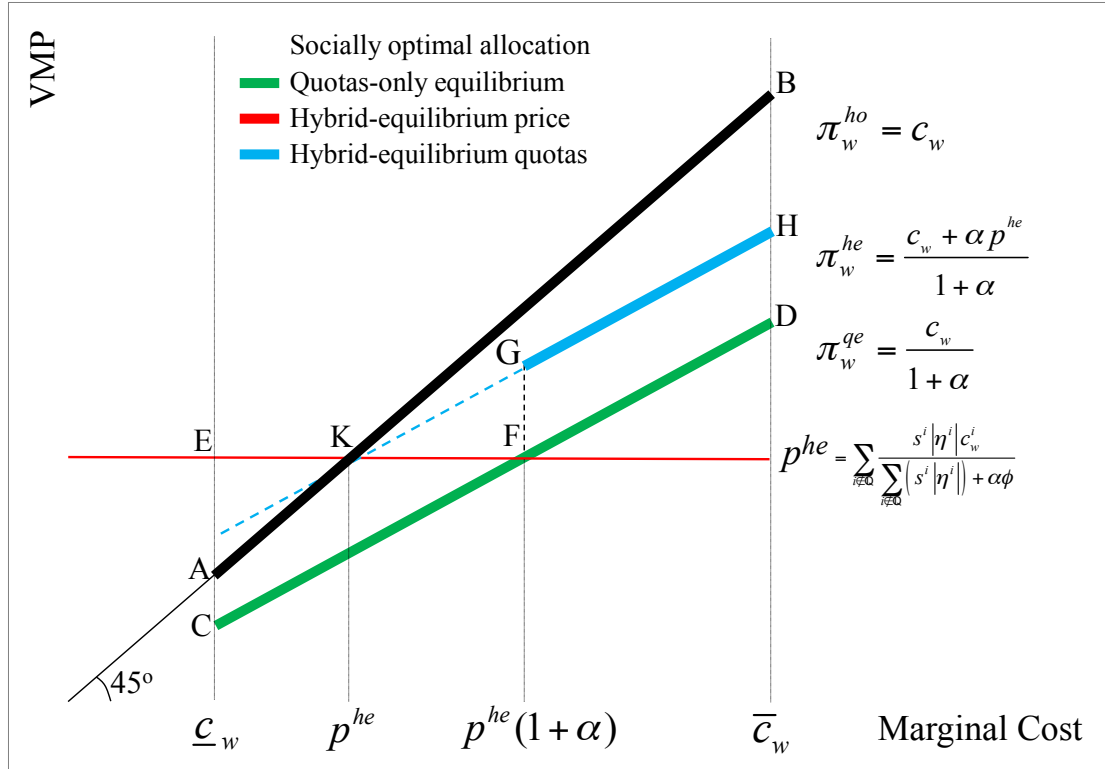


Figure 2 – Schematic VMP curves of the socially optimal solution and political equilibria under the quotas-only and hybrid policies—plotted versus marginal costs.

Figure 2 illustrates the phenomenon expressed by Proposition 3. The horizontal axis represents the farms' marginal costs, distributed in the range $[\underline{c}_w, \bar{c}_w]$. The VMPs of the farms under alternative regimes are depicted as functions of the marginal cost c_w . Starting with the socially optimal allocation, the VMP function under the welfare-maximizing allocation, $\pi_w^{ho} = c_w$, coincides with the 45° line in the segment AB. Under the quotas-only regime, the political equilibrium VMP, denoted π_w^{qe} , equals $\frac{c_w}{1 + \alpha}$; it is depicted in Figure 2 by the sloped green segment CD, which lies below the 45° line for the entire range of marginal costs $[\underline{c}_w, \bar{c}_w]$ and therefore indicates the presence of welfare loss. Once the administrative uniform price is introduced, a hybrid equilibrium emerges, and yields a non-continuous VMP function: the VMPs of farms

429 with marginal costs in the range $[\underline{c}_w, p^{he}(1+\alpha)]$ coincide with the equilibrium price

430 $p^{he} = \sum_{i \notin Q} c_w \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \notin Q} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha \phi}$ along the horizontal red segment EF; farms with marginal

431 costs in the range $[p^{he}(1+\alpha), \bar{c}_w]$ are bound by their equilibrium quotas, and their

432 VMPs are located on the sloped blue segment GH, which, according to Eq. (3), is

433 given by $\pi_w^{he} = \frac{c_w + \alpha p^{he}}{1 + \alpha}$.

434 Because $\pi_w^{he} \geq \pi_w^{qe}$ for all $c_w \in [\underline{c}_w, \bar{c}_w]$, the introduction of a price to form the
 435 hybrid regime leads to a higher VMP path and a lower level of resource utilization for
 436 the quota-bound farms in the marginal cost range $[p^{he}(1+\alpha), \bar{c}_w]$. Regarding the VMPs
 437 of the price-bound farms in the marginal cost range $[\underline{c}_w, p^{he}(1+\alpha)]$ (segment EF),
 438 these VMPs exceed the farms' historical allotments (decided upon under a quotas-only
 439 equilibrium), and are lower than the farms' marginal costs. However, for price-bound
 440 farms with marginal costs in the range $[\underline{c}_w, p^{he}]$, the price p^{he} exceeds the marginal
 441 cost c_w (as shown by segment EK), and therefore leads to a lower-than-optimal water
 442 usage; the associated deadweight loss may exceed that of a quotas-only regime (for
 443 the specific minimal marginal cost \underline{c}_w depicted in Figure 2, the inequality

444 $p^{he} - \underline{c}_w > \underline{c}_w - \frac{\underline{c}_w}{1+\alpha}$ implies the relative advantage of the quotas-only regime over the

445 hybrid regime). Thus, a theoretical normative ranking of hybrid and quotas-only

446 regimes is inconclusive, and calls for an empirical analysis.

It is worthy to note that if the quotas-only regime is replaced by a price-only policy, the resultant political equilibrium price (denoted p^{pe}) is given by

$$p^{pe} = \sum_{i \in N} c_{w^i} \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \in N} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha \phi},$$

which incorporates the marginal costs of all N farms in the region. On the other hand, the price p^{he} incorporates only the marginal costs of the price-bound farms (see Eq. 8), and can be higher or lower than p^{pe} ; therefore, the relative social desirability of the hybrid and price-only policies is also an empirical question.

2.6 Comparative Statics Analyses

We analyze the qualitative responses of the price p^{he} and a farm-specific quota q_i^{he} to marginal changes in four exogenous factors: the political parameters α and ϕ , the marginal cost c_{w^i} (hereafter we assume that the marginal costs are constant—see justifications in Section 4), and a shifter of the water demand of the entire agricultural sector (e.g., a technological progress or an improvement in the terms of trade). The effect of the last factor is modeled by the introduction of a parameter v that affects the gross-profit function $\pi^i(p^{he}, q_i^{he}, v)$, in which $\pi_v^i \geq 0$ and $\pi_{vv}^i \leq 0$ for all $i \in N$. Table 1 summarizes the results of the comparative statics analyses (see Appendix E for proofs).

Table 1 – Comparative statics analyses with respect to the responses of the price p^{he} and of a farm-specific quota q_i^{he} to changes in α , ϕ , c_{w^i} and in the parameter v (a whole-sector demand shifter).

Parameter	p^{he}	q_i^{he}
α	-	+

ϕ	-	+
c_{w^i}	+	-
v	-	+

467 The responses of p^{he} and q_i^{he} to marginal increases in α , ϕ and c_{w^i} are intuitive.
468 Note that ϕ has an only indirect impact on the quota; recalling Eq. (3), ϕ 's indirect
469 impact is achieved by lowering the price p^{he} , and thereby increasing the quotas.
470 Regarding the parameter v , a marginal increase in v shifts the entire farmer population
471 towards a larger water consumption for a given equilibrium price p^{he} (we assume that
472 the slope of the VMP function is invariant to changes in v : $\pi_{wv}^i=0$); the rise in water
473 usage leads to an increase in the farmers' marginal gain from a price decrease (R.H.S.
474 of Eq. 7), which in turn increases the motivation to lobby towards quota enlargements
475 (Eq. 3).

476 In the empirical part of the paper, we test and quantify the effects of the above
477 comparative statics in the Israeli case, and show that the analytical predictions are
478 consistent with the data and economically significant.

479 **3. Israel's Water Polity**

480 Water management in Israel faces three challenges: (1) precipitation is abundant in
481 the north, whereas most of the agricultural areas are located in the dry south; (2)
482 rainfall occurs only during the winter, but irrigation-water usage peaks during the
483 summer; (3) precipitation fluctuates considerably among years, and series of
484 successive drought years are common. To cope with these challenges, Israel has
485 established a complex water-distribution network that connects almost all of the
486 regions of the country. The management of this broad infrastructure system is
487 supported by the Israeli Water Law (1959), inherited from the historical Ottoman and
488 British law systems (Laster and Livney 2008), which assign to the people all of the

489 property rights for water sources and to the government the responsibility over water
490 management. The governmental company Mekorot operates the inter-regional water
491 network, and supplies most of the water to the end users. These institutional settings
492 make Israel's water economy extremely centralized, and therefore it attracts political
493 pressures.

494 Until the early 1990s, irrigation water in Israel was regulated by village-specific
495 non-tradable annual quotas combined with regionally uniform tariffs, both of which
496 were set by governmental institutions (subject to parliamentary approval), with the
497 Water Commission and the Ministry of Agriculture maintaining dominance over the
498 decision-making process. The fact that quotas were village-specific and prices were
499 regional created a temporal and spatial variability in both prices and quotas, which is
500 required for the empirical estimation of the structural parameters of the political-
501 economy model described above. In practice, prices were set before the rainy season,
502 whereas quotas were announced only after the winter rains were observed and in
503 relation to the water stocks in the reservoirs and to the village-specific historical
504 quotas; accordingly, we formulate our model as a two-stage political game.

