

1 **Socio-hydrologic Modeling of the Dynamics of Cooperation in the Transboundary**

2 **Lancang-Mekong River**

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27 **Abstract**

28 The transboundary Lancang-Mekong River Basin has experienced dynamics of cooperation  
29 over the past several decades, which is a common emergent response in transboundary coupled  
30 human-water systems. Downstream countries rely on Mekong River for fisheries, agriculture,  
31 navigation and ecological services, while upstream countries have been constructing dams to  
32 generate hydropower. The dam construction and operation in upstream countries have changed  
33 the seasonality of streamflow in downstream countries, affecting their economic benefits. More  
34 recently, cooperation between upstream and downstream countries has been enhanced  
35 throughout the river basin. In this study, we introduce a quantitative socio-hydrological model  
36 to simulate hydrological processes, reservoir operations, economic benefits, policy feedbacks  
37 and therefore dynamics of cooperation within the Lancang-Mekong River basin. The model  
38 reproduces the observed dynamics of cooperation in the basin revealed by sentiment analysis  
39 of news articles. Hydrological variability such as droughts and human activities associated with  
40 reservoir operations affect dynamics of cooperation between the riparian countries, with  
41 importance attached to indirect political benefits of upstream playing an important role in the  
42 enhancement of cooperation. In this way, our study generated understanding of emergent  
43 cooperation dynamics in this transboundary river basin, and the socio-hydrological model used  
44 here provides a useful new framework to investigate and improve transboundary water  
45 management elsewhere.

46

47 **Keywords:** transboundary river basins, socio-hydrology, cooperation, emergent dynamics,  
48 mechanistic modeling

49

50 **1. Introduction**

51 Transboundary water management is an important and complex issue that has attracted much  
52 attention and efforts globally. Transboundary rivers refer to rivers shared by two or more  
53 countries (Wolf et al., 1999), or two or more states within individual countries. There are over  
54 310 transboundary rivers spanning over 150 countries, covering more than 40% of the world's  
55 human population and land areas (UNEP, 2016; McCracken and Wolf, 2019). Rivers serve  
56 multiple functions that benefit human societies such as water supply, irrigation, fishery,  
57 navigation, hydropower generation, and provision of numerous other ecosystem services. These  
58 functions can vary spatially within a river basin, and consequently, societal preferences for  
59 water use may also differ in different locations, leading to possible disputes and conflicts  
60 between upstream and downstream uses. Under these circumstances, cooperation among the  
61 various stakeholders is critical for water security, food security, energy security and ecosystem  
62 security in riparian countries or regions, which requires equitable and reciprocal benefit sharing  
63 for humans to realize the full potential of the services that rivers provide. Transboundary river  
64 cooperation could take different forms (Sadoff and Grey, 2005), and operating at different levels  
65 (Sadoff and Grey, 2002), such as information sharing for flood and drought mitigation, reservoir  
66 operations adapted to the needs of both upstream and downstream users, and joint ownership  
67 of water-related infrastructure.

68 Compared to water resources management in domestic river basins, management of  
69 transboundary rivers that cross national boundaries must deal with an additional complexity.

70 The complexity arises from the structural challenge to cooperation that in such international  
71 river basins, two or more countries must organize cooperation despite potential differences in

72 preferences for water uses and locational asymmetries in terms of access to water. Under these  
73 circumstances, cooperation among stakeholders could be inter-twined with other issues, or are  
74 limited by riparian relations, compounded by institutional limitations (Wolf et al., 1999) and  
75 differing national economic and strategic interests. Even if a formal social contract (e.g., an  
76 international treaty) can be devised among stakeholders to institutionalize cooperation,  
77 enforcement of the contract remains another challenge (Petersen-Perlman et al., 2017). Because  
78 of the international nature of these contracts, there is usually no external body that can enforce  
79 the formal arrangements for cooperation in a binding way (Müller et al., 2017; Espey and  
80 Towfique, 2004). Despite the challenges in transboundary river cooperation, there are examples  
81 of successful cooperation in international rivers, including the Rhine River (Schultz, 2009), the  
82 Columbia River (Hamlet, 2003), and the Colorado River (Bernal and Solís, 2000). At the same  
83 time, there are also cases of cooperation failures, such as the Amu Darya and Syr Darya Rivers  
84 (Micklin, 2004; Tian et al., 2019). Much scholarly attention has been directed towards  
85 understanding what leads to success or failure in cooperation in transboundary river  
86 management.

87 Researchers have spent considerable efforts to analyze and understand the aforementioned  
88 question through empirical research and modeling efforts (De Stefano et al., 2017; De Bruyne  
89 and Fischhendler, 2013; Bernauer et al., 2012; Beck et al., 2014). The International Water  
90 Events Database has collected cooperative and conflictive water interactions in transboundary  
91 river basins globally, and provides useful data and frameworks for further statistical studies (De  
92 Stefano et al., 2010; Munia et al., 2016) and detailed investigations in specific basins (Feng et  
93 al., 2019). Statistical methods or case studies help to identify the broad factors affecting

94 transboundary river cooperation, including natural conditions (e.g., hydrological scarcity and  
95 variability) (Dinar et al., 2010; Dinar, 2009), political relations (Zeitoun and Mirumachi, 2008),  
96 power dynamics (Zeitoun et al., 2011; Petersen-Perlman et al., 2017), institutional  
97 arrangements (Dinar, 2009), and the relative levels of social and economic development (Song  
98 and Whittington, 2004). Hydro-economic models that involve hydrological simulation and  
99 benefit calculation and allocation through benefit maximization or game theory (Li et al., 2019)  
100 are also common methods used to analyze the human-water interactions in transboundary rivers.  
101 In particular, multi-agent simulation models consider each riparian country as an independent  
102 decision-maker and focus on water allocation and benefit calculation (Teasley and McKinney,  
103 2011; Giuliani and Castelletti, 2013). These modeling approaches have been applied to the  
104 Lancang-Mekong and the Nile river basins (Cai et al., 2003; Ringler and Cai, 2006; Arjoon et  
105 al., 2016; Basheer et al., 2018).

106 However, most of the model studies highlighted above have viewed cooperation in  
107 transboundary rivers in a static way and as an external variable, and whether to cooperate or  
108 not and the/or the extent of cooperation are set as boundary conditions. In other words, they  
109 only capture the one-way effect, i.e., how cooperation takes effect on water resources and the  
110 economy, instead of considering the two-way feedbacks including how cooperation evolves  
111 driven by different factors. In reality, transboundary river cooperation is evolutionary in nature.  
112 For example, in the Colorado River Basin shared by the USA and Mexico, industrialization and  
113 population growth have increased the stress on surface and groundwater resources and on water  
114 quality. Groundwater depletion and water pollution contributed to tension between the two  
115 countries from the 1940s. Following protracted negotiations, several treaties were signed and

116 institutions built, with the result that the interactions between the USA and Mexico have now  
117 become more cooperative in recent years (Frisvold and Caswell, 2000). The approaches used  
118 in studies to date do not accommodate the dynamic co-evolutionary nature of transboundary  
119 cooperation and conflicts, as seen for example in the Colorado River Basin, and are therefore  
120 not up to the task of seeking mechanistic explanations for the observed dynamics of cooperation  
121 in transboundary river basins.

122 In this study, we aim to address this knowledge gap by adopting a process-based, socio-  
123 hydrologic framework to represent transboundary cooperation in the Lancang-Mekong river  
124 basin, which involves China, Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam as riparian  
125 states. Using dynamic modeling to understand the mechanisms behind cooperative or  
126 conflictive actions of riparian countries, not only in a specific river basin, but also similarities  
127 and differences between basins, would help in elucidating key drivers that account for  
128 differences in the cooperation level and its dynamics over time. This is a first step in this  
129 direction. Increased mechanistic understanding will help increase the scope of cooperation and  
130 avoidance of conflict in the future, and generate diverse benefits (Sadoff and Grey, 2002; Yu et  
131 al., 2019a). Enhanced cooperation could lead to harmony in human-water relations generally  
132 and regionally, including equitable and sustainable use of water. Conversely, the continuation  
133 of conflicts could result in disordered water use, over-exploitation (Tian et al., 2019) and overall  
134 loss of amenities.

135 In approaching this aim, it is critical to capture the two-way feedbacks between the social  
136 system and the transboundary river system. Human society and hydrological systems have  
137 become ever more tightly coupled, and in the long-term, co-evolution of the resulting coupled

138 socio-hydrological system has been shown to result in emergent dynamics and unintended  
139 consequences (Sivapalan and Bloschl, 2015). Examples include decadal asymmetric dynamics  
140 of human water consumption in several large semi-arid river basins in Asia (Tian et al., 2019),  
141 and the “pendulum swing” in agriculture water use and human development in both Eastern  
142 and Western Australia (Kandasamy et al., 2014). Socio-hydrology as a science explores the  
143 two-way feedbacks between human and water systems, necessary to understand and mimic  
144 observed emergent dynamics (Sivapalan and Bloschl, 2015). Driven by both natural and social  
145 forces, a transboundary river basin can also be viewed as a coupled socio-hydrological system,  
146 now with a distinct spatial (upstream-downstream) dynamics mediated by multiple riparian  
147 states. Observed patterns of cooperation and conflict in a transboundary basin can then be seen  
148 as a special case of emergent dynamics that results from interactions and feedbacks between  
149 the actions of water users or stakeholders in upstream and downstream riparian states and the  
150 interplay of associated hydrological, economic, social, and geo-political processes (Di  
151 Baldassarre et al., 2019). Historical patterns of the intensity or levels of cooperation between  
152 riparian states are key indicators that can be used as targets of socio-hydrologic models  
153 developed with the aim of generating mechanistic understanding of the co-evolutionary paths  
154 followed by transboundary river basin management.

155 In this study, we will present a socio-hydrological model developed to simulate the dynamics  
156 of conflict and cooperation in transboundary river systems, and its application to the Lancang-  
157 Mekong river basin, which to the best of our knowledge is the first model to include the  
158 evolutionary transboundary river cooperation as an internal variable, and couple the driven  
159 processes including hydrological variability, dam construction, political benefits, etc. It differs



160 from extant models by considering transboundary river cooperation internally, dynamically and  
161 quantitatively. To attain the goal, we propose a novel quantification of cooperation level and  
162 political benefits, and conduct sentiment analysis of newspaper articles to validate the  
163 simulation of cooperation in Lancang-Mekong River Basin. The socio-hydrological model  
164 developed is used to mimic the mechanisms of cooperation in this basin in a way to gain basic  
165 understanding that may be transferred to transboundary river basins elsewhere.

166 The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we will introduce the study  
167 area and the history of observed dynamics of cooperation and conflict. Section 3 will present  
168 the rationale and details of the socio-hydrological model, including the various modules and  
169 governing equations describing the various subsystems, and how they are coupled in a way to  
170 capture the dynamics of cooperation and conflict. Section 4 presents the simulation results and  
171 a discussion and interpretation of the results, followed by, in Section 5, a summary of the main  
172 conclusions and the understanding and insights gained from the study.

## 173 **2. Study Area and Historical Timeline of Cooperation and Conflict Dynamics**

174 Lancang-Mekong River is an important transboundary river located in Southeast Asia. As  
175 shown in Figure 1, it originates from the Tibetan Plateau in China, and over its entire length of  
176 4900 km it passes through Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam (Wang et al.,  
177 2017). The Lancang-Mekong river basin drains an area of 812,400 km<sup>2</sup> and supports the water  
178 needs and livelihoods of over 65 million people (Ringler and Cai, 2006; MRC, 2018; You et al.,  
179 2014). The annual average discharge of Lancang-Mekong River flowing into the South China  
180 Sea is close to 475 billion m<sup>3</sup>/year (Campbell, 2016). The drainage area of the upstream part,  
181 i.e., the Lancang River Basin in China, is 195,000 km<sup>2</sup>, which accounts for 24% of the whole

182 basin area. The Mekong River Basin in Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam  
183 covers an area of around 600,000 km<sup>2</sup> (Li et al., 2017).