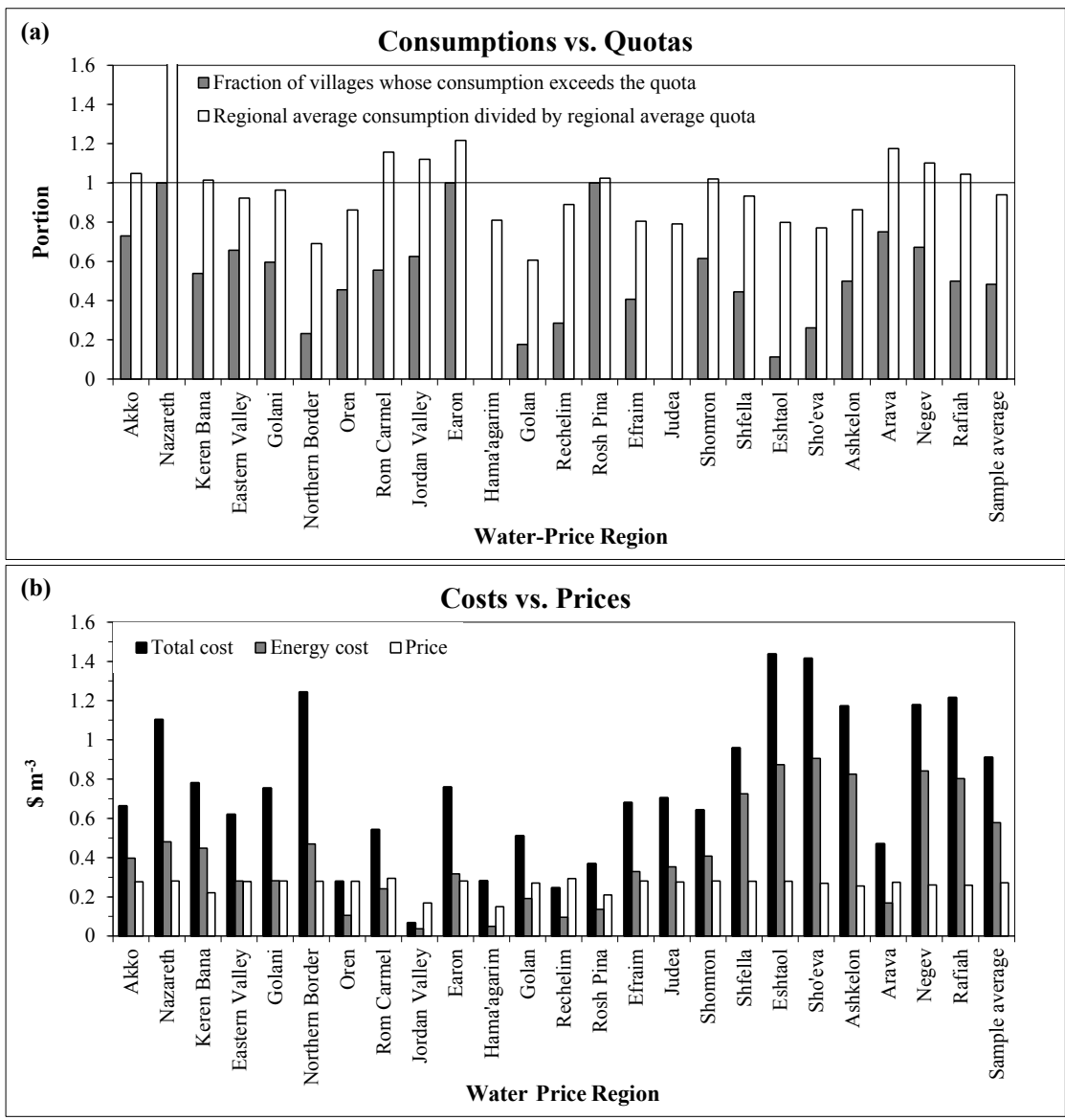
505 Political distortion occurs if incentives to lobbying exist. Since the 1980s, the
506 agricultural sector has utilized, in most years, less water than allowed by the aggregate
507 quota: while some farmers were constrained by their quantitative allocations, others
508 did not fully use the water they were allotted (Kislev and Vaksin 2003). The fact that
509 the two instruments are effective water-usage controls indicates that incentives for
510 political pressure towards both price reduction and the enlargement of quotas exist. In
511 Figure 3, we present regional summaries of freshwater consumptions, quotas, prices
512 and supply costs, all of which are computed according to our sample of 303 villages
513 in 24 water-price regions during the years 1985–1988. Figure 3a shows that in 21 out

514 of the 24 regions some villages did not consume their entire quotas—a finding that
515 indicates the presence of effective hybrid controls. On average, the price binds
516 consumption in 48% of the village-year observations, and the overall regional water
517 consumption amounts to 94% of the aggregate quota. However, in 11 water-price
518 regions, the cumulative consumption exceeds the total regional quota; the excessive
519 water consumption in each of these regions indicates that, under the prevailing prices,
520 a strong motivation for farmers to lobby for quota enlargements exists. The fact that
521 the cumulative consumption exceeds the aggregate quota may also point to possible
522 errors in the measurement and documentation of water consumption and to
523 management, technical and enforcement failures; our econometric analysis controls
524 for such unobserved factors.

525 An additional condition for effective lobbying is the negotiability of the
526 regulatory instruments. In the early 1960s, each village was allotted a normative quota
527 based on the size of its cultivable land and on other regional factors. These historical
528 allocations are termed "flexible quotas" because they have served as benchmarks for
529 annual quota-allocation adjustments in relation to the national water stock and to
530 additional considerations (Ishay 1991). Regarding price settings, indeed, the Israeli
531 Water Law allows for much flexibility (e.g., water payments can vary according to the
532 purpose of the usage, the consumer's ability to pay, et cetera). In Figure 3b, we
533 compare the uniform price in each region to the regional average water-supply cost,
534 which we separate into energy costs and total costs (all monetary values in the paper
535 are reported in 2020 US dollars). Evidently, the sample-average price is lower than
536 30% and 50% of the total and energy costs, respectively. In addition, the prices and
537 costs vary across regions; in almost all of the regions, the water price is lower than the

total cost, and in 15 regions it even falls short of the energy cost. Apparently, farmers do not bear the full explicit cost of irrigation-freshwater supply.

540



541

Figure 3 – Regional summaries of (a) freshwater consumptions and quotas, and (b) prices and supply costs; both (a) and (b) are computed according to a sample of 303 villages in 24 water-price regions in Israel during the years 1985–1988. The total costs incorporate energy, capital and operational costs. The energy and total costs are both averages that are weighted by the villages' shares in the regional water usage.

There is ample evidence that the Israeli farming sector is politically well-organized and influential in decision-making forums. Farmers have a notable lobby in

549 the Israeli Parliament, and for many years the water commissioners and the ministers
550 of Agriculture were also farmers, and therefore familiar with the economic
551 implications of water policies on the agricultural sector because of both their own
552 experience and the official master plans of the water economy (Schwartz 2010).
553 Similarly, many of the senior functionaries in the bureaucracy had practiced
554 agriculture, and were often instated by the farming organizations; they had to be
555 attentive to the demands of their fellow farmers with respect to various interests,
556 including water prices and quota allocations (Kislev et al. 1989, Zusman 1997, Plaut
557 2000, Mizrahi 2004, Feitelson 2005, Kislev 2006, Margoninsky 2006). In addition to
558 lobbying at a national-level, farmers took advantage of municipal and regional
559 cooperatives to promote local interests. Noteworthy anecdotal records of success in
560 the regional scale include the relatively low fees set for water extraction in the
561 northern regions of Israel since the early 1990s (Kislev 2011), and the increase in
562 water allotments to the southern areas in a period of growing water scarcity (Israel
563 Government decision, 2005). Concomitantly, single villages have routinely solicited
564 the bureaucrats at the Water Commission to increase their water allotments
565 (Feinerman, Gadish and Mishaeli 2003).

566 In this regulatory environment, political contributions were not necessarily made
567 in the form of monetary payments; they included in-kind campaign assistance,
568 demonstrations, and other forms of political support. Therefore, the general idea of
569 political models—political rewards in exchange for the bending of policies in favor of
570 contributing lobbyists—applies in the Israeli water sector as well. Thus, the observed
571 water prices and quotas can be viewed as constituting an equilibrium in a political
572 game, wherein well-informed regulators weigh political contributions against welfare
573 losses.

574 Given the above features, the case of irrigation-water management in Israel
575 during the 1980s fits our empirical objectives. In addition, the Israeli vegetative
576 agricultural sector is open (Israel Ministry of Agriculture 2001) and small (less than
577 2% of Israel's GDP), and, within it, changes in the prices of irrigation-water have an
578 insignificant impact on the prices of outputs (Fuchs 2014); therefore, the indirect
579 effect on farmers' income is negligible. All of these features facilitate our analysis,
580 which can be formulated based on a partial equilibrium; that is, when negotiating
581 water policies, both policymakers and farmers in the regional and village levels
582 neglect the indirect general-equilibrium effects on other sectors and products and the
583 potential effects of income distribution associated with the public financing of water-
584 regulation reforms. Furthermore, in relation to FK's modeling framework, it is not
585 uncommon in the Israeli agricultural sector for policy reforms to be framed as
586 revenue-neutral policy shifts, thereby eliminating income effects; for example, in
587 2017 the Ministry of Finance raised, within the framework of the 27th amendment to
588 the Water Law, the water tariff for farms located in the northern regions of Israel, and
589 simultaneously allocated 530 million NIS to those farms as a form of compensation
590 (Shacham 2017).

591 **4. Structural Estimation of the Model Parameters**

592 In this section we use the equilibrium conditions (4) and (7) to develop a structural
593 econometric framework, which we then employ to the case of Israel in the 1980s to
594 estimate the water demand and the political parameters α and ϕ . We use the results of
595 the estimation to test the qualitative predictions of the theory, and (in the following
596 section) to simulate the political equilibria under alternative regimes and compare the
597 regimes' welfare implications. We estimate the demand function and the quota-

598 allocation rule using data at the village level, and the price-setting equation using data
599 at the regional level.
600

601 4.1 Water Demand and Quota-Allocation Functions

602 Our econometric challenge is to "explain" two observed quantities: per-village water
 603 usage and water quota, both of which are endogenous in our model. Recall that (a)
 604 water usage is determined by either the price or the quota, and (b) quotas are set
 605 through the political process. Consequently, our task is to estimate two structural
 606 equations: the water-demand function and the function of the quota-setting rule; the
 607 latter incorporates the demand and marginal cost parameters, as well as the political
 608 parameter α .

609 We begin by specifying a linear water-VMP function:

$$610 \quad \pi_w^i(w^{it}, z^{it}) = az^{it} - bw^{it}, \quad (9)$$

611 in which w^{it} and z^{it} are, respectively, the observed water consumption and a vector of
 612 covariates specific to village i at year t ; a is a vector of parameters and b is a slope
 613 parameter, and both are assumed identical for all i and t . The above specification
 614 yields the following linear demand function:

$$615 \quad D(p^{it}, z^{it}) = \frac{1}{b}(az^{it} - p^{it}), \quad (10)$$

616 in which p^{it} is the water price, which is identical for villages in the same region but
 617 may differ across regions.

618 Let q^{it} be the observed annual water quota of village i in year t . Substituting the
 619 linear VMP specification in Eq. (9) into the equilibrium quota-allocation rule in Eq.
 620 (3) yields:

$$621 \quad \frac{c_w^{it} + \alpha p^{it}}{1 + \alpha} = az^{it} - bq^{it} \quad \forall i \in Q, \quad (11)$$

622 in which c_w^{it} is the village-specific marginal cost. We assume that the village-specific
 623 marginal costs are constant with respect to the village's own water consumption and
 624 the water consumption of every other village (we return to this assumption in the next

section). Thus, the marginal cost is specified as a weighted sum of explicit cost factors and other variables, which might affect the perception of policymakers with respect to the costs of water provision (e.g., the annual natural enrichment of reservoirs). We therefore specify $c_w^{it} = \rho x^{it}$, in which x^{it} is the vector of the cost variables and ρ is the corresponding vector of coefficients. We substitute this formulation into Eq. (11) and rearrange it to obtain a linear equilibrium quota-allocation rule:

$$Q(p^{it}, x^{it}, z^{it}) = \frac{1}{b} a z^{it} - \frac{1}{b(1+\alpha)} \rho x^{it} - \frac{\alpha}{b(1+\alpha)} p^{it} \quad \forall i \in Q. \quad (12)$$

Note that the political parameter α is identifiable through the ratio of the price coefficients in the demand and quota equations (Eqs. 10 and 12).

4.2 Discrete/Continuous Choice Framework

The observed water usage in the sample may be equal either to the quota or to the demand function, and therefore the nature of our model pertains to the Discrete/Continuous Choice framework, suggested by Burtless and Hausman (1978) and Moffitt (1986) and adopted for the estimation of irrigation water demand under tier pricing (e.g., Bar-Shira, Finkelstein and Simhon 2006). While previous applications of the DCC approach to water usage focused on the estimation of the demand function, our model incorporates both the water demand and the quota-allocation rule as two interrelated equations.

Based on the DCC convention, we employ a linear additive formulation and include three random elements to capture the impact of unobserved factors. The first element stands for technological heterogeneity across villages and time that is not explained by z^{it} and p^{it} ; it is represented here by the random variable γ^{it} , which is not observed by the econometrician but is known to the village's farmers and therefore affects their water demand. The two additional sources of randomness are those

649 associated with measurement errors, inaccuracies in the data and optimization
 650 mistakes. The random variable ε^{it} represents errors in farmers' decisions on water
 651 usage, governmental enforcement faults, and management, measurement,
 652 documentation and irrigation technical failures. The random variable u^{it} stands for
 653 deviations from the political equilibrium condition and for miscalculations concerning
 654 the allocation of quotas by the government. The system of equations of water-demand
 655 and quota-allocation rule is:

$$656 \quad w^{it} = \begin{cases} D(p^{it}, z^{it}) + \gamma^{it} + \varepsilon^{it} & \text{if } D(p^{it}, z^{it}) + \gamma^{it} \leq q^{it} \\ q^{it} + \varepsilon^{it} & \text{if } D(p^{it}, z^{it}) + \gamma^{it} > q^{it}, \end{cases} \quad (13)$$

$$657 \quad q^{it} = \begin{cases} q^{it-1} + u^{it} & \text{if } D(p^{it}, z^{it}) + \gamma^{it} \leq q^{it} \\ Q(p^{it}, x^{it}, z^{it}) + u^{it} & \text{if } D(p^{it}, z^{it}) + \gamma^{it} > q^{it}. \end{cases} \quad (14)$$

658 As shown by Eq. (13), if the quantity demanded at the given price $D(p^{it}, z^{it}) + \gamma^{it}$
 659 (which includes the stochastic amount associated with the unobserved heterogeneity
 660 γ^{it}) does not exceed the quota q^{it} , then consumption is set by the demand function plus
 661 the stochastic error term ε^{it} : $w^{it} = D(p^{it}, z^{it}) + \gamma^{it} + \varepsilon^{it}$. If water demand surpasses the
 662 quota, then the observed water usage equals the quota plus the error term: $w^{it} = q^{it} + \varepsilon^{it}$.
 663 The quota's endogenous formation is formulated in Eq. (14) as follows: if the demand
 664 exceeds the observed quota, then the village contributes a positive amount for
 665 lobbying, and its allocation is determined by the political quota-setting rule plus the
 666 error term: $q^{it} = Q(p^{it}, x^{it}, z^{it}) + u^{it}$. However, if the observed quota exceeds the demand,
 667 then it is not binding, and therefore the political contributions vanish; in this case we
 668 assume that the quota q^{it} equals the quota of the previous year (i.e., the historical
 669 quota) plus the error term: $q^{it} = q^{it-1} + u^{it}$.

670 We estimate Eqs. (13) and (14) by employing a maximum-likelihood procedure.

671 We denote by θ the set of parameters of the functions $D(p^{it}, z^{it})$ and $Q(p^{it}, x^{it}, z^{it})$ and

672 of the joint density distribution functions of the stochastic variables γ , ε and u . The

673 probability of observing a combination of the water consumption w^{it} and the quota q^{it}

674 is given by the two-element probability function:

$$\begin{aligned}
675 \quad Pr(w^{it}, q^{it} | p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, x^{it}, \theta) = & Pr[\gamma^{it} + \varepsilon^{it} = w^{it} - D(p^{it}, z^{it}), \gamma^{it} \leq q^{it} - D(p^{it}, z^{it}), u^{it} = q^{it} - q^{it-1}] \\
& + Pr[\varepsilon^{it} = w^{it} - q^{it}, \gamma^{it} > q^{it} - D(p^{it}, z^{it}), u^{it} = q^{it} - Q(p^{it}, x^{it}, z^{it})].
\end{aligned}$$

676 (15)

678 The associated likelihood function of the sample is

$$679 \quad L = \prod_i \prod_t Pr(w^{it}, q^{it} | p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, x^{it}, \theta). \quad (16)$$

680 We assume that the random variables γ , ε and u are statistically independent and

681 normally distributed so that $\gamma \sim N(0, \sigma_\gamma^2)$, $\varepsilon \sim N(0, \sigma_\varepsilon^2)$ and $u \sim N(0, \sigma_u^2)$, and thereby the

682 probability function in Eq. (15) is readily formulated in terms of the standard normal

683 probability density function (see Appendix F).

684 4.3 The Price-Formation Equation

685 We estimate the parameters of the price-formation equation at the regional level. Let

686 N_{jt}^p be the number of villages with an effective price in region j in year t , let W_{jt} be

687 the regional aggregate water consumption, and denote region- j 's observed water price

688 by p_{jt} . By using the identity $\pi_w^{it} = p_{jt}$ for every price-bound village i in region j and

689 our linear specifications for the demand and cost functions (Eqs. 10 and 12), and with

690 some rearrangements, Eq. (7) becomes:

$$p_{jt} = \xi c_{jt} + \delta \frac{W_{jt}}{N_{jt}^p} + \omega_{jt}, \quad (17)$$

in which c_{jt} is a vector of variables related to the region-level supply costs, ξ is the set of corresponding coefficients, $\delta \equiv b\alpha\phi$ is the parameter through which we identify ϕ ,

and ω_{jt} is an error term. Because the term $\frac{W_{jt}}{N_{jt}^p}$ may be endogenous, we use as

instruments for $\frac{W_{jt}}{N_{jt}^p}$ various exogenous demand shifters (e.g., the precipitation during

October and April, amounts that are expected to be negatively correlated with irrigation). We then employ the limited-information maximum-likelihood (LIML) procedure to estimate the model's parameters. Using Eqs. (10), (12) and (17), we

identify ϕ by the identity $\phi = \frac{\delta}{\alpha b}$.

4.4 Data and Variables

We estimate the model's parameters using an unbalanced panel of 1,093 observations of irrigation freshwater usage, quotas, prices, and additional village-level covariates spanning the years 1985-1988. The panel encompasses 303 villages from 24 water-price regions. We select village-year observations into the sample based on three criteria. First, in order to avoid a potential dependence of the VMP on the water quality (a dependence that is not simple to control for; see Finkelshtain, Kan and Rapaport-Rom 2020), we include observations that applied only freshwater. Second, we use villages that received their water only from Mekorot, whose end-user prices were set by the government and are therefore available for our analysis. Third, we exclude exceptional small-scale agricultural water users with cultivated areas of less than 50 hectares per village or water quotas of less than 50,000 m³ per year, because

712 such small water users may represent noncommercial activities. The aggregate water
713 usage by the villages in the sample accounts for 20% of the total agricultural
714 freshwater consumption in Israel during the study period.

715 Table 2 provides descriptive statistics of the variables in the dataset and reports
716 their sources. The data includes the freshwater applications, quotas and prices, as well
717 as the demand- and cost-related variables, which are represented in Eqs. (10) and (12)
718 by the vectors z^{it} and x^{it} . As we have already noted (recall Figure 3a), the per-village
719 average water consumption is lower than the average water quota, and in 48% of the
720 observations the village's quota exceeds the documented consumption—facts that
721 indicate that, for a part of the sample, the price is the effective control. However, this
722 calculation is "naive" because it ignores the impact of random effects. In the next
723 section, we account for the impact of unobserved factors by expressing the
724 effectiveness of the hybrid instruments in terms of probabilities; to do so, we use the
725 estimated probability-density functions of the random variables γ , ε and u .

726 As noted above, we assume that village-specific marginal supply costs are
727 constant. This assumption is justified on several grounds. First, the assumption is
728 consistent with our explicit-cost dataset and with recent estimations of the cost
729 function of water supply in Israel (Reznik et al. 2016). Second, sectoral stakeholders
730 tend to consider marginal costs as constants (Feinerman, Gadish and Mishaeli 2003).
731 Third, because the water-distribution network connects almost all of the country's
732 regions, changes in the water supply to an individual consumer barely affect the
733 amount of water available to the other consumers (the largest village consumes less
734 than 0.2% of the aggregate water supply), a fact that justifies a linear approximation
735 of a village's impact on the country's water-supply cost. Fourth, water storage in
736 aquifers and surface reservoirs provides the water supply across locales and time-

737 periods with flexibility. The last two features imply that all consumers almost equally
738 share the burden of water scarcity. Therefore, we decompose the supply cost into an
739 element of explicit water-delivery cost that is time-invariant and village specific and
740 an element of implicit water-scarcity cost that is time-varying and uniform across
741 villages; the latter is represented by the annual natural enrichment of reservoirs.
742 Explicit water-delivery costs, separated into energy and capital & operation costs,
743 were detailed by Mekorot's supply facilities; each facility allocates water to a group of
744 adjacent villages based on engineering and topographic considerations. For the
745 estimation of the price-formation equation, we use the village-level explicit costs to
746 compute the average costs for each of the 24 water-price regions.

747 **Table 2** – Descriptive statistics of the dependent and explanatory variables.

Variable	Units	Mean/Frequency	Std. Deviation
Water usage ^a	1000 m ³ year ⁻¹ village ⁻¹	951	491
Water quota ^a	1000 m ³ year ⁻¹ village ⁻¹	1013	429
Water price ^{b,c}	\$ m ⁻³	0.275	0.05
Energy cost ^b	\$ m ⁻³	0.575	0.25
Capital & operation cost ^b	\$ m ⁻³	0.35	0.2
Natural enrichment ^c	10 ⁶ m ³ year ⁻¹	1280	313
October precipitation ^d	mm month ⁻¹	35.9	26.2
Aprill precipitation ^d	mm month ⁻¹	22.3	22.5
Annual precipitation ^d	mm year ⁻¹	526	183
Elevation above sea level	m	183	223
Agricultural land ^a	1000 m ² village ⁻¹	2745	2201
Perennials' area ^a	1000 m ² village ⁻¹	739	578
Light soil ^e	Dummy	0.46	0.50
Medium soil ^e	Dummy	0.06	0.24
Heavy soil ^e	Dummy	0.48	0.50
North	Dummy	0.37	0.48
Center	Dummy	0.43	0.50
South	Dummy	0.20	0.40

Cooperative (Moshav)	Dummy	0.78	0.41
Communal (Kibbutz)	Dummy	0.18	0.38
Minority	Dummy	0.04	0.20
Agriculture terms of trade ^f	Index (1952=100)	65.2	1.30