184 Starting from a relatively undeveloped basin in the 1950s, Lancang-Mekong River Basin has  
185 experienced rapid economic growth in recent decades (MRC, 2010). Although they all have  
186 many shared interests, different riparian countries within the Lancang-Mekong river basin  
187 benefit from different river functions. For example, while all riparian countries have the need  
188 to protect themselves from the negative impacts of floods and droughts and ensure the  
189 sustainability of riverine ecosystem, the upper riparian states of China and Laos have  
190 constructed and plan to construct many dams, mainly for hydropower generation (Keskinen et  
191 al., 2012). For the downstream states of Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam, agriculture and  
192 fishery are the main uses of the Mekong River. Irrigated agriculture is a major water consumer  
193 in the basin (MRC, 2018), and rice is the main staple crop (Campbell, 2016). In the lower  
194 Mekong region, especially in Cambodia and Vietnam, fishery not only employs a large number  
195 of people, but also sustains their protein demands (Campbell, 2016).

196 As an important and geopolitically sensitive region (Campbell, 2016), Lancang-Mekong River  
197 Basin has experienced both conflict and cooperation since the end of World War II under the  
198 impacts of changing geopolitical relationships, hydrological dynamics and socio-economic  
199 conditions. With the sponsorship of the United Nations Agency ECAFE, the Committee for  
200 Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin was initiated in 1957, and early  
201 efforts included the setting up of comprehensive hydrological observations and the setting up  
202 of regional plans for hydropower, flood control and irrigation (Campbell, 2016). However,  
203 because of the withdrawal of Cambodia in 1977 due to political reasons, Thailand, Laos and

204 Vietnam initiated the Interim Committee for Coordination of Investigations of the Lower  
205 Mekong, which took limited efforts towards regional cooperation. Until 1995, the four countries  
206 of the lower Mekong were part of the Agreement on the Cooperation for the Sustainable  
207 Development of the Mekong River Basin, through which they established the Mekong River  
208 Commission (MRC). MRC was designed to enhance cooperation on water utilization and  
209 management, socio-economic development and ecosystem conservation (MRC, 1995).  
210 Although China signed an agreement on the provision of hydrological information on the  
211 Lancang-Mekong River in 2002, the efforts of MRC were limited due to the absence of the  
212 upstream states, namely China and Myanmar. Finally, the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation  
213 Mechanism (LMC) was initiated in 2016 to include all of the six riparian countries and thus  
214 enhance more comprehensive cooperation (Feng et al., 2019).  
215 Specifically, cooperation in Lancang-Mekong River in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has been in the spotlight  
216 because of rapid changes in climatic and hydrological conditions, intensified human activity  
217 and geopolitical sensitivity of the region. Dam construction principally in the two upstream  
218 countries, China and Laos, has continued over three decades. Since 2010, large hydropower  
219 plants have been commissioned on the mainstream of Lancang-Mekong River (Han et al., 2019).  
220 Reservoir operations in the upstream increase dry season runoff and reduce runoff peaks during  
221 the flood season (Hoanh et al., 2010). The resulting changes in river flow were strongest in the  
222 upper Chiang Saen station in Thailand and less marked in the lower station Kratie in Cambodia  
223 (MRC, 2018). The resulting change of seasonality of river flows has a significant impact on the  
224 benefits of different water uses (Pokhrel et al., 2018), for example, wetland ecosystem services  
225 (Dudgeon, 2000) in Vietnam, and fish capture in the largest freshwater lake in Southeast Asian,

226 Tonle Sap Lake (Kite, 2001) located in Cambodia. Correspondingly, due to the effects of  
227 upstream dam operations for hydropower generation, the downstream countries have faced  
228 concerns about benefit losses. Here the loss indicates deviation from their maximum expected  
229 benefit (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979). To obtain indirect political benefits, which is described  
230 as “diplomatic returns” in Yu et al. (2019b), the upstream country China has worked to change  
231 flow regulations of their reservoirs to satisfy the demands of the downstream countries and  
232 achieve regional cooperation. One example of this was the emergency water release from China  
233 in 2016 to alleviate the effects of a severe drought in the lower Mekong basin (Yu et al., 2019b).  
234 This change of hydropower dam regulations in upstream countries can be regarded as an  
235 example of a cooperative response.

236 Figure 2 summarizes the hydrological and anthropogenic events in Lancang-Mekong River  
237 Basin. The upstream countries China and Laos have constructed or planned to construct dams  
238 on the mainstream of Lancang-Mekong River. Two major reservoirs on the mainstream,  
239 Xiaowan and Nuozhadu, went into production in 2010 and 2012 respectively. The filling and  
240 operation of these reservoirs caused the alteration of hydrological regimes in the downstream,  
241 i.e., increase of runoff in the dry season and reduction in the flood season. Economic losses  
242 compared to expected benefits caused by the change of hydrological seasonality and natural  
243 droughts, led to concerns raised by downstream countries, and tension and conflict. However,  
244 cooperation has been enhanced in recent years, exemplified by some cooperative actions of the  
245 upstream country China, such as emergency water release during a period of drought. We will  
246 use the socio-hydrological model to simulate these water-related events and the cooperation  
247 dynamics, and provide mechanistic explanations based on socio-hydrologic interpretation of

248 the emergent dynamics.

### 249 **3. Socio-hydrological Model**

250 We developed a transboundary river cooperation socio-hydrological model (TCSH model) to  
251 simulate the dynamics of cooperation and conflict observed in the Lancang-Mekong River  
252 Basin. The causal loop presented in Figure 3 introduces the main components of the model. It  
253 simulates the change of river flow seasonality caused by reservoir operations, which causes  
254 benefit loss compared to expected benefits to downstream countries in different sectors. The  
255 loss compared to expected benefits leads to demands by the downstream countries for more  
256 cooperation from upstream countries, to which the upstream countries respond with changes to  
257 their reservoir operations. The modeled levels of cooperation, and the resulting changes to  
258 reservoir operations, are determined by a balance between hydropower losses and indirect gain  
259 of geopolitical benefits by the upstream countries.

260 As seen in Figure 3, the socio-hydrological model couples four main parts, i.e., hydrological  
261 simulation, reservoir operation, economic benefit calculation, and policy feedback. A  
262 distributed catchment hydrological model is used to model natural streamflow inputs to the  
263 dams and is calibrated using observations at several stations along the Lancang-Mekong River.  
264 With available reservoir information, the reservoir operation module simulates two basic  
265 scenarios, i.e., maximizing upstream benefits versus maximizing downstream benefits. The  
266 results of these two operational scenarios are weighted averaged to calculate actual water  
267 releases and reservoir storages. The economic benefit calculation module estimates the  
268 economic benefits for both upstream and downstream countries covering hydropower,  
269 irrigation and fishery sectors based on outcomes of the hydrological simulation and reservoir

270 operation modules. Based on the estimation of economic benefits, the fourth module simulates  
271 the policy feedbacks through two key variables, i.e., cooperation demand of downstream  
272 countries and cooperation level of upstream countries. Outcomes of sentiment analysis of  
273 newspaper articles are used to evaluate the modeled cooperation demand. The calculation step  
274 length of the model is one month. Each of these components of the model is discussed in detail  
275 in the following sections.

### 276 **3.1 Hydrological simulation**

277 We use the distributed hydrological model THREW to simulate natural runoff of mainstream  
278 and tributaries without impacts of reservoir operations, i.e.,  $Q_n$  in Figure 3. The THREW  
279 model has been applied to many river basins successfully, including rivers derived from  
280 mountainous areas and consisting of snow and glacier melt, and large-scale basins (Tian et al.,  
281 2006; Tian et al., 2008; Li et al., 2012; Mou et al., 2008). Based on the Representative  
282 Elementary Watershed (REW) approach (Reggiani et al., 1998), the THREW model uses the  
283 REW as the sub-catchment unit for hydrological simulations (He et al., 2015). The main runoff  
284 generation processes include surface runoff, groundwater flow, and snow and glacier melt.

285 In this study, we divide the Lancang-Mekong basin into 651 REWs on the basis of DEM data,  
286 as shown in Figure 1. The precipitation data is retrieved from TRMM data of 1998-2018. The  
287 accuracy of TRMM data for hydrological simulation in this region has been proven successfully  
288 (MRC, 2018). Thirty-two meteorological stations distributed around the whole basin provide  
289 meteorological inputs, including temperature, wind speed, humidity and radiation to calculate  
290 potential evapotranspiration based on the Penman-Monteith equation. Soils data is extracted  
291 from the FAO world soil database, and LAI, NDVI and snow are obtained from MODIS data.

292 Daily runoff observations of 6 stations on the mainstream of the Lancang-Mekong river include  
293 data of Jinghong (1998-2013), Chiang Saen (1998-2015), Luang Prabang (1998-2015), Nong  
294 Khai (1998-2007), Nakhon Phanom (1998-2015) and Pakse (1998-2006).

295 As the hydrological model is used to provide simulations of natural runoff without the impacts  
296 of water withdrawal and reservoir operations, we use the runoff data in the period before large  
297 reservoir construction for parameter calibration, i.e., runoff data of the period of 1998-2009.  
298 The parameters are calibrated separately and in a spatially distributed manner. Specifically, the  
299 year of 1998 is used as a warm-up period, 1999-2004 as calibration period, and 2005-2009 is  
300 set as validation period. The simulated runoff of 2000-2018 is used as natural flow of  
301 mainstream and tributaries  $Q_n$  before the impacts of human activities.

### 302 **3.2 Reservoir operation**

303 The largest two reservoirs in China with seasonal runoff regulation capacity (Yu et al., 2019b),  
304 namely Xiaowan and Nuozhadu, went into operation in 2010 and 2012 respectively. The basic  
305 information of Xiaowan and Nuozhadu including the total reservoir storage  $S_{total}$ , dead  
306 reservoir storage  $S_{dead}$ , and flood limited storage  $S_{flood}$  are listed in Table 1. Laos has aimed  
307 to be the “battery of Southeast Asia” (Stone, 2016) and started hydroelectric dam construction  
308 on the mainstream of the Mekong river in line with this ambition. Before that, Laos constructed  
309 many dams on its tributaries, which also impact the streamflow regimes of the Mekong River.  
310 According to MRC (2018), the expected live storage of reservoirs in Laos will ultimately reach  
311 24,257 MCM. In order to couple the reservoir operation module with the other modules, we  
312 need to simplify the cascade of reservoirs in both China and Laos so that the optimization  
313 processes in reservoir operation module and benefit calculation module could be computed.

314 With the total storage of the Xiaowan and Nuozhadu reservoirs accounting for 90% of the total  
315 storage of the largest six reservoirs (Han et al., 2019), the cascade of reservoirs within China is  
316 simplified and approximated in this study by the two reservoirs. For the reservoirs in Laos,  
317 since reservoirs on the mainstream have not been commissioned before 2019, only the  
318 completed tributary reservoirs are considered and aggregated by one virtual reservoir in the  
319 upper reaches, including some reservoir storages located in the relatively lower reaches in Laos  
320 (Li et al., 2019; WLE, 2018). The storage of the virtual Laos reservoir equals the sum of all  
321 Laos reservoir storages, and its hydropower generation is calibrated against the statistical data  
322 of the sum of hydropower generations in Laos. In the model, the virtual Laos reservoir is  
323 assumed to have live storage from 5,074 MCM in 2000 to 21,066 MCM in 2018, which was  
324 linearly interpolated over this time period and represents continuous dam construction in Laos.  
325 Overall, these simplifications through lumping the effects of many reservoirs are deemed  
326 reasonable for the purpose of this study, because three reservoirs (Xiaowan and Nuozhadu in  
327 China and the aggregated Laos Reservoir) shown in Figure 4 capture most of the effects of  
328 reservoirs within the entire river basin and closely resemble the actual hydropower generation.  
329 As shown in Figure 4, the river system and its water diversion configuration are also simplified,  
330 where  $T_1$ ,  $T_2$  to  $T_6$  indicate natural runoff of upstream and tributaries,  $W_1$ ,  $W_2$ ,  $W_3$  are the  
331 water withdrawals for irrigation in Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. For each node, runoff  
332 flowing to the next node is calculated by the water balance equation, e.g., for Thailand,

$$333 \quad Q_7 = Q_6 + T_5 - W_1 \quad (1)$$

334 where  $Q_7$  is runoff flowing to Thailand from the upstream node, Laos,  $T_5$  is inflow from  
335 tributaries in Thailand,  $W_1$  is irrigation withdrawal in Thailand, and  $Q_7$  is runoff flowing to



336 the downstream node, Cambodia.