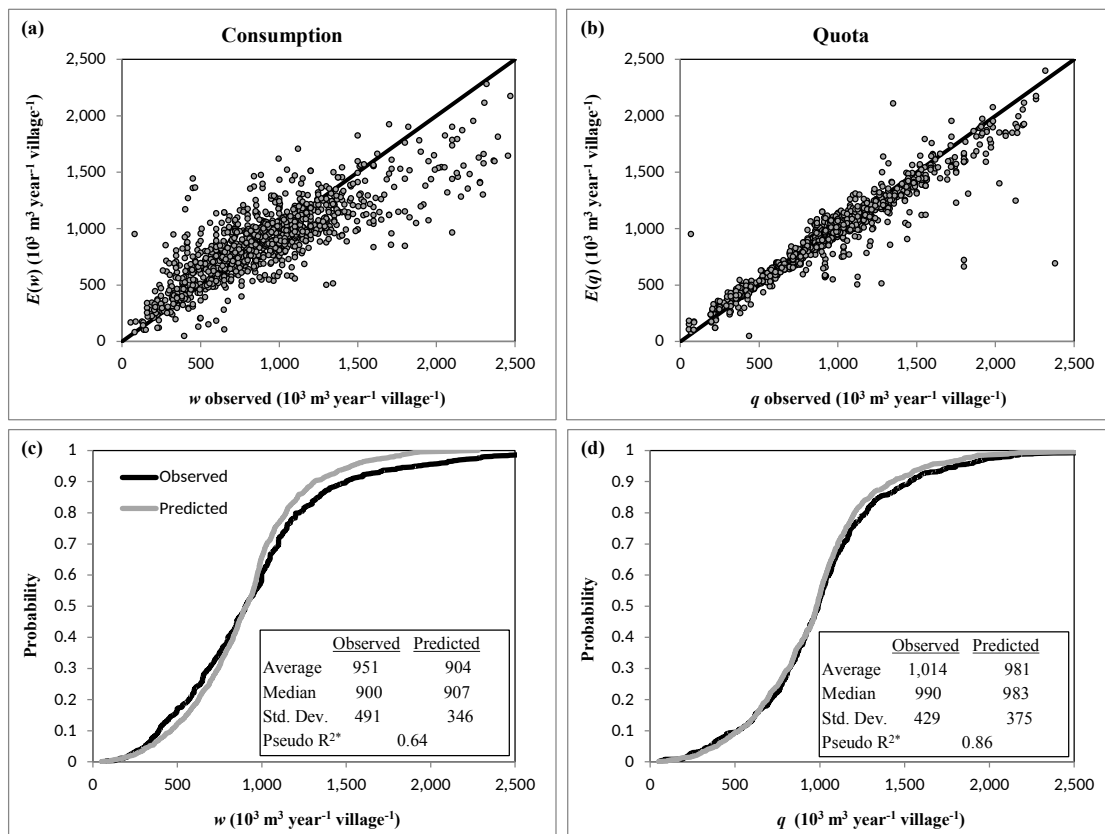
a. Ministry of Agricultural & Rural Development. b. Monetary values are reported in 2020 US Dollars.
c. Water Commission. d. Meteorological Service of Israel (<https://ims.data.gov.il/ims/1>). e. Rabikovitz
(1992). f. Kislev and Vaksin (2003).

To explain the water demand, we use various topographic, climatologic and institutional attributes of the villages. Finally, the agriculture terms-of-trade index (the price ratio of vegetative agricultural products to farm inputs) serves as a shifter of the water demand of the agricultural sector as a whole (analogous to the parameter ν mentioned with respect to the comparative statics analyses).

4.5 Estimation Results

We first describe the results of the estimation of the demand and quota equations (Eqs. 10 and 12) using the DCC maximum likelihood framework. To account for possible heteroskedasticity in the random variable ε , we specify the standard deviation σ_ε as a linear function of the village's total agricultural land. In Figure 4, we evaluate the goodness-of-fit of the estimation by comparing the observed and the computed expectation values of the water usage and quota (we calculate the expectation values using a simulation framework, which is based on the estimated likelihood function and presented in detail in the next section). The correlation coefficient of the predicted and observed series is 0.86 for quotas and 0.64 for water consumptions; both coefficients indicate a reasonable fit. While the distribution of the predicted consumption is less dispersed than that of the actual quantities, all other distribution moments are quite similar. In particular, the predicted average water usage and quota are very similar to their observed counterparts (see Figures 4c and 4d).

Table 3 reports the estimated coefficients of the demand and quota functions; we commence with the demand. The estimated standard errors, σ_y and σ_ε , indicate that most of the unexplained variation in water consumption is associated with the technological heterogeneity among villages (based on Tables 2 and 3, for the average village we get $\sigma_\varepsilon = \exp(4.92 + 0.0016 \times 2,745) = 213$ and $\sigma_y = \exp(5.82) = 338$). As expected, the price coefficient is negative and significant (we discuss the demand elasticity in the next section). Only a few of the variables exhibit statistically-significant impacts on the water demand; among them are the village's total cultivable land, the area allocated to perennials, which is assumed to be exogenous in the short run, and the terms-of-trade index, which acts as a demand shifter. All of the other estimated coefficients, such as the effects of increased rainfall, a higher elevation above sea level, and a farther south location in the drier areas of the country, show the expected signs, but are statistically insignificant.



784 **Figure 4** – Goodness-of-fit and moments of the distributions of the predicted and
785 observed consumptions and quotas at the village level.

786 The estimated parameters of the quota-allocation function are consistent with the
787 theory. The most notable result is the fact that the price coefficient is negative,
788 statistically significant, and economically substantial. This result supports the
789 theoretical finding that supplementing quantity instruments with prices reduces the
790 intensity of the political lobbying for the enlargement of quotas and thereby elevates
791 the efficiency (recall Figures 1 and 2).

792 **Table 3** – Coefficients of the equations of the water demand and the quota-allocation
793 rule (Eqs. 10 and 12), which are estimated at the village level.^a

Variable	Demand Equation	Quota Equation
Price	-3,165*** (1,005)	-989.6*** (273.2)
Energy cost	-	-122.4** (50.5)
Capital & operation cost	-	41.76 (46.80)
Natural enrichment	-	0.031 (0.032)
Historical quota	-	0.786 (0.019)
Elevation above sea level	-0.627*** (0.096)	-
October precipitation	-0.841 (1.091)	-
April precipitation	-1.866 (1.660)	-1.733*** (0.428)
Annual precipitation	-0.028 (0.225)	-0.006 (0.067)
Agricultural land	0.134*** (0.026)	0.013*** (0.003)
Perennials' area	0.510*** (0.063)	0.047*** (0.011)
Light soil	-58.93 (51.68)	-21.39* (12.60)
Medium soil	-2,460 (35,871)	119.6*** (26.9)
Terms of trade	56.05* (32.68)	19.49** (7.93)
Center	5.619 (58.59)	62.59** (25.40)
South	228.6 (153.2)	61.76* (34.92)
Cooperative	-79.19 (70.63)	23.31 (16.03)
Minorities	823.1 (22,785)	-140.4*** (33.4)
$\ln(\sigma_y)$	5.82*** (0.064)	-

$\ln(\sigma_\varepsilon)$ – Agricultural land	0.0016*** (0.0001)	-
$\ln(\sigma_\varepsilon)$ – Constant	4.92*** (0.05)	-
$\ln(\sigma_u)$	-	5.03*** (0.02)

a. Numbers in parentheses represent standard errors; *, ** and *** indicate, respectively, significance levels of 0.1, 0.05 and 0.01.

Regarding other parameters, we note that the two components of the water-delivery cost operate in opposite directions: on the one hand, a higher energy cost, which indicates an increase in the marginal cost, increases the VMP under the political equilibrium in Eq. (3) and therefore negatively affects the allotted quotas in the equilibrium. On the other hand, capital and operational costs exhibit a positive (insignificant) coefficient. We expect a positive coefficient because larger capital costs indicate larger installed capacities, which are negatively correlated with the marginal costs (recalling the Hazen–Williams equation, a larger pipe diameter implies lower friction, and therefore a lower loss of energy in water supply); therefore, villages connected to capital-intensive enterprises enjoy comparatively larger quotas. Following Bar-Shira Finkelshstein and Simhon (2006), we introduce the historical quota as an indicator of the village's production capacity, and obtain a statistically significant coefficient. Higher terms-of-trade increase the quotas—a finding that verifies the prediction of the comparative statics with respect to the auxiliary parameter v . The interpretation of most of the other parameters in the quota equation is straightforward. The only exceptional parameter is the seemingly unintuitive sign of the April precipitation coefficient: while the impact of spring rainfalls on the demand is not statistically significant, a rainy year may reduce the pressure that farmers exercise to obtain higher quotas, and hence the negative sign in the quota-allocation equation.

816 Using the price coefficients of the demand and quota equations, we estimate the

817 political preference ratio $\frac{\alpha}{1+\alpha}$ at about 0.31 ($t = \frac{-989.6}{-3,165}$), with a 95% confidence

818 interval of [0.07,0.55]. This estimated political influence is slightly lower than that

819 reported by Zusman and Amiad (1977), who estimated $\frac{\alpha}{1+\alpha}$ in the range of 0.4–0.6

820 for the Israeli dairy sector based on data from the late 1960s. On the other hand, that

821 ratio is considerably higher than estimations obtained in studies of the impact of

822 lobbying on trade policies (Gawande and Magee 2012). Therefore, we find that the

823 government is not benevolent, but that the weight attached by policymakers to the

824 welfare of the general public ($\frac{1}{1+\alpha} = 0.69$) is larger than the weight that they assign to

825 the benefits of the interest groups.

826 Table 4 reports the estimated parameters of the equation of the price formation at

827 the regional level (Eq. 17). The data includes 72 region-year observations, and we

828 account for heteroscedasticity by using the number of villages as a weight assigned to

829 each region (weighting did not markedly affect the results). As we have already noted,

830 we use exogenous variables (e.g., weather conditions) as instruments for the term $\frac{W_{jt}}{N_{jt}^p}$

831 . The results suggest that marginal changes in the regional water consumption W_{jt}

832 have a negative effect on the price p_{jt} . Therefore, in accordance with the logic of the

833 backward induction, exogenous changes that increase the VMP of irrigation water

834 lead to increased water demand and equilibrium quotas, which in turn intensify the

835 lobbying efforts in the political arena of the first-stage price negotiations and yield a

836 reduced price. This effect is further strengthened by the government's increased

tendency to accommodate the farmers' pressure to reduce the price—a tendency that stems from the increased VMP. In addition, higher energy costs increase the equilibrium prices, whereas capital and operational costs have the opposite effect; these effects concur with those that we estimated based on the quota-allocation equation (Table 3). A larger natural enrichment of the reservoirs may lead to reduced scarcity rents, and therefore to a decrease in the equilibrium price.

We estimate the lobbying participation rate ϕ at 0.16 with a 95% confidence interval of [0.41,-0.1], which indicates the existence of considerable free riding with respect to the regional price (in comparison with lobbying for the village-specific quotas). In fact, the null hypothesis of negligible lobbying for lower regional prices is rejected only at the 10% level of significance.

Table 4 – Estimated parameters of the equation of the price formation at the regional level (Eq. 17).

Variable	Coefficient ^a
$\frac{W_{jt}}{N_{jt}^p}$ (instrumented ^b)	$-3.6 \times 10^{-6***} (4.2 \times 10^{-7})$
Energy cost	$0.12*** (0.02)$
Capital & operation costs	$-0.14*** (0.02)$
Natural enrichment	$-1.2 \times 10^{-5***} (8 \times 10^{-7})$
Constant	$0.067*** (8 \times 10^{-4})$

a. Numbers in parentheses represent standard errors; *, ** and *** indicate, respectively, significance

levels of 0.1, 0.05 and 0.01. b. The instruments for $\frac{W_{jt}}{N_{jt}^p}$ include the October precipitation, the April precipitation, the elevation above sea level, and the years' and regions' fixed effects.