337 For the operation of constructed dams, we consider two basic scenarios. The first scenario is

338 the self-interested scenario (non-cooperation scenario, abbreviated by NC), in which the

339 upstream countries, China and Laos, operate the dams considering only their own hydropower

340 benefits. Under this scenario, dams keep at their total storage  $S_{total}$  during the dry season

341 (November to May) and their flood limited storage  $S_{flood}$  in the flood season (June to October).

342 If the actual storage of the  $t - 1$  period  $S_{r,t-1}$  is less than these two values, the reservoir will

343 store water to reach the amount; otherwise, the reservoir will release water. There are also

344 constraints on the minimum ecological release flow  $Q_{eco}$  to satisfy the requirements of

345 ecosystem and navigation. Actual water release under the self-interested scenario  $Q_{r,NC}$  is

346 calculated using Equations (2) and (3). The actual storage of the next month  $S_{r,t}$  is calculated

347 based on the water balance equation. With the calculated water release under the self-interested

348 scenario  $Q_{r,NC}$ , the total benefits of the three downstream countries will be optimized through

349 water allocation among them.

$$350 \quad Q_{r,t} = \max\{S_{r,t-1} + Q_{in,t} - S_{total}, 0, Q_{eco}\}, \quad t = 1,2,3,4,5,11,12 \quad (2)$$

$$351 \quad Q_{r,t} = \max\{S_{r,t-1} + Q_{in,t} - S_{flood}, 0, Q_{eco}\}, \quad t = 6,7,8,9,10 \quad (3)$$

352 The second scenario is the altruistic scenario (full-cooperation, abbreviated by FC), where the

353 upstream countries operate the dams to accommodate downstream water demands and

354 maximize the benefits of downstream countries. The calculation of the benefits to downstream

355 countries will be introduced in Section 3.3. Under this scenario, the constraints contain

356 maximum storage during dry season, maximum storage during flood season, minimum storage

357 of dead storage and minimum ecological release flow. Then the processed results of actual water

358 release  $Q_{r,FC}$  will be used to calculate actual reservoir storage  $S_r$  based on the water balance  
 359 equation. In this study, neither the self-interested scenario nor the altruistic scenario considers  
 360 hedging rules in reservoir operation, although this is an extension that could be considered in  
 361 further extensions of this study.

362 As shown in Figure 3, with the calculated water release under the self-interested scenario  $Q_{r,NC}$   
 363 and that under the altruistic scenario  $Q_{r,FC}$ , we obtain the weighted average scenario (WA  
 364 scenario) and final actual water release  $Q_r$  by calculating their weighted average.

$$365 \quad Q_r = Q_{r,NC} \times \delta_1 + Q_{r,FC} \times \delta_2 \quad (4)$$

366 where  $\delta_1 + \delta_2 = 1$ , and  $\delta_2$  is calculated using the cooperation equations while  $\delta_1$  is  
 367 calculated as the residual  $1 - \delta_2$ , which will be introduced in section 3.4. Here  $\delta_2$  reflects the  
 368 extent to which the operating rules are adjusted to accommodate downstream water demands.  
 369 It should be noted that the calculated  $Q_r$  by equation (4) is revised if it violates the constraints  
 370 of maximum storage during dry and flood seasons, minimum storage of dead storage and  
 371 minimum ecological release flow. The final actual reservoir storage  $S_r$  is used for hydropower  
 372 benefit calculation and the calculated  $Q_r$  is used to optimize the total benefits of the three  
 373 downstream countries.

### 374 **3.3 Economic benefit calculation**

375 In this study, we consider the hydropower benefits  $B_h$  of China and Laos, and agriculture  
 376 benefits  $B_a$  and fishery benefits  $B_f$  of Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. The hydropower  
 377 benefits calculation of China and Laos are based on the water release  $Q_r$  and reservoir storage  
 378  $S_r$ , as shown in equation (5).

$$379 \quad B_h = p_h \times 9.81 \times Q_r \times \Delta h \times \eta \quad (5)$$

380 where  $p_h$  is the electricity price extracted from MRC (2018),  $Q_r$  is the monthly water release  
381 from the reservoir,  $\Delta h$  is the water head difference between the upstream and downstream  
382 which is related to the actual storage  $S_r$ , and  $\eta$  is hydropower generation efficiency which is  
383 calibrated against the annual power generation data.

384 Here agriculture benefits  $B_a$  only include irrigated rice without consideration of rain-fed crop  
385 production. Agricultural water withdrawals dominate water consumption in the downstream  
386 countries, and rice is the staple crop in this area. In this study, we use the FAO 33 crop water  
387 production function to calculate crop yields and irrigation benefits (Doorenbos and Kassam,  
388 1979).

$$389 \quad B_a = p_a \times Y_a \times A \quad (6)$$

$$390 \quad \left(1 - \frac{Y_a}{Y_m}\right) = K_y \times \left(1 - \frac{E_A}{E_P}\right) \quad (7)$$

391 where  $p_a$  is price of rice and retrieved from statistical data (MRC, 2018),  $A$  is the rice  
392 irrigation area,  $Y_a$  and  $Y_m$  are actual and maximum crop yields, respectively.  $K_y$  is crop  
393 yield response factor, and  $E_A$  and  $E_P$  are actual and potential evapotranspiration respectively.  
394 The information on the price of rice, irrigation area, rice yield, and irrigation withdrawal of  
395 Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam are listed in Table 2.  $Y_m$  is set as 8.5 ton/ha for all three  
396 countries (FAO, 2004).  $E_A$  and  $E_P$  are calculated based on potential evapotranspiration and  
397 irrigation amount, and the detailed methods could be found in Allen et al. (1998) and Kaboosi  
398 and Kaveh (2012).

399 Fishery is one of the dominant environmental water uses in the lower Lancang-Mekong River  
400 Basin, but it is difficult to quantify fishery benefits. In general, comprehensive fisheries models  
401 have many required inputs to calculate fishery benefits, such as mortality, recruitment, and

402 fishing efforts (Baran and Cain, 2001). There are many studies focusing on the simulations of  
 403 fishery benefits through their relationships with water level (Hortle et al., 2005) and flooded  
 404 areas (Burbano et al., 2020). It is difficult to couple complex fishery models to our model, and  
 405 there is not any standard function for fishery benefits up till now. Here, for simplicity, we only  
 406 consider capture fishery benefits and do not include aquaculture benefits, since the latter is not  
 407 significantly impacted by hydropower operation. Based on literature review, an increasing  
 408 function of runoff with decreasing marginal increase was adopted to calculate capture fishery  
 409 benefits, which is simple but effective in Mekong Basin (Ringler, 2001; Ringler and Cai, 2006).

$$410 \quad d = \arctan\left(\frac{Q-Q_{min}}{Q_{max}}\right) \times \left(1 - b \times \left(\frac{Q-Q_{min}}{Q_{max}} - c\right)^2\right) \quad (8)$$

$$411 \quad B_f = p_f \times d - F_{cost} \quad (9)$$

412 where  $d$  is the fishery production related to actual discharge  $Q$ , minimum discharge  $Q_{min}$ ,  
 413 maximum discharge  $Q_{max}$ , and two parameters  $b$  and  $c$ . In equation (9) to calculate fishery  
 414 benefit  $B_f$ ,  $p_f$  is the fishery price extracted from statistical data (MRC, 2018) and  $F_{cost}$  is  
 415 fixed fishery cost. Overall, fishery benefits for downstream countries are related to actual runoff,  
 416 maximum runoff, and minimum runoff. As shown in Figure 4,  $Q_7$ ,  $Q_8$ ,  $Q_9$  are used as actual  
 417 runoff to calculate fishery benefits for Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam respectively.

### 418 **3.4 Policy feedback**

419 Cooperation demands  $U$  of downstream countries arise from economic losses compared to  
 420 expected benefits, and the upstream countries take cooperative action to obtain indirect political  
 421 benefits, although this might reduce their hydropower generation benefits. It is always difficult  
 422 to quantify cooperation demand and cooperation level. As a first attempt, in this study we only  
 423 consider change of operation rules of reservoirs as cooperative action and define the

424 cooperation level  $C$  of upstream countries as the weight assigned to the operation rules to  
 425 maximize downstream benefits when upstream countries operate their reservoirs, i.e.,  $\delta_2$  in  
 426 section 3.2. When the cooperation level  $C = 1$ , upstream countries operate dams to maximize  
 427 the downstream benefits, i.e., the altruistic scenario. If  $C = 0$ , upstream countries will follow  
 428 operation rules given by Equations (2) and (3), which are consistent with the self-interested  
 429 scenario.

430 Following the assumption that cooperation demand is increased due to economic losses  
 431 compared to the reference level, larger economic losses will cause greater community concerns  
 432 and thus increased cooperation demands. According to the theory of reference dependence,  
 433 humans evaluate gains and losses relative to a reference point (Schmidt, 2003), and the  
 434 reference point could be the status quo (Tversky and Kahneman, 1991) or the level of aspiration  
 435 (Siegel, 1957). Here we value the losses relative to the expected maximum benefits of sectors  
 436  $B_{amax}$  and  $B_{fmax}$ , i.e., as the differences between expected maximum benefits and actual  
 437 benefits. As shown in equation (10), we assume that the cooperation demand is proportional to  
 438 economic losses, while the sensitivity of each economic sector is distinct.

$$439 \quad U = \varepsilon_a \times \frac{B_{amax} - B_a}{B_{amax}} + \varepsilon_f \times \frac{B_{fmax} - B_f}{B_{fmax}} \quad (10)$$

440 where  $\varepsilon_a$  and  $\varepsilon_f$  are the sensitivity of agriculture loss and fishery loss. The sensitivities  
 441 indicate the importance of each sector to the overall lower basin economy, and larger sensitivity  
 442 means that downstream countries are more sensitive to the benefit change of the sector, and the  
 443 unit sector loss could lead to more severe negative impacts. In this model we assigned both  $\varepsilon_a$   
 444 and  $\varepsilon_f$  as 0.5 so that the agriculture and fishery losses are treated equally. The expected  
 445 maximum benefits  $B_{amax}$  and  $B_{fmax}$  are used for normalization.

446 For the cooperation level of upstream countries, we use a logit dynamics model (McFadden,  
 447 1981; Hofbauer and Sigmund, 2003) taken from environmental economics practice. This model  
 448 is used to relate economic benefits with the probability of cooperation. It has been widely used  
 449 and proven effective to relate natural system dynamics with cooperation dynamics, e.g., the  
 450 simulations of cooperation on pollution control among stakeholders, who behave responding to  
 451 the behaviors of other stakeholders and their own benefits (Iwasa et al., 2007; Suzuki and Iwasa,  
 452 2009a, b). In the logit dynamics model, the probability of cooperation  $P_r$  could be calculated  
 453 as below:

$$454 \quad P_r = \frac{e^{\beta \times B_C}}{e^{\beta \times B_C} + e^{\beta \times B_N}} \quad (12)$$

455 where  $\beta$  is a shape parameter,  $B_C$  is the benefit of cooperation, and  $B_N$  is the benefit without  
 456 cooperation.