5. Simulations

Using the estimated parameters of the model, we develop a simulation framework for scenario analyses. The presence of random effects implies that predicted values are to

856 be expressed in terms of expectations. Therefore, we use a numerical integration of
857 the estimated bivariate likelihood function (Eq. 15) to compute the expected values of
858 the following equilibrium elements at the village level (see Appendix G): the water
859 usage $E(w^{it})$ and water quota $E(q^{it})$ (which are those presented in Figures 4a and 4b,
860 respectively), the probability of a village being bound by the price
861 $E\left(Pr\left[D(p^{it}, z^{it}) \leq q^{it}\right]\right)$, the VMP conditional on the quota being binding
862 $E\left(\pi_w^{it} \mid D(p^{it}, z^{it}) > q^{it}\right)$, the VMP at the water-usage level $E(\pi_w^{it})$, and the deadweight
863 loss relative to the socially optimal water allocation $E(DWL^{it})$. In addition, we
864 compute these elements for simulated equilibria under the quotas-only and price-only
865 regimes.

866 The section starts with a discussion of water demand elasticity; we then evaluate
867 the impact of exogenous changes and compare the hybrid policy to its two single-
868 control counterparts. Finally, we decompose the deadweight loss, simulated under the
869 quotas-only and price-only regimes, into three parts; each part is attributed to the
870 impact of a different factor: demand elasticity, cost heterogeneity and free-riding.

871 5.1 Demand-Price Elasticity

872 Prices are endogenous in our model; nevertheless, one may wonder how the price
873 affects water consumption. We distinguish three concepts of elasticity. The first
874 concept is the "calculated demand elasticity," which we compute by utilizing the
875 regression coefficient and evaluate at the sample-mean water usage (Tables 2 and 3);
876 this elasticity is -0.91 ($= -7,913 \times 0.11 / 958$). The second concept is the "constrained
877 market elasticity," which corresponds to a market experiment in which villages
878 constrained by their quota do not respond to changes in the price and in which we
879 assume that the quotas are unresponsive to price changes. We conduct the calculation

880 by simulating the expected water consumption $E(w^{it})$ for prices that are 5% above and
881 below the observed levels while holding the observed quotas constant. The elasticity
882 thus computed is -0.28, which is higher than the short-run demand elasticity of -0.13
883 estimated by Bar-Shira Finkelshtain and Simhon (2006) for the Israeli agricultural
884 sector in the period 1992–1997, but lower than the elasticity of -0.89 estimated by
885 Finkelshtain Kan and Rapaport-Rom (2020) for the years 1996–2008.

886 Regarding the third elasticity concept, which accounts for the political
887 mechanism, recall that as prices change in the first stage of the political game they
888 induce quota changes in the second stage. A simulation of the quota expectation $E(q^{it})$
889 with a 5% price change yields an "elasticity" of -0.27 of the equilibrium-quota rule
890 with respect to the price. Accordingly, the third concept is the "unconstrained market
891 elasticity," reached by simulating $E(w^{it})$ with a price change of 5%, but this time
892 allowing the quotas to change based on $E(q^{it})$. The computed elasticity is now -0.50—
893 almost twice as large as the "constrained market elasticity."

894 Many countries employ quantitative controls for irrigation water. The above
895 findings imply that, at least for the conditions in Israel during the 1980s, an assertive
896 price policy could greatly enhance the effectiveness of the direct-control instruments.

897 5.2 Exogenous Changes

898 In this subsection, we investigate the impact of exogenous shocks on the equilibrium
899 characteristics of the hybrid policy and quantify the comparative statics effects
900 presented in Table 1 with respect to selected equilibrium elements; Table 5 reports the
901 results in terms of elasticities, which we evaluate at the sample average values.

902 **Table 5** – Simulated responses of equilibrium elements to changes in the terms of
903 trade, α , ϕ , and energy costs (expressed in terms of sample-average elasticities).

Equilibrium element	Baseline level	Game stage	Terms of trade	α	ϕ	Energy costs
p^{he} (\$ m ⁻³)	0.275	I	-9.15	-1.16	-0.49	0.16
$E\left(Pr\left[w \leq p^{he}\right]\right)$	0.24	I	-42.1	4.65	-1.55	0.52
$E\left(q^{he}\right)$ (10 ³ m ³ year ⁻¹ village ⁻¹)	981	II	3.65	0.13	0.13	-0.04
$E\left(w\right)$ (10 ³ m ³ year ⁻¹ village ⁻¹)	951	II	4.05	0.18	0.15	-0.05

904 We start with the baseline-simulated conditions, which Table 5 portrays in its
905 second column. The equilibrium price p^{he} is the predicted average value of Eq. (17),
906 and the expected consumption and quota are the sample-average of the simulated
907 values, which Figure 4c and 4d report, respectively. The average expected probability
908 that the price acts as the binding factor $E\left(Pr\left[w \leq p^{he}\right]\right)$ is 0.24, which appears to be
909 half of the above-mentioned "naive" observation that consumption is lower than the
910 quota in 48% of the sample (recall Figure 3a); this finding demonstrates the
911 importance of accounting for the distributions of the random variables γ and ε .

912 Considering the exogenous changes, the third column in Table 5 indicates the
913 stage of the political game through which the equilibrium characteristics are set, and
914 columns 4–7 show the effects of changes in four exogenous factors: terms of trade, α ,
915 ϕ , and energy costs. The first two rows of Table 5 show variations in the elements
916 associated with the first stage: p^{he} and $E\left(Pr\left[w \leq p^{he}\right]\right)$. We calculate the change in the
917 price using Eq. (17); in this equation, W_{jt} equals the regional sum of the expected
918 consumption at the village level $E\left(w^{it}\right)$ and $N_{jt}^p = N_j E\left(Pr_j\left[D\left(p^{it}, z^{it}\right) \leq q^{it}\right]\right)$, in which
919 N_j is the number of villages in region j and $E\left(Pr_j\left[D\left(p^{it}, z^{it}\right) \leq q^{it}\right]\right)$ is region- j 's
920 average expected probability of the quota being non-binding. The last two rows
921 present the second-stage effect, which we compute by introducing the exogenous
922 change and the updated price from the first stage into the equations of the equilibrium

923 elements (Appendix G) while allowing the quotas to change according to the
924 estimated function $Q(p^{it}, x^{it}, z^{it})$.

925 The comparative statics analyses (Table 1) predict that improvement in the terms
926 of trade leads to a reduced price and to increased quotas and water usage. The results
927 of the simulation (column 4 in Table 5) demonstrate that these effects are sizeable.
928 Note, in particular, that the elasticity of the water price with respect to the terms of
929 trade is -9.15. In the last seven decades, since the establishment of the state of Israel
930 (1948), the terms of trade of crops in Israel have declined by more than 60% while
931 water prices have increased by a factor of six. Political scientists (e.g., Menahem
932 1998) tend to attribute these changes to erosion in the intensity of lobbying by farmers
933 and/or in the attitudes of society and politicians towards agriculture. Our political-
934 economic model, in which the levels of the political organization (ϕ) and
935 governmental norms (α) are steady, provides an alternative explanation to the increase
936 in the water price; namely, an exogenous decline in the terms of trade.

937 The elasticities of the equilibrium water-usage and quota, with respect to both α
938 and ϕ , are less than 1. However, those elasticities are substantial, and tend to be
939 similar in their magnitudes. While lower costs of communication may lead to an
940 increased transparency of governmental policies and to higher ethical norms (i.e.,
941 lower α), they may also strengthen the political organization and lobbying of farmers
942 (i.e., larger ϕ) (Anderson 1995); the results of the simulations suggest that such
943 changes may offset each other, and thereby perpetuate the overutilization of water
944 resources.

945 5.3 Comparing the Hybrid Regime with its Quotas-Only and Price-Only Counterparts

946 Compared to a quotas-only policy, the hybrid control leads to larger VMPs and to
947 smaller water utilization across the board; however, the VMPs of a subset of the price-

bound users exceed their marginal costs (Figure 3). A price-only regime is, by definition, a second-best solution because of the presence of heterogeneous marginal supply costs, but, because of free-riding, it attracts less political pressure than a hybrid control does. Therefore, as we have noted above, a normative ranking of the hybrid, quotas-only, and price-only regimes is an empirical question.

In addition to studying the normative ranking of the three policies, we study the factors that underlie the societal rank of the price and quotas as exclusive regulations. FK showed that, under homogenous costs, if the demand elasticity is higher than the share of the resource utilized by the politically organized users, then, in terms of efficiency, a price-only policy dominates a quotas-only regime. Considering the estimated parameters in our study (a demand elasticity of -0.91 and a lobbying participation rate of 0.16), one would expect a dominance of the price regime. However, here we extend FK's framework by incorporating heterogeneous water-supply costs and thereby introduce an additional source of welfare-loss with respect to a uniform price. We therefore decompose the impact of the three factors on the relative efficiency of the price-only and quotas-only regimes under lobbying: demand elasticity, free-riding, and cost heterogeneity. To that end, we separate the price-only regulation into two pricing schemes: a regionally uniform price and village-specific prices (see Appendix G); a comparison of these two scenarios enables us to assess the welfare effect of the intra-regional variability of the marginal costs. To quantify the effect of free-riding, we simulate the price regime in the extreme case of perfect lobbying ($\phi = 1$) under both the regionally uniform and the village-specific price settings.

Table 6 reports the results in terms of sample averages. The columns marked I, II, and III present the results under the hybrid, quotas-only and price-only (the scenario

in which the price is uniform and $\phi=0.16$) regimes, respectively. As the theory predicts, the expected VMP under the simulated hybrid regime exceeds that of the quotas-only regime ($0.45 \$ m^{-3}$ versus $0.38 \$ m^{-3}$), and therefore the per-village annual water usage under the hybrid regime is relatively lower ($951,000 m^3$ versus $1,230,000 m^3$). From a welfare perspective, the hybrid regime is clearly favorable to the quotas-only regime: the per-village annual deadweight loss is \$45,000 under the former compared to \$65,800 under the latter. Evidently, the price-only regime fares worse in terms of welfare—its deadweight loss is about 110% as large as that of the hybrid policy. Given that, under the price-only regime, the VMP is the largest ($0.52 \$ m^{-3}$) and the water usage is the lowest ($915,000 m^3 year^{-1} village^{-1}$), we attribute the inferiority of that policy to the presence of a large heterogeneity in marginal water-supply costs. Indeed, the scenarios of price-only regimes with village specific prices and a uniform price yield the same expected VMP ($0.52 \$ m^{-3}$), but the deadweight loss in the scenario of the village specific prices is considerably lower ($800 m^3 year^{-1} village^{-1}$).

Table 6 – Equilibrium elements simulated under the hybrid, quotas-only, and price-only regimes (evaluated at the sample average).