457 Similarly, for upstream countries, if they choose not to cooperate, their benefit  $B_N$  will be  
 458 hydropower generation benefits under self-interested scenario  $B_{h,NC}$  and low indirect political  
 459 benefit  $B_{p,NC}$ . If they choose to cooperate, besides the hydropower benefits under the altruistic  
 460 scenario  $B_{h,FC}$ , the upstream country will gain higher indirect political benefits  $B_{p,FC}$ . Here  
 461 we define the political benefit  $B_p$  as the benefit from avoidance of conflicts (Sadoff and Grey,  
 462 2002) and proportional to cooperation demand  $U$  and a political factor  $P$  as shown in  
 463 equation (13). When the cooperation demand  $U$  is high, and the cost due to unsatisfactory of  
 464 downstream and potential conflicts is high, the political benefit  $B_p$  will be low. If the upstream  
 465 country values the political relations with downstream countries and regards diplomatic  
 466 benefits as important, as China has demonstrated in recent years, the value of political factor  $P$   
 467 will be higher, and the cooperation demand  $U$  will play a more important role in decision

468 making. The equation to calculate the actual cooperation level  $C$  for upstream is as described  
 469 in equation (14).

$$470 \quad B_p = -U \times P \quad (13)$$

$$471 \quad \frac{dC}{dt} = s \times \left[ \frac{e^{\beta \times (\frac{B_{h,FC}}{B_{hmax}} - U_{FC} \times P)}}}{e^{\beta \times (\frac{B_{h,FC}}{B_{hmax}} - U_{FC} \times P)} + e^{\beta \times (\frac{B_{h,NC}}{B_{hmax}} - U_{NC} \times P)}}} - C \right] \quad (14)$$

472 where  $s$  is the responsive change rate reflecting the response speed of upstream countries, and  
 473  $\frac{dC}{dt}$  indicates the change of cooperation level compared to the last period.  $B_{h,FC}$  and  $B_{h,NC}$  are  
 474 calculated on the basis of water release and reservoir storage under altruistic scenario and self-  
 475 interested scenario respectively by equation (5). Overall, cooperation levels  $C$  are related to  
 476 downstream cooperation demand  $U$ , political factor  $P$  reflecting how much upstream countries  
 477 value the indirect political benefits that can be gained from downstream countries, upstream  
 478 benefits when cooperating or not  $B_{h,FC}$  and  $B_{h,NC}$ , and the responsive change rate  $s$ .  
 479 Compared to Laos, China regards the geopolitical values and diplomatic relations as more  
 480 important (Urban et al., 2018). Therefore, the political factor  $P$  of China and Laos are set as 2  
 481 and 1, respectively, while the change rate  $s$  is assigned as 0.5. As mentioned before, the  
 482 cooperation level  $C$  equals the weight  $\delta_2$ , so the cooperation demand and cooperation level  
 483 will affect reservoir regulations, and in this way will drive the co-evolution of the coupled  
 484 transboundary socio-hydrological system. Parameters in policy feedback module assigned here  
 485 could be adjusted, so that the simulated downstream cooperation demand are consistent with  
 486 the sentiment analysis results, which will be explained in Section 3.5.

487 The parameterization of the model could lead to uncertainty of simulations. In order to analyze  
 488 the uncertainty of simulated cooperation demand caused by parameters, we choose six critical  
 489 parameters shown in Table 3. Besides the values used in simulations, we choose two alternative

490 values for each parameter, and simulate cooperation demand of downstream under each  
491 parameter combination. For each value of one parameter, there are 243 simulations with the  
492 other five parameters unfixed, which are used for uncertainty analysis.

### 493 **3.5 Sentiment Analysis and Validation**

494 Empirical observational data is needed to evaluate the simulation of policy feedbacks. It is  
495 difficult to measure cooperation demand, particularly the cooperation among countries on a  
496 specific item, i.e., reservoir operation and water resources management. Sentiment analysis is  
497 an emerging tool to quantify social data, which exploits the denotation of words and assigns  
498 sentimental value to text strings by an algorithm (Bravo-Marquez et al., 2014; Abdul et al.,  
499 2018). It has already been used to provide information of the attitudes of Chinese citizens  
500 towards dam construction (Jiang et al., 2016). Newspaper articles could reflect public opinion  
501 on issues of interest to the community, which have been used in previous socio-hydrologic  
502 studies to monitor the evolution of environmental awareness vis a vis economic livelihood (Wei  
503 et al., 2017). In this study, we use the sentiment analysis of newspaper articles in downstream  
504 countries in the Lancang-Mekong River Basin to reflect the changes in cooperation demands  
505 of downstream countries. The sentiment analysis is used to demonstrate the validity of the  
506 socio-hydrological model.

507 The detailed steps of sentiment analysis of newspaper articles and its application in Lancang-  
508 Mekong River have been introduced in Wei et al. (2020), and we will introduce the general  
509 steps briefly as follows. We used the Lexis-Nexis database to extract relevant information in  
510 English newspapers (Weaver and Bimber, 2008), sorted the data manually and conducted  
511 sentiment analysis. Although the English newspapers have the potential to miss some



512 information when compared to local language newspapers, they are considered a reference to  
513 the government's foreign policy, and they can reflect national interests and political responses  
514 that riparian countries want to deliver to the international public (Wei et al., 2020). Firstly, key  
515 words for search (e.g., Mekong, water, dam, etc.) and search limitations (e.g., location of  
516 publisher) are set for this study, and data is retrieved from the news database. Secondly, manual  
517 data sorting was used to remove duplicates and irrelevant news. Thirdly, the sorted data was  
518 analyzed through coding to get the sentiment of each piece of news and then corrected manually.  
519 Finally, sentiment category (positive or negative) and sentiment values of each piece of valid  
520 data ranging from -1 to 1 were obtained, with positive values indicating positive sentiment of  
521 the news towards the topic. We will then use the annual average sentiment values to evaluate  
522 simulated cooperation demand of downstream countries.

523 Because the analyzed newspaper needs to be in English due to the language difficulty, we could  
524 obtain continuous and relevant English newspapers only in Thailand among the downstream  
525 countries, while the other riparian countries did not have English language newspapers with  
526 broad coverage. The data processing is similar with that used in Wei et al. (2020), but we  
527 adjusted the key words and filtering rules to fit our goals. From the database of Lexis-Nexis,  
528 we extracted in total 4,622 pieces of data with keywords related to the dam constructions and  
529 regulations in China and Laos, published in Thai newspapers. Then we selected 592 pieces of  
530 relevant articles by removing duplicates and irrelevant news manually. The 592 valid pieces of  
531 news cover the period of 2000-2018. Through automatic analysis and manual correcting, the  
532 sentiment values of each piece of news are chosen for statistical analysis, averaged for each  
533 year.

534 **4. Results**

535 **4.1 Hydrological simulation and reservoir operation**

536 As shown in Figure 5, the simulations at Jinghong, Chiang Saen, Luang Prabang and Pakse  
537 perform well with NSEs above 0.8 for the calibration period. The NSEs of validation period at  
538 the four stations are 0.84, 0.80, 0.79 and 0.87 respectively. For most years, the simulations of  
539 troughs during dry seasons and peaks during flood seasons are reproduced rather well, except  
540 for some extreme flood events when simulations under-estimated the flow. The NSEs at Nong  
541 Khai and Nakhonphanom reach to 0.81 and 0.75 respectively, which indicates the applicability  
542 of the THREW model at different locations across the Lancang-Mekong river basin.

543 According to the observations and simulations, the annual discharge from China to downstream  
544 countries at Jinghong station ( $Q_3$  in Figure 4) accounts for 66% of the discharge at Chiang  
545 Saen ( $Q_4$  in Figure 4) and 20% of the discharge at Pakse ( $Q_7$  in Figure 4). As simplified in  
546 Figure 4, runoff observed in Laos and Thailand account for 23% and 57% of the discharge at  
547 Pakse. The proportions of China and Laos in Pakse runoff are higher during non-flood seasons  
548 (November to May), and the change of seasonality of discharge in China and Laos caused by  
549 reservoir operations could affect the discharge and thus economic benefits in downstream  
550 countries.

551 Water releases from Xiaowan, Nuozhadu and the virtual Laos reservoir vary under the three  
552 scenarios, i.e., NC, FC and WA scenarios, and we compare them with natural water release  
553 without reservoir operation (NR scenario) during non-flood seasons. We set the initial reservoir  
554 storage to maximum storage at the beginning of the year and simulate the water release under  
555 two natural hydrological conditions, i.e., dry year of 2015 and normal year of 2017. Initial value

556 of cooperation level of China and Laos are both set to 0.5.

557 As shown in Figure 6, for both dry and normal years, the NC scenario keeps the largest storages  
558 and the FC scenario keeps the lowest storages. In a dry year like 2015, with the same  
559 cooperation level as in the normal year of 2017, reservoir storages under FC and WA scenarios  
560 are lower to satisfy the demands of downstream countries. Water releases from the three  
561 reservoirs under different scenarios in non-flood seasons in 2015 and 2017 are shown in Figure  
562 7. The final weighted average water releases (WA scenario) from Nuozhadu and Laos  
563 Reservoirs to downstream countries are higher than natural water releases (NR scenario) during  
564 non-flood season (November to May), especially in the dry year of 2015. It is consistent with  
565 the phenomenon that reservoir operations increase discharge during non-flood seasons in  
566 downstream countries in recent years.

567 As shown in Figure 8, the simulated reservoir storages under the continuous WA scenario are  
568 lower than the simulated storages under the continuous NC scenario in all three reservoirs. As  
569 a cooperative action, reservoir regulations under the continuous WA scenario keep releasing  
570 more water, particularly during dry years when the demands of downstream countries are high.

#### 571 **4.2 Economic benefit**

572 Overall, the economic benefit simulations under WA scenario in each country and sector are  
573 reasonable compared to statistical data, as listed in Table 4. Under the continuous WA scenario,  
574 China and Laos have obtained increasing benefits mainly due to ongoing dam construction. As  
575 Figure 9 shows, the simulated hydropower benefits of China approached 2,000 million USD in  
576 2018, while the annual generation of the two reservoirs is close to 40 billion kWh (Yu et al.,  
577 2019b). The Laos reservoir generated hydropower around 976 million USD while the statistical

578 estimation of hydropower benefit to Laos in 2015 is 1,076 million USD (MRC, 2018),  
579 demonstrating the validity of economic benefit simulations in Laos. In Figure 9(a), the  
580 hydropower benefit of China under WA scenario is lower than NC scenario and higher than the  
581 FC scenario after 2012, indicating that cooperation actions (WA and FC) could harm the  
582 hydropower benefit of China. It is similar in Laos, as shown in Figure 9(b), but the benefits  
583 under WA resemble NC scenario more due to the low cooperation level of Laos. The differences  
584 between the blue and red lines indicate the losses China and Laos need to bear if they cooperate  
585 altruistically to satisfy downstream demands and maximize downstream benefits.

586 When the two major reservoirs in China went into operation and cooperation levels increased  
587 after 2012, the total benefits of downstream three countries under WA scenario are higher than  
588 the NC scenario, although they cannot reach the high level of the FC scenario when China and  
589 Laos operate reservoirs merely for downstream benefits, as shown in Figure 10(a). The increase  
590 of downstream benefits under WA scenario is remarkable compared to NC scenario (e.g., 685  
591 million USD in 2018). Comparing the results in Figure 9 and Figure 10, under the WA scenario,  
592 the loss China and Laos need to bear is less than the gain of downstream countries in most years,  
593 which help to rationalize the cooperation actions and is consistent with the outcomes of  
594 simulations in other studies (Yu et al., 2019b; Li et al., 2019; Do et al., 2020). Notably, in the  
595 dry years of 2015-2016, cooperative action of upstream countries could mitigate the losses of  
596 downstream countries, but downstream benefits would still be lower compared to those in  
597 normal years.

598 The downstream benefits of agriculture and fishery under the WA scenario are shown in Figure  
599 10(b). Simulated agriculture benefit in 2018 is around 3,600 million USD with irrigation

600 withdrawals of 39 billion m<sup>3</sup>, while the statistical irrigation withdrawal of the three countries is  
601 47 billion m<sup>3</sup> (FAO, 2019). The simulated agriculture benefits of Thailand, Cambodia and  
602 Vietnam are 1,263, 593 and 1,728 million USD respectively, which are consistent with the  
603 statistical values for irrigated rice in Table 4, i.e., 1,314, 592 and 2,727 million USD (Cramb,  
604 2020; MRC, 2018).

605 As for the capture fishery benefits, the losses during the years of reservoir filling and droughts  
606 are remarkable, approaching 215 and 162 million USD in 2010 and 2015, respectively. The  
607 reduction of fishery capture is consistent with the outcomes of study by Orr et al. (2012), which  
608 estimated that losses of fishery capture could reach 20% with the impacts of the upstream dams.  
609 In 2018, the simulated fishery benefits of Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and the total fishery  
610 benefit are 118, 1,160, 179, and 1,457 million USD, while the corresponding statistical values  
611 are 120, 1,188, 195 and 1,503 million USD. The statistical fishery values are estimated on the  
612 basis of fishery production (Burbano et al., 2020) and fishery prices (MRC, 2018). Overall, the  
613 simulated benefits of downstream countries in the three economic sectors are basically  
614 consistent with statistical values.

### 615 **4.3 Cooperation demand and level**

616 In Figure 11(a), the simulated cooperation demands reached high levels in 2004-2005, 2008,  
617 2010, 2012-2013, 2015-2016. These peaks are caused by benefit losses compared to other years.  
618 The losses in 2004-2005 and 2015-2016 arose from recorded droughts (MRC, 2018), while the  
619 losses in 2010 and 2012-2013 are related to the constructions and operations of Xiaowan and  
620 Nuozhadu dam.