Equilibrium element	Price-only regimes					
	Hybrid regime	Quotas-only regime	Uniform price		Village-specific price	
			$\phi=0.16$	$\phi=1$	$\phi=0.16$	$\phi=1$
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
$E(\pi_w(w)) (\$ m^{-3})$	0.45	0.38	0.52	0.37	0.52	0.37
$E(w) (10^3 m^3 year^{-1} village^{-1})$	951	1,230	915	1,391	850	1,439
$E(DWL) (10^3 \$ year^{-1} village^{-1})$	45.0	65.8	96.3	158.8	0.8	83.8

We now consider the expectations of deadweight losses that are simulated under the single-control regimes (column II versus III); expectations that reflect the superiority of the quotas-only policy in relation to the price-only alternative. We

993 decompose the difference in the deadweight losses between these two policies to the
 994 effects of the demand elasticity, cost heterogeneity, and free-riding. The effect of the
 995 demand elasticity can be evaluated by the difference in the deadweight losses between
 996 the quotas-only regime (column II) and the hypothetical village-specific price-only
 997 policy under perfect political organization (column VI); this difference amounts to
 998 \$18,000 (= \$83,800 minus \$65,900). We elicit the effect of the marginal cost
 999 heterogeneity based on the four price-only simulations (columns III to VI) by
 1000 comparing the uniform-price to the village-specific-prices scenarios; this effect
 1001 amounts to \$95,500 (= \$96,300 minus \$800) under $\phi = 0.16$ (columns III minus V)
 1002 and \$75,000 (= \$158,800 minus \$83,800) under $\phi = 1$ (column IV minus VI).
 1003 Likewise, we use the price-only regimes for an evaluation of the free-riding effect,
 1004 and receive results of \$62,500 (= \$158,800 minus \$96,300) and \$83,000 (= \$83,800
 1005 minus \$800) under the regionally uniform and village-specific prices, respectively.
 1006 Therefore, the dominance of the quotas-only policy over the price-only policy stems
 1007 from the fact that the sum of the welfare impacts of the demand-elasticity and the
 1008 marginal cost variability (\$80,500 to \$101,000) is larger than that of the free-riding
 1009 (\$75,000 to \$95,500).

1010 **7. Summary and Limitations**

1011 Realizing that political involvement tends to distort resource-allocation and reduce
 1012 social welfare, in 2007 the Israeli Parliament amended the water law and established
 1013 an independent Water Authority with the power to determine water allotments and
 1014 prices. The new law specifically and explicitly prevented the minister responsible for
 1015 the water sector from intervening in the Water Authority's areas of responsibility.
 1016 While the parliament's intent was laudable, eventually the legislators could not adhere
 1017 to the law that they had enacted, and could not resist the temptation to influence

prices. The legislators therefore threatened that if price structuring had not become consistent with political desires, they would have amended the law—a threat that reflected the public outcry and the goals of interest groups. It seems impossible to curb the administrative functions from interfering in the political process. Given this axiom, this paper suggests that a hybrid policy that combines quantity controls with market-based instruments can increase a regulation's robustness to political distortions.

Our empirical analysis may fail to capture various factors that affected the irrigation-water policies in Israel, and therefore the estimated distortion attributed to political pressures is potentially biased. For example, if, while setting water prices and quotas, policymakers considered the positive external effects of irrigation water (e.g., open-space services provided by vegetative agriculture; see Fleischer and Tsur 2000), then our estimated parameter α would have incorporated these effects; in this case, we would have overvalued the political power assigned to the agricultural sector. However, Kan et al. (2009) showed that internalizing the benefits of a rural landscape into the considerations of farmers in Israel is expected to hardly alter the patterns of agricultural production. Another possible argument is that regulators might have accounted for the support provided by local agriculture to the food independence of Israel as a geopolitically isolated country (Morag 2001). Nevertheless, Israel's import of virtual water in the form of grains is nearly three times larger than the total annual irrigation-water consumption—a fact that implies that food independence is unattainable under the prevailing patterns of food consumption (Kislev 2001). On the other hand, an undervaluation of α may emerge in the presence of external benefits of alternative freshwater usages, such as discharge into natural waterways to provide recreation and ecosystem services. However, environmental benefits seem to have

been a minor consideration in Israel's policymaking during the 1980s; water was officially allotted to nature only in 2013 (Israel Ministry of Environmental Protection 2013), and even then the regulated allocation (50 million m³ per year) constituted less than 3% of the total annual water supply.

Regarding the level of regional political organization, the estimated parameter ϕ measures the degree of political participation in relation to the involvement of the quota-bound villages in lobbying for the enlargement of their private quotas. However, the participation in the quota game is unidentifiable, and if it is incomplete (e.g., because of lobbying transaction costs), then ϕ is underestimated, whereas α is overestimated. In addition, ϕ may reflect other policy considerations with respect to quotas versus prices, such as differences in bureaucracy and transparency.

We conclude by mentioning potential avenues for future research. The theoretical findings of this paper indicate that, while it enhances the robustness of prices and quotas to political distortion, the hybrid policy may be ranked lower than the exclusive-instrument regimes in terms of welfare. Therefore, the optimal policy may vary across regions and across periods. Applying the model to other water economies that integrate quantitative and price controls may necessitate adjustments in relation to the local institutional and economic conditions. For example, while the decision making with respect to price and quotas in Israel is sequential, in other places regulations may be applied simultaneously; our framework could account for this regulation-setup with some modeling modifications.

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 1068 are available at <https://zenodo.org/record/4647664#.YGM6sa8zYuU>.

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1210 **Appendix A – Proof of Proposition 1**

1211 According to condition (b) of Proposition 1 of GH, the vector of the equilibrium
1212 quotas maximizes the government's objective G . We assume a local differentiability
1213 of r_i^q , and, in relation to Eq. (2), obtain that the necessary condition for this
1214 maximization is:

$$1215 \quad \alpha \sum_{i=1}^N \nabla r_i^q + \nabla S(q^{he}) = 0. \quad (A1)$$

1216 However, condition (c) of Proposition 1 of GH implies that $\nabla r_i^q = \nabla y^i \forall i \in N$; we
 1217 substitute this equality into Eq. (A1), and, given that farms with binding quotas are
 1218 characterized by $S_{q^i} = \pi_w^i - c_{w^i}$, $y_{q^i}^i = \pi_w^i - p$ and $y_{q^i}^i = 0 \forall i \neq i$, we get Eq. (3).

1219 **Appendix B – Globally Truthful Contribution Schedules and Equilibrium**

1220 **Uniqueness**

1221 Under globally truthful contribution schedules, the contributions satisfy
 1222 $r_i^q = y^i - r_i^p - B_i \forall i \in N$, in which r_i^p (i.e., farm- i 's contribution to the regional lobby) is
 1223 known from the first-stage price game, and B_i is a positive constant to be determined
 1224 by the equilibrium. Define

$$1225 \quad q^{-j} \equiv \underset{q}{\operatorname{argmax}} \left\{ \alpha \sum_{i \in Q} \left(y^i(q^i) - r_i^p - B_i \right) + S(q) \right\} \forall i \in Q \quad (\text{B1})$$

1226 as the choice of quotas when farm j refrains from lobbying. According to Proposition
 1227 (1) of GH, the set of equilibrium constants B_i^{he} , $i \in Q$, satisfies the following system of
 1228 equations:

$$1229 \quad \alpha \sum_{i \in Q} \left(y^i(q_i^{he}) - r_i^p - B_i^{he} \right) + S(q^{he}) = \alpha \sum_{i \in Q} \left(y^i(q_i^{-j}) - r_i^p - B_i^{he} \right) + S(q^{-j}) \forall i \in Q, (\text{B2})$$

1230 in which q_i^{-j} is the i element of the vector q^{-j} .

1231 Note that this equilibrium condition does not determine the contribution r_i^p for all
 1232 $i \in L$ (i.e., the allocation of the contribution of the regional lobby r^p among the L
 1233 contributing farms). To ensure the uniqueness of the equilibrium, we assume that the
 1234 lobbying costs are shared by some rule that is known to all agents in the economy, but
 1235 is not formulated explicitly here. Under this condition, a monotonicity of $S(\cdot)$ and $y^i(\cdot)$
 1236 assures a unique solution to the system in Eq. (B2).

1237 **Appendix C – Proof of Proposition 2**

1238 Once more, we employ Proposition 1 of GH and assume a local differentiability of the
 1239 contribution schedule of the regional lobby. A maximization of G in Eq. (2) implies
 1240 that:

$$\begin{aligned}
 1241 \quad & \alpha \frac{\partial r^p}{\partial p} + \sum_{i \notin Q} (\pi_w^i - c_{w^i}) D_p^i + \sum_{i=1}^N \left[\alpha \frac{\partial r_i^q}{\partial q^i} + (\pi_w^i - c_{w^i}) \right] \frac{\partial q_i^{he}}{\partial p} = 0 \\
 & \Leftrightarrow \alpha \frac{\partial r^p}{\partial p} + \sum_{i \notin Q} (\pi_w^i - c_{w^i}) D_p^i = 0,
 \end{aligned} \tag{C1}$$

1242 in which the equivalency follows from the maximization of G in the second stage; a
 1243 maximization that implies that the expression in the square brackets vanishes
 1244 (according to the envelope theorem). By maximizing the joint welfare of the
 1245 government and farms' lobby $Y + G$ and using Eq. (C1), we obtain:

$$1246 \quad \sum_{i \in L} w^i - \frac{\partial r^p}{\partial p} + \sum_{i=1}^N \left(\pi_w^i - p^{he} - \frac{\partial r_i^q}{\partial q^i} \right) \frac{\partial q_i^{he}}{\partial p} + \alpha \frac{\partial r^p}{\partial p} + \sum_{i \notin Q} (\pi_w^i - c_{w^i}) D_p^i = 0 \tag{C2}$$

1247 However, it follows from the second-stage equilibrium that $\pi_w^i - p^{he} = \frac{\partial r_i^q}{\partial q^i} \forall i \in Q$,

1248 and that for all $i \notin Q$ $\pi_w^i - p^{he} = 0$ and $\frac{\partial r_i^q}{\partial q^i} = 0$; these equalities imply that

$$1249 \quad \left(\pi_w^i - p^{he} - \frac{\partial r_i^q}{\partial q^i} \right) \frac{\partial q_i^{he}}{\partial p} = 0. \text{ Moreover, according to Eq. (C1), } \alpha \frac{\partial r^p}{\partial p} + \sum_{i \notin Q} (\pi_w^i - c_{w^i}) D_p^i = 0$$

1250 . Taken together, these last two equalities can be used to rewrite Eq. (C2) as

1251 $\sum_{i \in L} w^i = \frac{\partial r^p}{\partial p}$. We substitute the last equality into Eq. (C1) and use the identities

1252 $\sum_{i \in L} w^i = \phi \sum_{i \in N} w^i = \phi \left[\sum_{i \in Q} q_i^{he}(p^{he}) + \sum_{i \notin Q} D^i(p^{he}) \right]$ to get Eq. (7).

1253 A formal proof of the existence and uniqueness of a perfect Nash equilibrium in
 1254 the two-stage price-quota game is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, we provide
 1255 an informal discussion of the matter. First, we assume that $\pi^i(w^i)$ and the farm's net
 1256 income are concave and differentiable (the net income constitutes the farm's objective
 1257 function in the second-stage quota game). Considering our additional assumption that
 1258 $c(w)$ is convexly increasing and differentiable, the second-stage objective function of
 1259 the government $G(q)$ is also concave and differentiable. Thus, all of the conditions
 1260 underlying Proposition 1 of GH are fulfilled—a fact that ensures the existence of a
 1261 perfect Nash equilibrium in the second-stage game. In accordance with GH's
 1262 framework, uniqueness is ensured under the truthfulness refinement. All that remains
 1263 is to justify the existence and uniqueness of the first-stage price game. Because the
 1264 first-stage objective functions of the government and the farms are concave and
 1265 differentiable with respect to q^{he} and r_i^q , the uniqueness and existence of the
 1266 equilibrium, based on Proposition 1 of GH, is assured.
 1267

1268 Appendix D – Existence of a Separating Equilibrium

1269 **Proposition:** *If $p^{he} = [p^{he}, \dots, \bar{p}^{he}]$ is the set of possible separating-equilibrium prices*
 1270 *in a hybrid regime, a sufficient condition for the existence of $p^{he} \in p^{he}$ is that, under*
 1271 *p^{he} , there exist:*

1272 (a) *at least one farm $i \in N$ for which the historical quota is large enough to satisfy*

$$1273 \quad \check{q}_i > \pi_w^{i-1} \left(\sum_{i \in I} c_{w^i} \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \in I} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha \phi} \right), \text{ in which } I \text{ is the group of price-bound farms}$$

1274 *under the lowest-possible separating-equilibrium price p^{he} ;*

1275 (b) *at least one farm $i \in N$ for which the historical quota \check{q}_i is small enough to satisfy*

$$1276 \quad \check{q}_i < \pi_w^{i-1} \left(\sum_{i \in N} c_{w^i} \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \in N} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha \phi} \right).$$

1277 D.1 Condition (a)

1278 Condition (a) excludes the case of a pooling-quotas equilibrium (i.e., $Q = N$). We first
 1279 describe a situation under which the pooling-quotas equilibrium is guaranteed, and
 1280 then formulate the condition that excludes such an equilibrium.