621 As shown in Figure 11(a), the cooperation level of Laos increased from the start at a slow speed

622 and exceeded 0.33 in 2018. The recent fluctuation of cooperation level of Laos could be  
623 reflected by the on-going disputes and negotiations between Laos and other MRC members in  
624 respect of reservoir construction by Laos on the mainstream of Mekong River since 2009  
625 (Hensengerth, 2015). The cooperation levels of China increased since the completion of the  
626 first major dam construction in 2010. The cooperation level of China exceeded that of Laos in  
627 2016, and the rapid increase of cooperation level of China could be evidenced by China's  
628 cooperative actions in recent years, including initiation of Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC)  
629 framework in 2015, which is a much broader framework that goes beyond water cooperation,  
630 and implementation of emergency water release to mitigate the negative impacts of droughts in  
631 downstream when the historically severe drought hit Mekong Basin in 2015 and 2016  
632 (Middleton and Allouche, 2016).

633 As shown in Figure 11(b), the number of news articles concerning the impacts of upstream  
634 reservoirs increased significantly after 2010, from less than 20 pieces each year to over 70  
635 pieces in recent years. The means of sentiment values fluctuate greatly in early years. In 2004,  
636 2010-2012 and 2015, sentiment results reached low values through the years, reflecting that the  
637 concerns and criticisms from Thailand towards China and Laos on dam operation were high  
638 compared to normal years. The dynamics of sentiment values are basically consistent with the  
639 simulations of cooperation demand shown in Figure 11(c). Simulated cooperation demand are  
640 high during 2005, 2008, 2010, 2012-2013, 2015-2016. Similar to the cooperation demand of  
641 the three downstream countries introduced before, the peaks of cooperation demand and  
642 concerns from downstream in 2005 and 2015 are ascribed to droughts and losses, while the  
643 concerns in 2010 and 2012 are due to the effects of dam constructions at Xiaowan and

644 Nuozhadu during these two years. Besides the factors mentioned above, based on the text  
645 information of news, another reason why concerns increased in 2010-2012 is that Laos started  
646 to construct Xayaburi dam, which is the first dam Laos constructed on the mainstream of  
647 Mekong River and is regarded as a violation of the 1995 Mekong Agreement (Herbertson,  
648 2013). Overall, our simulations of cooperation demands reflect the empirical dynamics of  
649 downstream countries obtained through sentiment analyses. Uncertainty analysis in Figure 12  
650 shows that although the selection of these six critical parameters could lead to uncertainty of  
651 simulated cooperation demand of downstream, the trend and fluctuation pattern of the  
652 simulations are consistent, which proves the reliability of the simulations. It should be noted  
653 that while the given values of political factors lead to similarity in cooperation demands in  
654 Figure 12, the impacts of certain parameter on simulation should be investigated with larger  
655 range of values and more tests, which is left for future research.

## 656 **5. Discussion and Conclusions**

657 This paper presented the development and application of a coupled socio-hydrological model  
658 to simulate the dynamics of cooperation and conflict in the transboundary Lancang-Mekong  
659 river basin in Southeast Asia. The Lancang-Mekong is a typical transboundary river where the  
660 upstream mountainous area is rich in hydropower and lower plain areas are suitable for  
661 irrigation and are rich in fisheries. Dam construction and operations in upstream countries  
662 (China, Laos) have changed the seasonality of downstream river flows, which have impacted  
663 the benefits gained by downstream countries, notably in terms of agriculture and fishery, both  
664 of which rely on the discharge of rivers. When downstream countries faced benefit losses  
665 compared to maximum benefits as a result, they led to community concerns, which they tend

666 to blame on upstream countries. Once the dams were constructed and were in place, the most  
667 available and effective cooperative action to avoid regional conflicts was to operate the  
668 reservoirs in a way to achieve basin-wide synergy between upstream and downstream countries  
669 (Do et al., 2020). While upstream countries may have lost some economic benefits by  
670 sacrificing some of their hydropower generation to benefit downstream countries, by doing so  
671 they also stood to gain more indirect political and economic benefits, e.g., better diplomatic  
672 relations and more investment opportunities in downstream countries (Sadoff and Grey, 2002).

673 The socio-hydrological model presented in this paper was able to capture the dynamics of such  
674 cooperation and conflict through the coupling of modules representing hydrology, reservoir  
675 operation, economic benefits and policy, which is simple but comprehensive. The interplay  
676 among hydrological, economic and political factors is important, because hydrological  
677 variability and human activities could impact the dynamics of cooperation jointly. The model  
678 simulations perform well against empirical observations of runoff, published statistics of  
679 economic benefits in the different sectors, and sentiment analysis results.

680 A novel feature of the model is the quantification of cooperation dynamics in the form of a logit  
681 dynamics model. The logit dynamics model operates in a way that willingness to cooperate  
682 increases when there are greater benefits to be gained if the parties cooperate and fewer benefits  
683 if they do not. A particular strength of the logit model is that it could explicitly include  
684 geopolitical factors that add to the indirect benefits that upstream countries may gain through  
685 increased cooperation. When upstream countries value the indirect political benefits more and  
686 are thus more responsive to the downstream concerns, the cooperation level would increase,  
687 which is quantified in the model to represent to what extent the upstream country would like to



688 accommodate downstream water demands in reservoir operation. The increase of simulated  
689 cooperation level is consistent with the cooperative actions taken by China in recent years. Over  
690 the last two decades, cooperation demands of the downstream countries increased over drought  
691 years and over the years of reservoir filling. The surge of downstream concerns towards  
692 upstream countries needs to be treated appropriately, otherwise the concerns could turn into  
693 more severe conflicts. The losses of the downstream relative to maximum expected benefits  
694 could be mitigated by cooperative actions of upstream countries, i.e., change of reservoir  
695 regulation, which will lead to less concern and less criticism from downstream countries.  
696 Compared with the extant models, this socio-hydrological model is the first one, to the best of  
697 our knowledge, to include the co-evolutionary transboundary river cooperation as an internal  
698 variable instead of as a static and external variable in coupled hydrology-economic models.  
699 This particular feature enables the model to analyze the mid- and long-term cooperation  
700 dynamics in transboundary rivers.

701 The cooperation dynamics in the Lancang-Mekong river basin described in the socio-  
702 hydrologic model are common in many other transboundary river basins. In particular, losses  
703 compared to expected benefits of downstream countries from the actions of upstream countries  
704 such as dam construction, water extraction and pollution, can be counterbalanced by the  
705 willingness to cooperate by upstream countries, by sharing some economic benefits with  
706 downstream countries as compensation for their loss compared to expected benefit, in return  
707 from indirect geopolitical benefits and investment opportunities. By capturing these  
708 mechanisms and by accounting for the effects of hydrologic variability and reservoir releases  
709 on the economic benefits of the various water uses in the quantification of willingness to

710 cooperate, the socio-hydrological model presented in this paper provides an objective scientific  
711 framework to underpin transboundary water management and negotiations elsewhere.

712 As an early version transboundary river socio-hydrological model, there is significant room for  
713 further improvement in the model formulation. With limited research and knowledge on the  
714 quantification of cooperation and political benefits, the parameterization of policy feedback  
715 module such as the political factor is relatively primitive. As the model is applied to more cases,  
716 these policy feedback parameters could be investigated to find some general patterns, which  
717 could be then used to determine the corresponding parameters a priori when applying to new  
718 cases. The current model simulated the effect of hydroelectric power generation in multiple  
719 dams in China and Laos in a lumped manner, which has a negative impact on the accuracy of  
720 reservoir releases, and hence on benefit calculation for downstream countries. The situation can  
721 be improved in the future through more distributed simulation of the cascade of reservoirs.

722 Additionally, in order to integrate the complex hydro-economic relationships into the model,  
723 agriculture and fishery benefits are calculated in the present model with rather simplified  
724 equations. There is room for significant improvement in these benefit calculations. Flood  
725 control is one of the most important functions of existing and planned future dams, but has been  
726 ignored in this study, which may have led to under-estimation of the benefits to both upstream  
727 and downstream countries. Simulations under different scenarios of climate change and human  
728 activities could provide projections of the dynamics of transboundary river cooperation and  
729 conflict, and thus provide useful insights for transboundary river management in the future.

730

731

732 **Code/Data availability**

733 The data is available on request from the corresponding author (tianfq@mail.tsinghua.edu.cn).

734

735 **Author contribution**

736 You Lu, Fuqiang Tian, Liying Guo, Iolanda Borzì and Rupesh Patil discussed the framework

737 of the socio-hydrologic model. You Lu developed the model code and performed the

738 simulations. Jing Wei, Dengfeng Liu, Yongping Wei and David J. Yu discussed and revised the

739 model. You Lu and Fuqiang Tian prepared the manuscript, with significant inputs and edits by

740 Yongping Wei, David J. Yu, and Murugesu Sivapalan, with contributions from all co-authors.

741 Fuqiang Tian supervised the whole procedure of this study.

742

743 **Competing interests**

744 The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

745

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Table 1. Reservoir information of Xiaowan and Nuozhadu

Reservoir	Commissioned Year	Total Reservoir Storage (MCM)	Flood Limited Storage (MCM)	Dead Reservoir Storage (MCM)
Xiaowan	2010	15,300	13,104	5,946
Nuozhadu	2012	21,749	19,344	10,414

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Table 2. Irrigated agriculture information of Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam

	Thailand	Cambodia	Vietnam	Data Source
Rice price (USD/ton)	243.8	267.6	248.0	MRC (2018)
Irrigated Area (million ha)	1.425	0.505	1.921	Cramb (2020)
Rice yield (ton/ha)	3.78	4.38	5.72	MRC (2018)
Irrigation withdrawal (MCM)	16240	1680	29120	AQUASTAT

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Table 3. Critical parameters and values for uncertainty analysis

Denotation	Parameter	Value	Alternative Value
$\varepsilon_a$	sensitivity of agriculture loss	0.5	0.4, 0.6
$\varepsilon_f$	sensitivity of fishery loss	0.5	0.4, 0.6
$P_c$	China political factor	2	1.5, 2.5
$P_l$	Laos political factor	1	0.8, 1.2
$s$	responsive change rate	0.5	0.4, 0.6
$\beta$	shape parameter	1.5	1, 2

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Table 4. Simulated economic benefits in 2018 and statistical benefits

Unit: Million USD	Simulated benefit	Benefit from statistical data
China hydropower	1,954	2,000
Laos hydropower	976	1,076
Thailand agriculture	1,263	1,314
Thailand fishery	118	120
Cambodia agriculture	593	592
Cambodia fishery	1,160	1,188
Vietnam agriculture	1,728	2,727
Vietnam fishery	179	195

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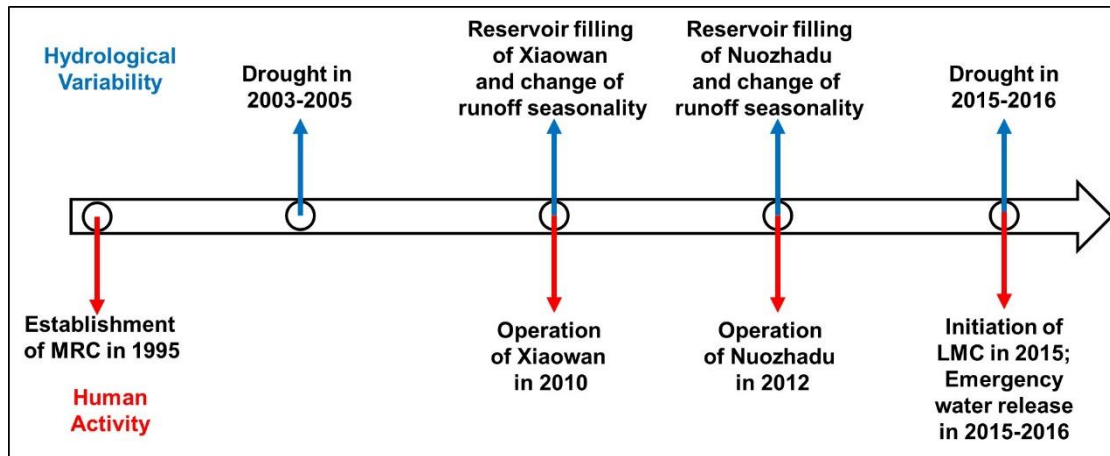
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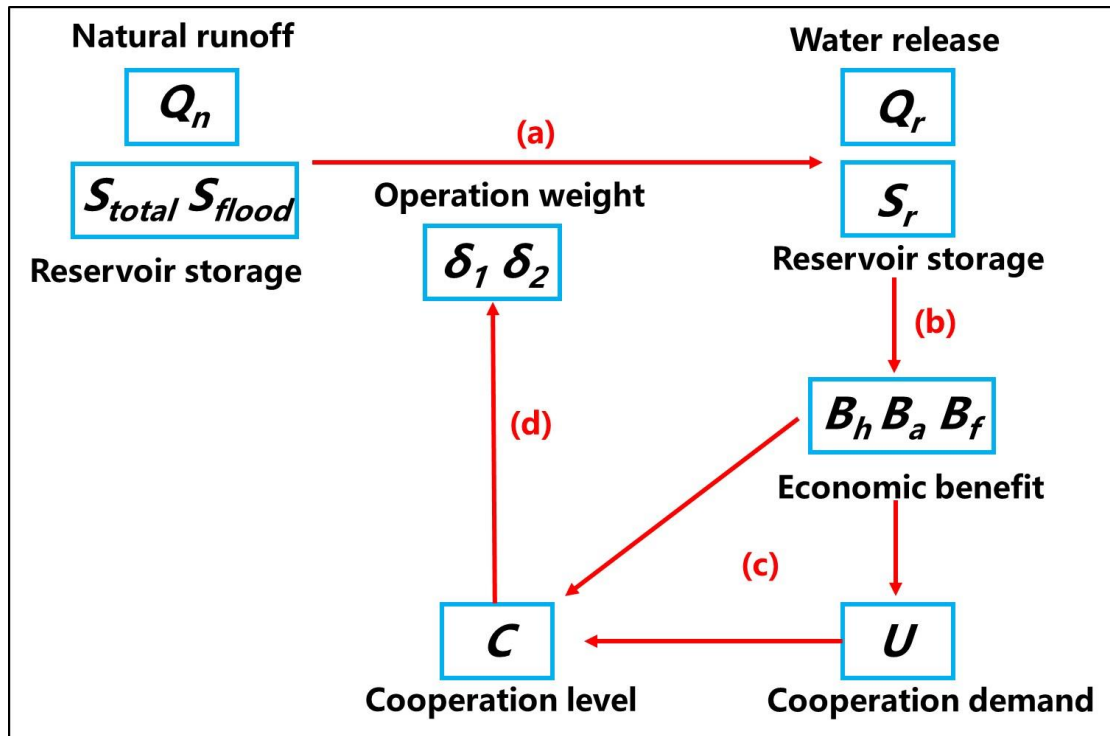
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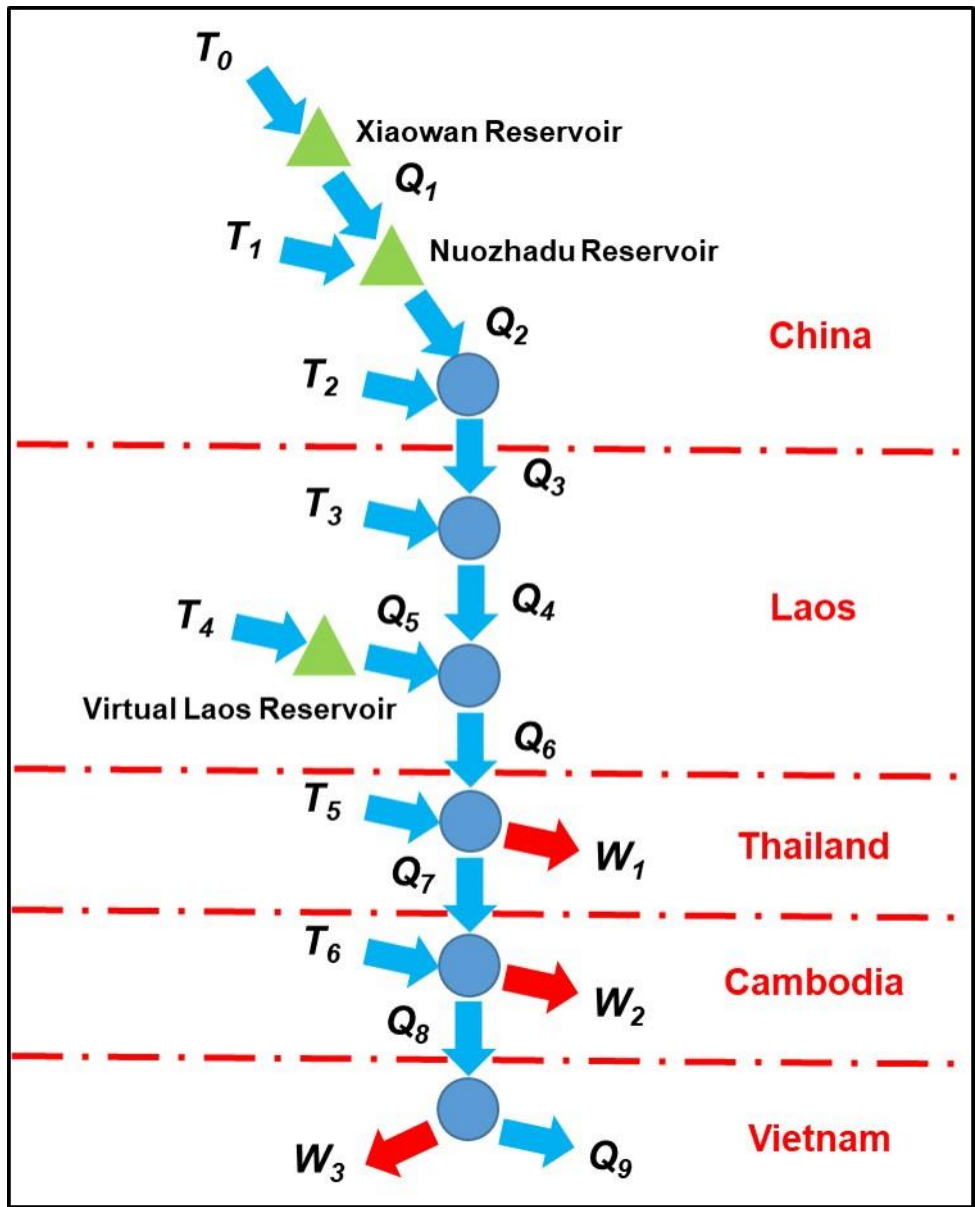
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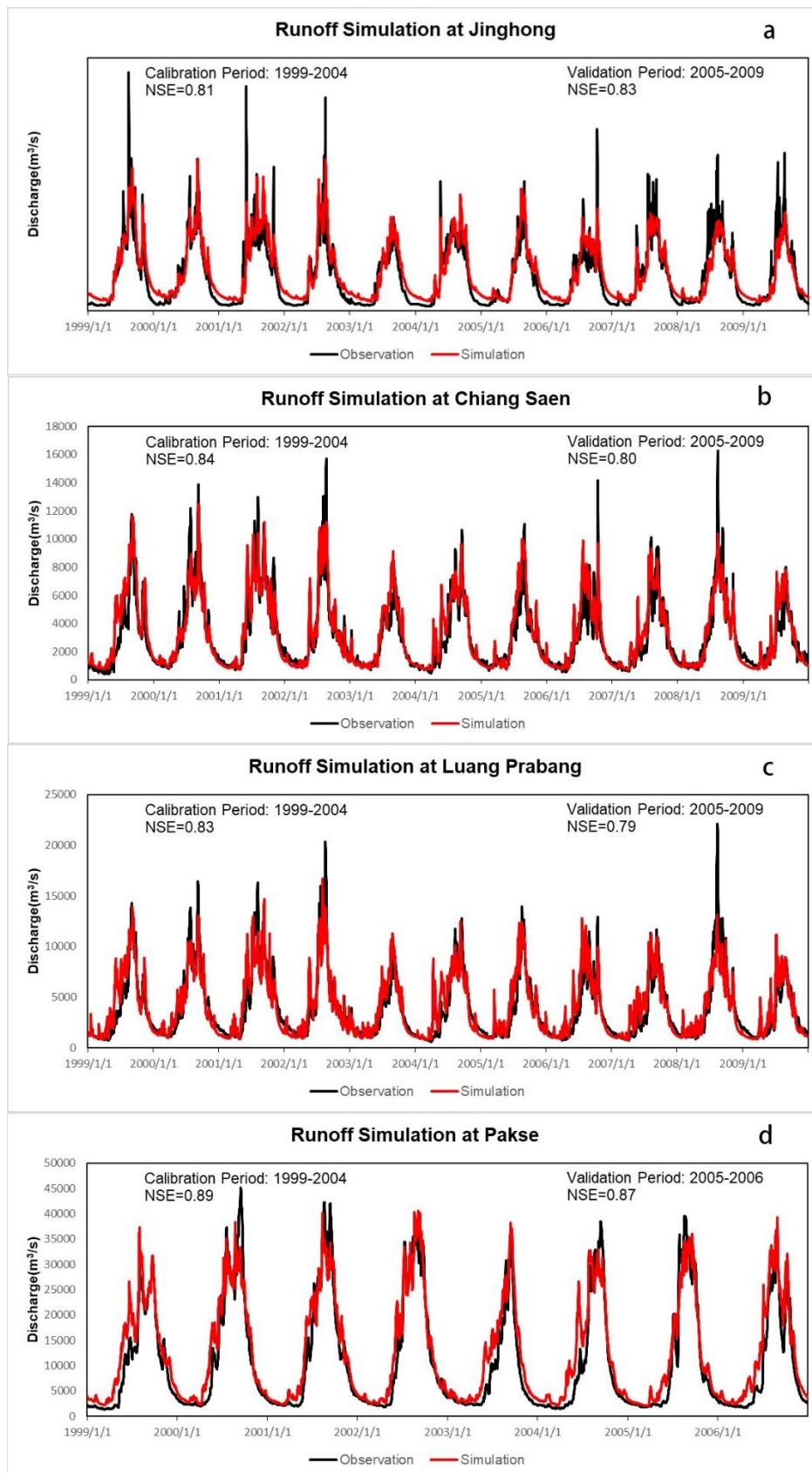