1281 According to Eq. (3), the equilibrium-quota rule implies that $c_{w^i} > \pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) > p$
 1282 prevails for any price p , as long as $\alpha > 0$. Suppose that the historical quotas are set so
 1283 that $\max(\check{q}_i, q_i^{he}(p)) = q_i^{he}(p)$ for all $i \in N$ (for example, this prevails in case the
 1284 allocation of historical quotas corresponds the socially optimal allocation:

1285 $\check{q}_i = q_i^o = \pi_w^{i-1}(c_{w^i})$ for all $i \in N$). This situation implies that if a separating-equilibrium
 1286 price p^{he} exists, then the quota-bound group is dictated only by the equilibrium-quota

1287 rule $q_i^{he}(p^{he})$: $Q \equiv \{i \in N : q_i^{he}(p^{he}) \leq D_i(p^{he})\}$. Therefore, according to Eq. (3), some farm
 1288 $n \in Q$, whose marginal cost is $c_{w^n} \geq c_w$, exists, and its quota q_n^{he} satisfies the identities:

$$1289 \quad p^{he} = \pi_w^n(q_n^{he}) = \frac{c_{w^n} + \alpha p^{he}}{1 + \alpha} \iff$$

$$1290 \quad p^{he} = c_{w^n}; \quad (D1)$$

1291 the quota q_i^{he} of any other quota-bound farm i satisfies $\pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) \geq p^{he}$; this fact implies
 1292 that $c_{w^i} \geq c_{w^n}$ for all $i \in Q$, $i \neq n$. In other words, under that hybrid separating-
 1293 equilibrium, c_{w^n} is the lowest marginal cost among the quota-bound farms, whereas
 1294 the marginal costs of all price-bound farms fall short of c_{w^n} . However, according to
 1295 Eq. (8) and for the case of $\alpha\phi > 0$, the equilibrium price p^{he} is lower than the weighted
 1296 average of the marginal costs of the price-bound farms—a fact that implies that

$$1297 \quad p^{he} = \sum_{i \notin Q} c_{w^i} \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \notin Q} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha\phi} < c_{w^n}. \quad (D2)$$

1298 This inequality contradicts Eq. (D1).

1299 Therefore, if $\check{q}_i < q_i^{he}(p)$ for all $i \in N$, then a separating political equilibrium cannot
 1300 emerge even in the case of $c_{w^n} = c_w$. In this case the price is zeroed, and the pooling-

1301 quotas equilibrium emerges so that $\pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) = \frac{c_{w^i}}{1 + \alpha}$ for all $i \in N$. This outcome implies
 1302 that, if a separating equilibrium price p^{he} exists, then the price must involve at least
 1303 one farm $i \in N$ for which $\check{q}_i > q_i^{he}(p^{he})$. Condition (a) defines the minimal level of \check{q}_i
 1304 that is required to exclude the case of the pooling-quotas equilibrium.

1305 As we have defined above, l is the subgroup of price-bound farms under the
 1306 minimal separating-equilibrium price p^{he} so that

$$p^{he} = \sum_{i \in l} c_{w^i} \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \in l} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha \phi}. \quad (D3)$$

For l to be a non-empty group, at least one farm $i \in N$ for which

$$\check{q}_i > \pi_w^{i-1} \left(\sum_{i \in l} c_{w^i} \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \in l} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha \phi} \right) \text{ should exist; this fact verifies Condition (a).}$$

Notice that, because p^{he} is incorporated in the terms $s^i |\eta^i|$ on the R.H.S of Eq.

(D3), p^{he} is an implicit function. To illustrate a simpler case, let us suppose that all of

the region's farms share the same VMP function $\pi^i(w^i) = \exp\left(\frac{A - w^i}{B}\right)$; this supposition

implies that $w^i |\eta^i| = B$ for all $i \in N$ so that $s^i |\eta^i| = s |\eta|$ for all of the farms (recall the

following identities: $D_i(p) = A - B \ln(p) \implies \eta = \frac{dw^i}{dp} \frac{p}{w^i} = \frac{-B}{w^i} \implies w^i |\eta| = B$). Let farm l

be the single farm whose marginal cost c_{w^l} is the lowest in the region: $c_{w^l} = c_w$. Under

these specifications, the lowest possible separating-equilibrium price is

$$p^{he} = \frac{s |\eta| c_{w^l}}{s |\eta| + \alpha \phi}, \quad (D4)$$

in which the set of price-bound farms l includes only farm l . However, for farm l to be

included in l , farm- l 's historical quota must satisfy $\check{q}_l > \pi_w^{l-1} \left(\frac{s |\eta| c_{w^l}}{s |\eta| + \alpha \phi} \right)$. Note that any

other farm $i \neq l$ (whose marginal cost $c_{w^i} > c_{w^l}$) for which $\check{q}_i > \pi_w^{i-1} \left(\frac{s |\eta| c_{w^i}}{s |\eta| + \alpha \phi} \right)$ would be a

1321 price-bound farm under p^{he} , and also under any price larger than p^{he} ; therefore, a
 1322 sufficient condition for the exclusion of a pooling-quotas equilibrium is the presence

1323 of at least one farm $i \in N$ for which $\check{q}_i > \pi_w^{l-1} \left(\frac{s|\eta|c_{w^i}}{s|\eta| + \alpha\phi} \right)$.

1324 D.2 Condition (b)

1325 Condition (b) excludes the emergence of a polling-price equilibrium; we prove the
 1326 condition by contradiction. Assume the existence of a set of historical quotas \check{q} and of
 1327 a separating hybrid-equilibrium price $p^{he} \in p^{he}$ under which $\check{q}_i > q_i^{he}(p^{he})$ for all $i \in N$.

1328 In this case, $Q \equiv \{i \in N : \check{q}_i \leq D_i(p^{he})\}$; in other words, only the vector \check{q} determines the
 1329 set Q under p^{he} , and $\pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) > \pi_w^i(\check{q}_i)$ for all $i \in N$. Additionally, let \check{q}_k be the historical
 1330 quota of farm k whose VMP $\pi_w^k(\check{q}_k)$ (i.e., evaluated at \check{q}_k) is the largest among all N
 1331 farms.

1332 Consider the political-equilibrium price under a price-only regime:

1333
$$p^{pe} = \sum_{i \in N} c_{w^i} \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \in N} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha\phi}$$
. If \check{q}_k is large enough so that $p^{pe} > \pi_w^k(\check{q}_k)$, then $D_i(p^{he}) < \check{q}_i$

1334 for all $i \in N$; this fact implies that all farms in the region are bound by the price (i.e.,
 1335 $Q \neq \emptyset$) so that $p^{he} = p^{pe}$. However, this situation contradicts our assumption that the
 1336 price p^{he} is a separating-equilibrium price. Therefore, a separating equilibrium

1337 requires at least one farm $i \in N$ for which the historical quota is small enough to

1338 satisfy $\pi_w^i(\check{q}_i) > p^{pe}$; as stated by Condition (b): $\check{q}_i < \pi_w^{i-1} \left(\sum_{i \in N} c_{w^i} \frac{s^i |\eta^i|}{\sum_{i \in N} (s^i |\eta^i|) + \alpha \phi} \right)$.

1339 D.3 The Equilibrium in the Case that the Historical Quotas of the Hybrid-Policy are
 1340 Determined under a Quotas-Only Regime

1341 Suppose that a quotas-only regime is replaced by a hybrid regime, in which the
 1342 historical quotas are determined under the hitherto quotas-only regime. In this case,

1343 for any price p under the hybrid policy the inequality $\frac{c_{w^i}}{1+\alpha} < \frac{c_{w^i} + \alpha p}{1+\alpha}$ prevails for all

1344 $i \in N$; therefore, $\check{q}_i > q_i^{he}(p)$ for all $i \in N$. Consequently, under a given separating-

1345 equilibrium price p^{he} , only the historical quotas \check{q} determine the set of quota-bound

1346 farms Q . Assume again that $s^i |\eta^i| = s |\eta|$ for all farms, and that only one farm $l \in N$,

1347 whose marginal cost c_{w^l} is the lowest ($c_{w^l} = \underline{c}_w$), and only one farm $k \in N$, whose

1348 marginal cost c_{w^k} is the highest ($c_{w^k} = \bar{c}_w$), exist. Then, because the VMP under the

1349 quotas-only regime $\frac{c_{w^l}}{1+\alpha}$ determines the largest historical quota of farm l , Condition

1350 (a) becomes

1351
$$\frac{s |\eta| c_{w^l}}{s |\eta| + \alpha \phi} > \frac{c_{w^l}}{1+\alpha} \iff$$

1352
$$s |\eta| > \phi. \tag{D5}$$

1353 The VMP $\frac{c_{w^k}}{1+\alpha}$ determines the lowest historical quota of farm k under the quotas-

1354 only regime, and therefore Condition (b) becomes

$$\frac{c_{w^k}}{1+\alpha} > \sum_{i \in N} c_{w^i} \frac{s|\eta|}{\sum_{i \in N} (s|\eta|) + \alpha\phi}. \quad (D6)$$

Note that if the marginal costs are identical for all farms, then Eqs. (D5) and (D6) form together the condition

$$\frac{s|\eta|}{s|\eta| + \alpha\phi} > \frac{1}{1+\alpha} > \frac{\sum_{i \in N} s|\eta|}{\sum_{i \in N} (s|\eta|) + \alpha\phi}, \quad (D7)$$

which cannot be met. Therefore, if the marginal costs do not differ much across farms, it is likely that either a pooling-price equilibrium or a pooling-quotas equilibrium will emerge.

Appendix E – Comparative Statics

The recursive decision-making process implies that the comparative statics analyses should follow a two-stage procedure. We first examine the effect of a change in an exogenous parameter on the price. Then, we analyze the direct impact of the change in the exogenous parameter on the quotas together with the indirect effect that is channeled through the price (considering the discrete distribution of villages, we assume that marginal changes in the price and quotas do not alter the price- and quotas-bound groups).