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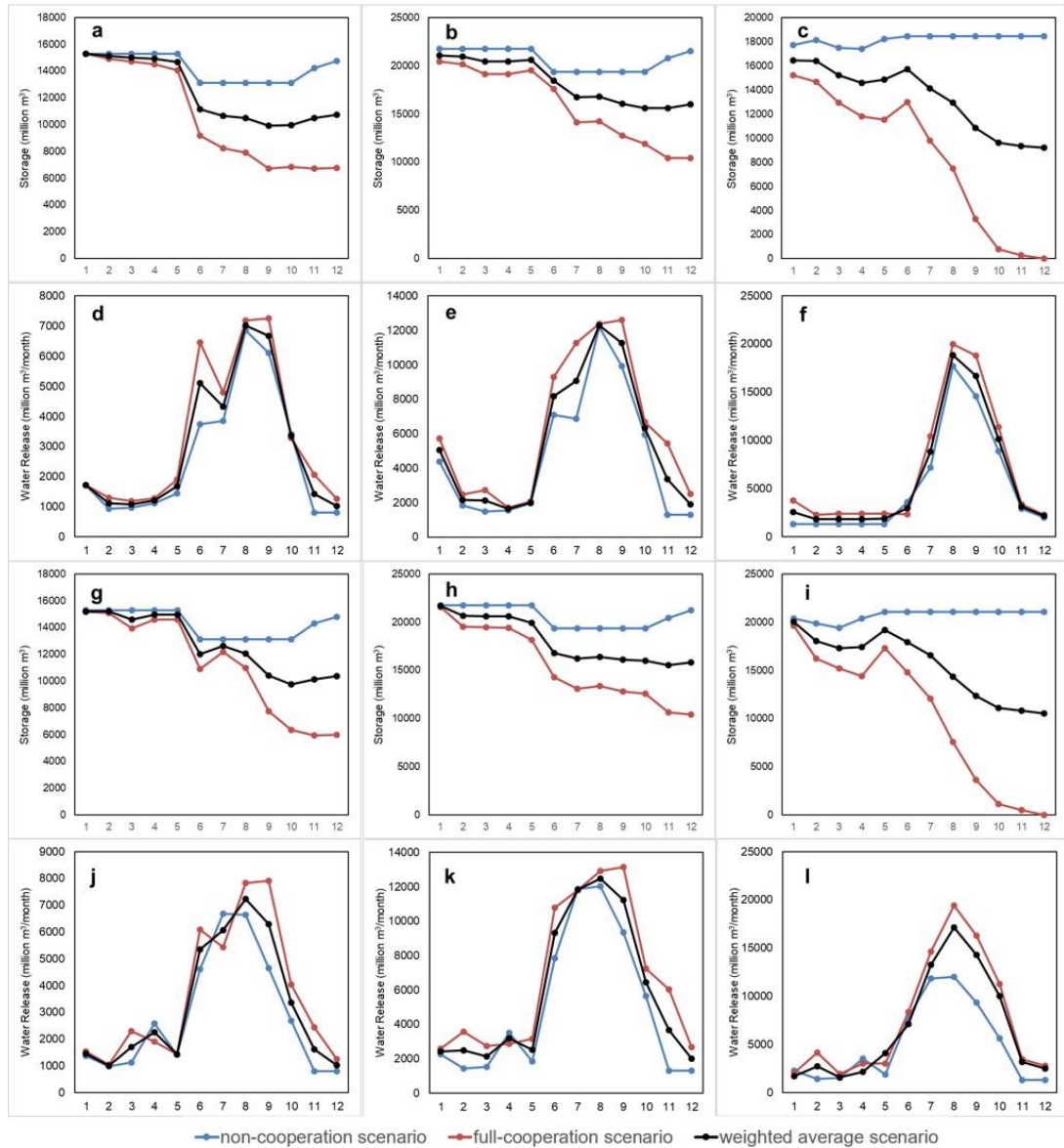




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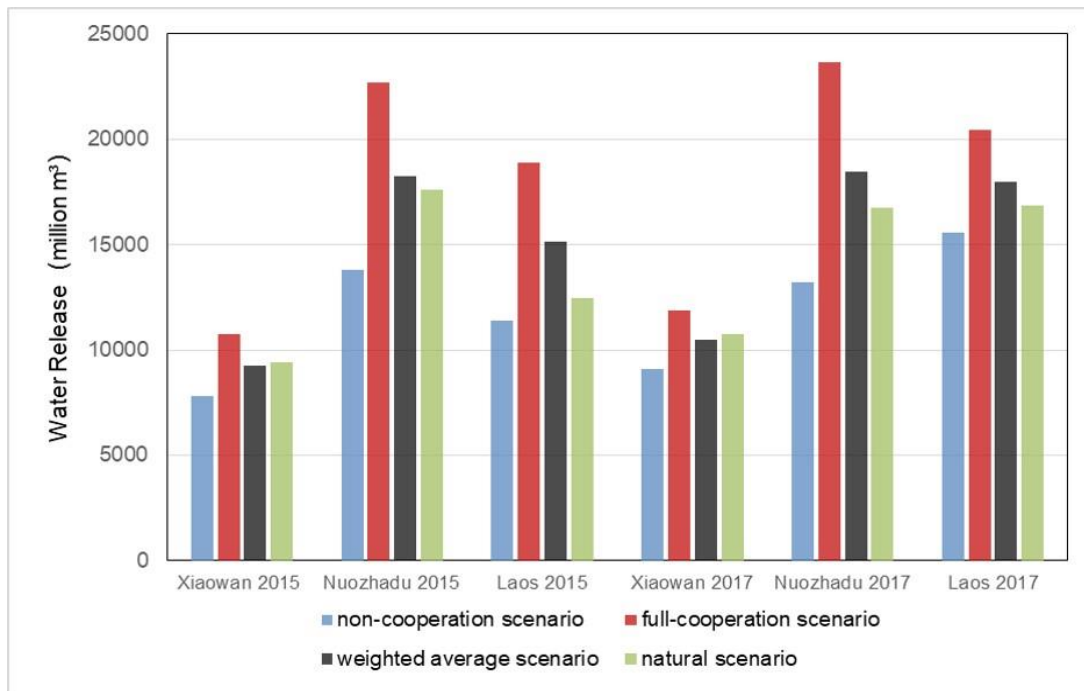
storage in 2017. (i) Virtual Laos reservoir storage in 2017. (j) Water release of Xiaowan

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reservoir in 2017. (k) Water release of Nuozhadu reservoir in 2017. (l) Water release of

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Virtual Laos reservoir in 2017

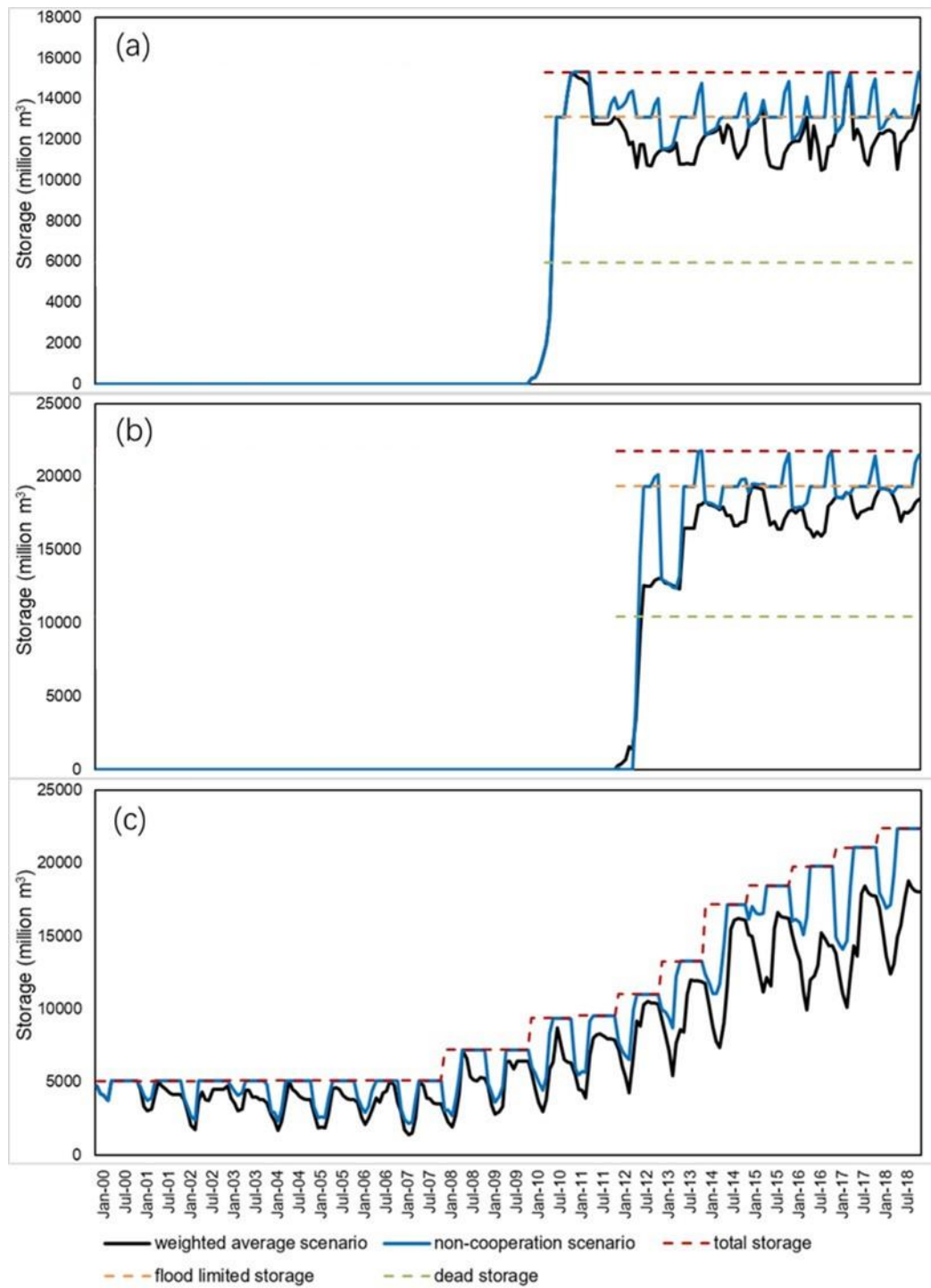


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1046 Figure 7. Water release of Xiaowan, Nuozhadu and virtual Laos reservoir in non-flood

1047 seasons in 2015 (dry year) and 2017 (norm year) under different scenarios

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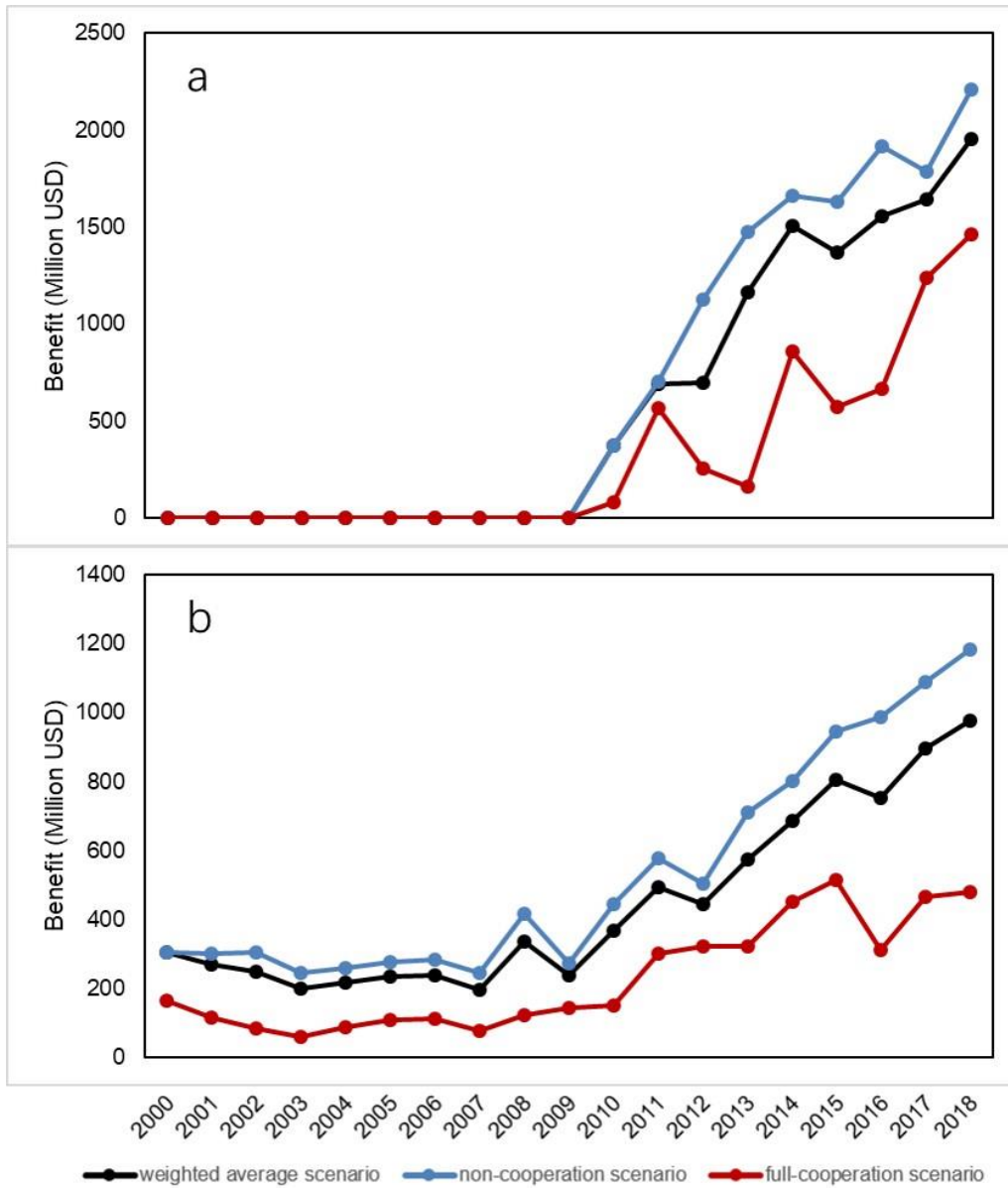