E.1 The Impact on the Price

In view of Eq. (7), $\frac{dp^{he}}{d\tau} = \frac{-G_{p\tau}}{G_{pp}}$ for any exogenous parameter τ ; because $G_{pp} < 0$, the

sign of $\frac{dp^{he}}{d\tau}$ is equal to that of $G_{p\tau}$. The results with respect to α , ϕ , c_{w^i} , and v are:

$$G_{p^{he}\alpha} = -\phi \sum_{i \in Q} q_i^{he}(p^{he}) + \sum_{i \notin Q} D^i(p^{he}) < 0; \quad (E1)$$

$$G_{p^{he}\phi} = -\alpha \sum_{i \in Q} q_i^{he}(p^{he}) + \sum_{i \notin Q} D^i(p^{he}) < 0; \quad (E2)$$

$$G_{p^{he} c_w^i} = -D_p^i(p^{he}) > 0; \quad (E3)$$

$$G_{p^{he} v} = \sum_{i \notin Q} \pi_{wv}^i D_p^i - \alpha \sum_{i \in L} D_v^i(p^{he}) < 0, \quad (E4)$$

(we assume that $D_{pv}^i = 0$).

E.2 The Impacts on the Quotas

We hold the equilibrium price p^{he} from the first constant. According to Eq. (3), the direct effect of any exogenous parameter τ on the equilibrium quota is given by

$$\frac{dq_i^{he}}{d\tau} = \frac{-G_{q^i \tau}}{G_{q^i q^i}}; \text{ because } G_{q^i q^i} < 0, \text{ the sign of } \frac{dq_i^{he}}{d\tau} \text{ is determined by that of } G_{q^i \tau}. \text{ The}$$

results regarding α , ϕ , c_{w^i} , and v are:

$$G_{q_i^{he} \alpha} = \pi_w^i(q_i^{he}) - p^{he} > 0 \forall i \in Q; \quad (E5)$$

$$G_{q_i^{he} \phi} = 0 \forall i \in Q; \quad (E6)$$

$$G_{q_i^{he} c_{w^i}} = \frac{-1}{\alpha} < 0 \forall i \in Q; \quad (E7)$$

$$G_{q_i^{he} v} = (1 + \alpha) \pi_{wv}^i > 0 \forall i \in Q. \quad (E8)$$

Because $\frac{dq_i^{he}}{dp^{he}} < 0 \forall i \in Q$, the signs of the direct impacts of the marginal changes

in the parameters α , c_{w^i} , and v on the equilibrium quota coincide with the signs of the indirect impacts that these changes impose on the equilibrium quota through the equilibrium price (Eqs. E1, E3 and E4, respectively). Regarding the parameter ϕ , the

indirect effect (Eq. E2) implies that $\frac{dq_i^{he}}{d\phi} > 0$ because the direct effect vanishes.

Appendix F – Specification of the Probability Function

1393 Let $g_\gamma(\gamma)$, $g_\varepsilon(\varepsilon)$ and $g_u(u)$ be the probability density function (PDF) of γ , ε and u ,
 1394 respectively; we assume that these PDFs are independent. Define $\varphi \equiv \gamma + \varepsilon$, and let
 1395 $g_{\varphi\gamma}(\varphi, \gamma)$ denote the joint PDF of φ and γ . We specify $g_{\varphi\gamma}(\varphi, \gamma)$ as the bivariate normal
 1396 PDF, which includes the parameters σ_γ^2 , $\sigma_\varphi^2 = \sigma_\gamma^2 + \sigma_\varepsilon^2$ and

1397 $\rho = \frac{\text{Cov}(\gamma, \gamma + \varepsilon)}{\sigma_\varphi \sigma_\gamma} = \frac{\sigma_\gamma^2}{\sqrt{(\sigma_\gamma^2 + \sigma_\varepsilon^2)} \sigma_\gamma} = \frac{\sigma_\gamma}{\sigma_\varphi}$. In the same manner, $g_{\varphi\gamma u}(\varphi, \gamma, u)$ and $g_{\gamma\varepsilon u}(\gamma, \varepsilon, u)$
 1398 are the joint PDFs of φ , γ and u , and of ε , γ and u , respectively. The PDF of γ
 1399 conditional on φ (denoted $g_{\gamma|\varphi}(\gamma|\varphi)$) implies that $g_{\varphi\gamma}(\varphi, \gamma) = g_{\gamma|\varphi}(\gamma|\varphi) g_\varphi(\varphi)$. Because of
 1400 the independence of γ , ε and u , one obtains that $g_{\varphi\gamma u}(\varphi, \gamma, u) = g_{\gamma|\varphi}(\gamma|\varphi) g_\varphi(\varphi) g_\varepsilon(\varepsilon)$ and
 1401 that $g_{\gamma\varepsilon u}(\gamma, \varepsilon, u) = g_\gamma(\gamma) g_\varepsilon(\varepsilon) g_u(u)$. We omit the unessential indices and function
 1402 operators, and express, in terms of the PDFs, the probability of observing a certain
 1403 pair of w and q^t as:

$$1404 \quad \begin{aligned} Pr(w, q^t, \theta) = & \int_{-\infty}^{\hat{\gamma}} g_\varphi(w - D) g_u(q^t - q^{t-1}) \int_{-\infty}^{\hat{\gamma}} g_{\gamma|\varphi}(\gamma|\varphi) d\gamma \\ & + g_\varepsilon(w - q^t) g_u(q^t - D) \int_{\hat{\gamma}}^{\infty} g_\gamma(\gamma) d\gamma, \end{aligned} \quad (F1)$$

1405 in which $\hat{\gamma} = q^t - D$. Because $g_{\varphi\gamma}(\varphi, \gamma)$ is the a bivariate normal PDF, the distribution of
 1406 $g_{\gamma|\varphi}(\gamma|\varphi)$ is $N(\rho^2 \varphi, \sigma_\gamma^2(1 - \rho^2))$. We use f and F to denote the density and cumulative-
 1407 density functions of a standard normal random variable, respectively, to obtain the
 1408 probability function:

$$1409 \quad \begin{aligned} Pr(w, q^t, \theta) = & \frac{1}{\sigma_\varphi} f\left(\frac{w - D}{\sigma_\varphi}\right) \frac{1}{\sigma_u} f\left(\frac{q^t - q^{t-1}}{\sigma_u}\right) F\left(\frac{\hat{\gamma} - \rho^2(w - D)}{\sigma_\gamma \sqrt{1 - \rho^2}}\right) \\ & + \frac{1}{\sigma_\varepsilon} f\left(\frac{w - q^t}{\sigma_\varepsilon}\right) \frac{1}{\sigma_u} f\left(\frac{q^t - Q}{\sigma_u}\right) F\left(\frac{-\hat{\gamma}}{\sigma_\gamma}\right). \end{aligned} \quad (F2)$$

1410 **Appendix G – Simulated Expected Values**

1411 G.1 The Hybrid Equilibrium

1412 In accordance with the bivariate likelihood function (Eq. 15), the expected village-
1413 level water usage $E(w^{it})$ and quota $E(q^{it})$ are:

$$1414 \quad E(w^{it}) = \int \int w \cdot Pr(w, q | p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, x^{it}, \hat{\theta}) dw dq, \quad (G1)$$

$$1415 \quad E(q^{it}) = \int \int q \cdot Pr(w, q | p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, x^{it}, \hat{\theta}) dw dq. \quad (G2)$$

1416 We use the observed quantities w^{it} and $q^{it} \pm 10$ million m^3 per year as the ranges
1417 for the numerical integrations; each range is partitioned 100 times. Likewise, the
1418 expected probability that the price binds the village's water usage is:

$$1419 \quad E\left(Pr\left[D(p^{it}, z^{it}) \leq q^{it}\right]\right) = \int \int Pr(w, q | w \leq q, p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, \hat{\theta}) dw dq, \quad (G3)$$

1420 in which the probability $Pr(w, q | w \leq q, p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, \hat{\theta})$ is based on the first element of
1421 the bivariate likelihood function (Eq. 15):

$$1422 \quad Pr(w, q | w \leq q, p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, \hat{\theta}) = Pr[\gamma^{it} + \varepsilon^{it} = w - D(p^{it}, z^{it}, \hat{\theta}), \gamma^{it} \leq q - D(p^{it}, z^{it}, \hat{\theta}), u^{it} = q - q^{it-1}].$$

$$1423 \quad (G4)$$

1425 The expected VMP for a village whose quota binds its water usage is:

$$1426 \quad E(\pi_w^{it} | D(p^{it}, z^{it}) > q^{it}) = \frac{\int \int \pi_w^{it}(q) \cdot Pr(w, q | w > q, p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, x^{it}, \hat{\theta}) dw dq}{1 - E\left(Pr\left[D(p^{it}, z^{it}) \leq q^{it}\right]\right)}, \quad (G5)$$

1427 in which $\pi_w^{it}(q) = a z^{it} - bq$ (recall Eq. 9) is the VMP of the village whose quota q binds
1428 the water usage, and in which $Pr(w, q | w > q, p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, x^{it}, \hat{\theta})$ is the probability that
1429 a village is bound by the quota; this probability relies on the second element of Eq.
1430 (15):

$$Pr(w, q | w > q, p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, x^{it}, \hat{\theta}) = Pr[\varepsilon^{it} = w - w, \gamma^{it} > w - D(p^{it}, z^{it}), u^{it} = w - Q(p^{it}, x^{it}, z^{it})].$$

$$(G6)$$

Consequently, the expected VMP at the consumption level is:

$$E(\pi_w^{it}) = p^{it} E\left(Pr\left[D(p^{it}, z^{it}) \leq q^{it}\right] + \int \int \pi_w^{it}(q) \cdot Pr(w, q | w > q, p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, x^{it}, \hat{\theta}) dw dq\right).$$

$$(G7)$$

Finally, the expected deadweight loss $E(DWL^{it})$ is given by:

$$E(DWL^{it}) = \frac{1}{2b} \left[(c_w^{it} - p^{it})^2 E\left(Pr\left[D(p^{it}, z^{it}) \leq q^{it}\right] + \int \int (c_w^{it} - \pi_w^{it}(q))^2 \cdot Pr(w, q | w > q, p^{it}, q^{it-1}, z^{it}, x^{it}, \hat{\theta}) dw dq\right) \right]$$

$$(G8)$$

1442 G.2 A Simulation of an Equilibrium under a Quotas-Only Regime

1443 We simulate the quotas-only policy by substituting $p^{it}=0$ in Eqs. (G1)–(G8).

1444 Consequently, the probability that the price binds the village's water usage becomes

1445 practically zero, and the expected VMP approaches $\frac{c_w^{it}}{1+\alpha}$ for every village i and time t

1446 .

1447 G.3 A Simulation of an Equilibrium under a Price-Only Regime

1448 To compute the regionally uniform price under an equilibrium in a price-only regime,

1449 we use Eq. (17), which (based on our linear specifications) becomes:

1450
$$p_{jt}^{pe} = \frac{\bar{c}_w^{jt} - \alpha\phi \bar{a}_{jt}}{1 - \alpha\phi}, \quad (G9)$$

1451 in which \bar{c}_w^{jt} and \bar{a}_{jt} are the regional average marginal costs and the estimated intercept

1452 of the linear VMP function, respectively. To compute the various elements of the

1453 equilibrium, we substitute p_{jt}^{pe} in Eqs. (G1)–(G8), and hold q at its upper limit of the

1454 numerical integration; consequently, the probability of the quota being the binding

1455 factor virtually vanishes.

1456 To obtain the price-only equilibrium, in the hypothetical case that prices were

1457 specifically set to each village, we substitute in Eq. (G9) the village-specific marginal

1458 cost c_w^{it} and the intercept a_{it} to obtain:

1459
$$p_{it}^{pe} = \frac{c_w^{it} - \alpha\phi a_{it}}{1 - \alpha\phi}. \quad (G10)$$