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1050 Figure 8. Simulated storage dynamics of Xiaowan (a), Nuozhadu (b) and virtual Laos

1051 reservoir (c). Total storage in (c) indicates total active storage of the virtual Laos reservoir

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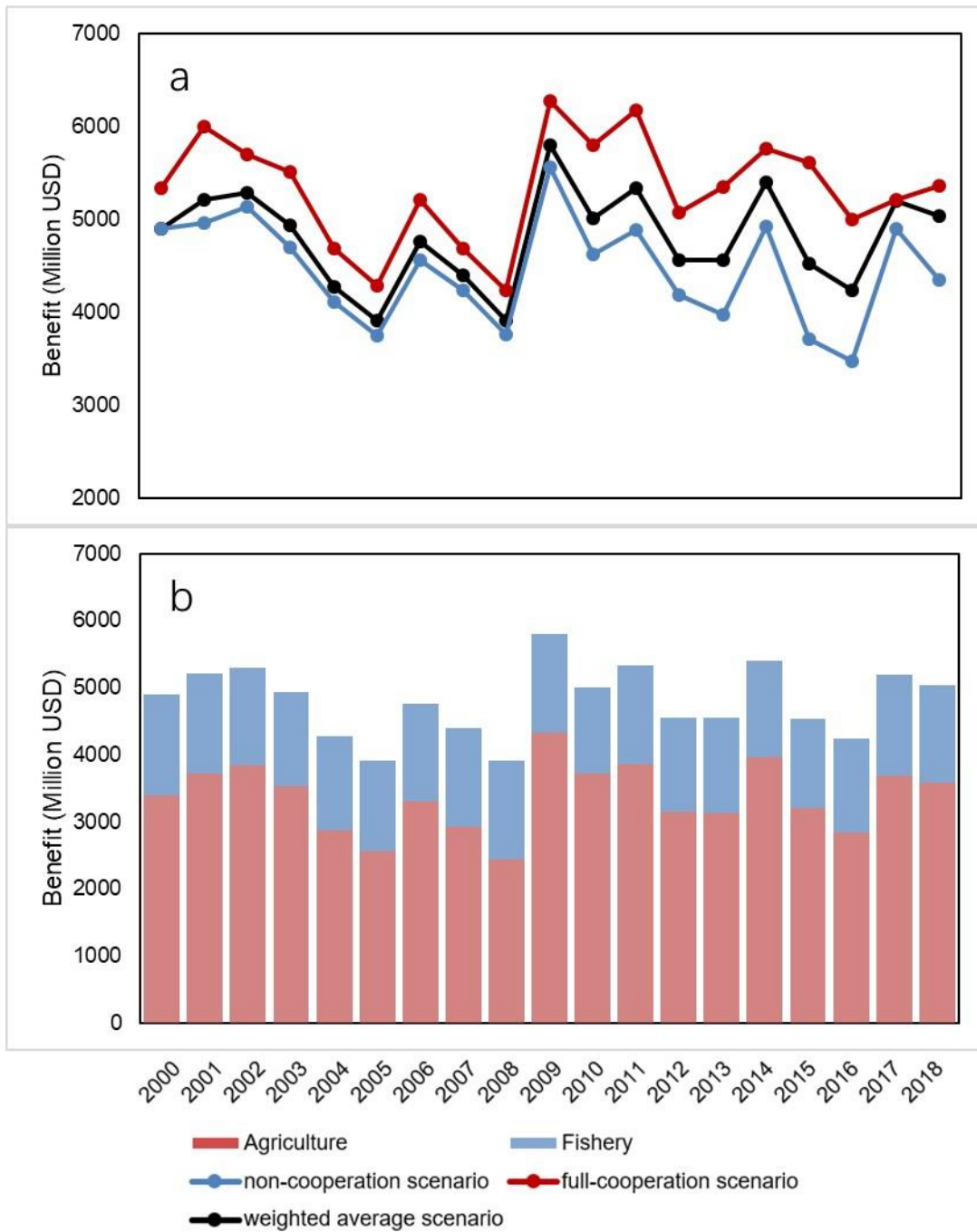


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1055 Figure 9. Benefit of upstream China (a) and Laos (b) under weighted average scenario, non-

1056 cooperation scenario and full-cooperation scenario

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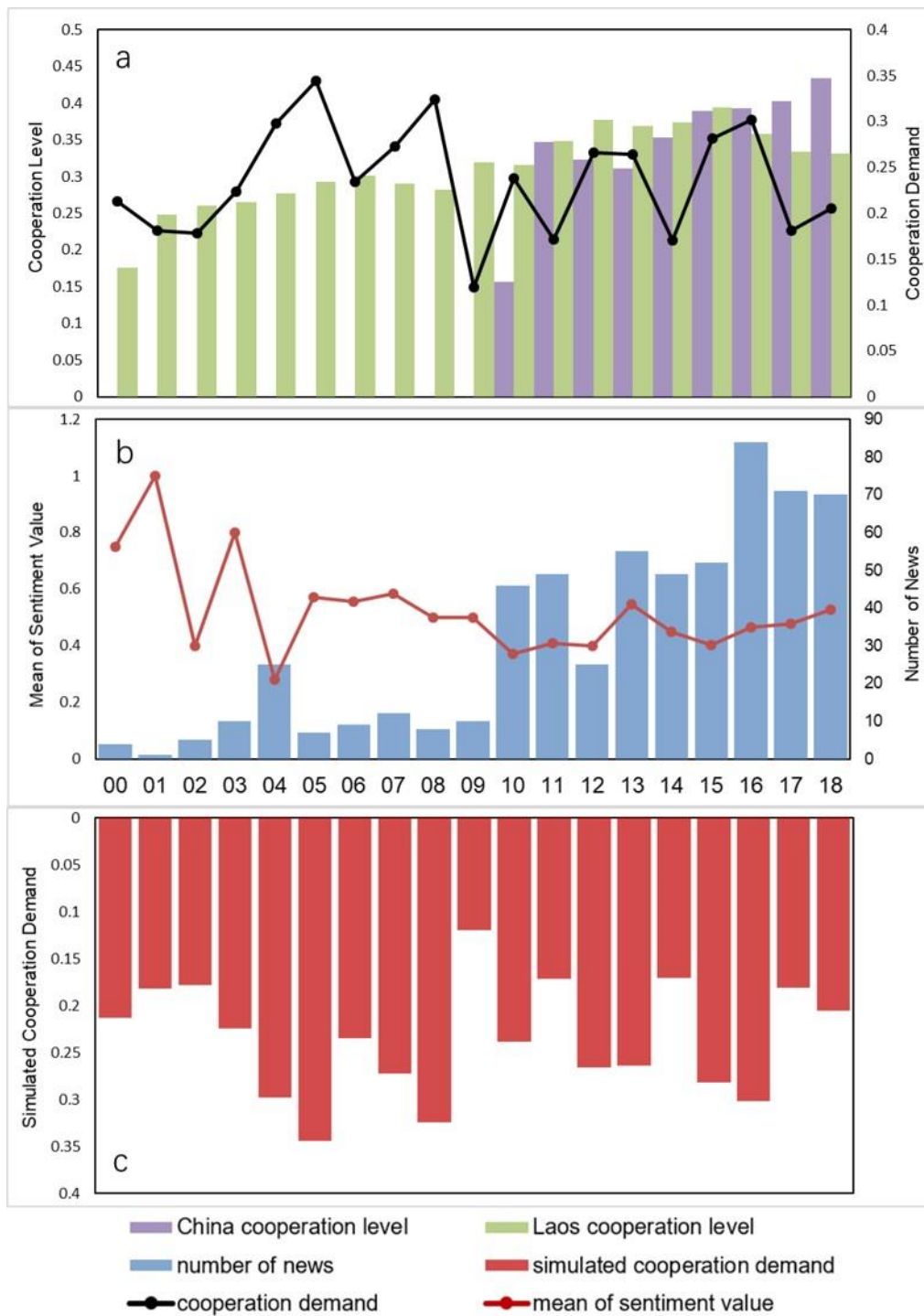
1060 Figure 10. (a) Benefits of Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam under weighted average scenario,

1061 non-cooperation scenario and full-cooperation scenario. (b) Agriculture and fishery benefits

1062 of downstream under weighted average scenario

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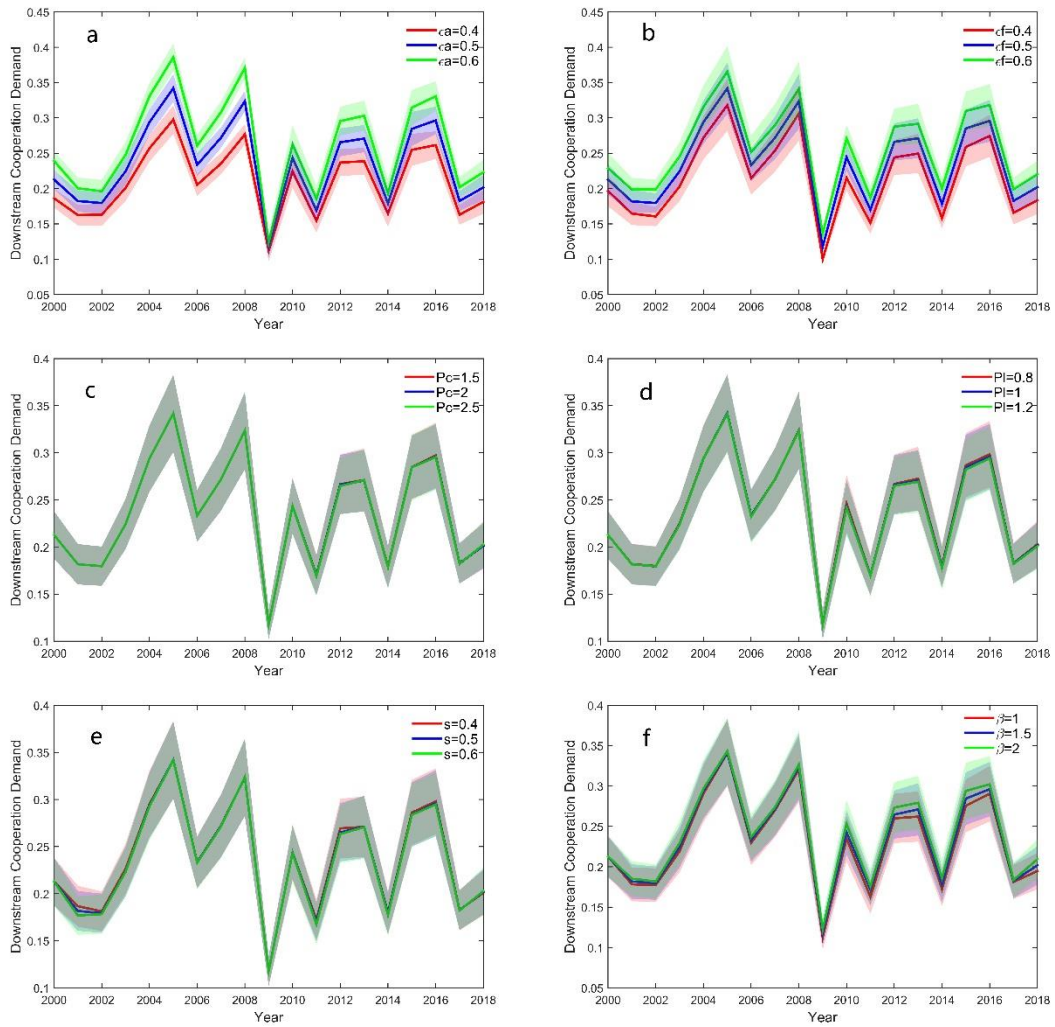
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1065 Figure 11. (a) Simulation of cooperation demand of downstream and cooperation level of China

1066 and Laos. (b) Newspaper sentiment analysis of Thailand. (c) Simulation of cooperation demand

1067 of Thailand

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1070 Figure 12. Uncertainty analysis of critical parameters in the Socio-Hydrological model. (a)

1071 Sensitivity of agriculture loss. (b) Sensitivity of fishery loss. (c) China political factor. (d) Laos

1072 political factor. (e) Responsive change rate. (f) Shape parameter