



1 **Socio-Hydrologic Modeling of the Dynamics of Cooperation in the Transboundary**
2 **Lancang-Mekong River**

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26 **Abstract**

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

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



49 **Introduction**

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



71 Compared to water resources management in domestic river basins, transboundary river
72 management must deal with an additional complexity. The complexity arises from the fact that
73 in transboundary river basins the different preferences for water uses may be separated by
74 national or state boundaries. Under these circumstances, cooperation among stakeholders could
75 be inter-twined with other issues, or are limited by riparian relations, compounded by
76 institutional limitations (Wolf et al., 1999) and differing national economic and strategic
77 interests. When combined with obstacles towards enforcement (Müller et al., 2017; Espey and
78 Towfique, 2004), cooperation is much more difficult to achieve. The incompatible requirements
79 or demands of different riparian countries or states and the absence of institutional arrangements
80 to reconcile these differences may lead to sub-optimal outcomes for all stakeholders, leading to
81 conflicts that may be harder to manage (Petersen-Perlman et al., 2017).

82 Despite the challenges in transboundary river cooperation, there are examples of successful
83 cooperation and avoidance of conflict. Having experienced great losses due to environmental
84 pollution and flooding, the countries sharing Rhine river in Europe have cooperated
85 successfully to address shared goals of environmental protection and flood control over the last
86 several decades (Schultz, 2009). However, there are also examples of failures to cooperate.
87 Due to lack of unified and cooperative actions of the riparian countries, Amu Darya River and
88 Syr Darya River in Central Asia suffered over-exploitation of their water resources which
89 resulted in consequent disappearance of most water surface and ecological disaster in the once
90 thriving Aral Sea (Tian et al., 2019). Therefore, it is worth investigating the fundamental
91 question of what made the difference between examples of successful cooperation and those of
92 conflict and failure.



93 Over the last several years, researchers have spent considerable efforts to analyze and
94 understand the aforementioned question. Extant studies include empirical researches as well as
95 modeling efforts (De Stefano et al., 2017; De Bruyne and Fischhendler, 2013; Bernauer et al.,
96 2012; Beck et al., 2014). The International Water Events Database has collected cooperative and
97 conflictive water interactions over global transboundary river basins, and provides useful data
98 and frameworks for further statistical studies (De Stefano et al., 2010; Munia et al., 2016) and
99 detailed investigations in specific basins (Feng et al., 2019). Statistical methods or case studies
100 help to identify the broad factors affecting transboundary river cooperation. These have
101 included: natural conditions (e.g., hydrological scarcity and variability) (Dinar et al.,
102 2010; Dinar, 2009), political relations (Zeitoun and Mirumachi, 2008), power dynamics
103 (Zeitoun et al., 2011; Petersen-Perlman et al., 2017), institutional arrangements (Dinar, 2009),
104 and the relative levels of social and economic development (Song and Whittington, 2004).
105 Hydrological-economic models that involve hydrological simulation and benefit calculation
106 and allocation through benefit maximization or game theory (Li et al., 2019; Yu et al., 2019b)
107 are also common methods used to analyze the human-water interactions in transboundary river.
108 These modeling approaches have been applied to the Lancang-Mekong and the Nile river basins
109 (Cai et al., 2003; Ringler and Cai, 2006; Arjoon et al., 2016; Basheer et al., 2018).
110 Most of the studies highlighted above have viewed the cooperation in transboundary rivers in
111 a static way. However, a key aspect of cooperation by social actors (in this case riparian
112 countries or states, representing the humans living in these states) is that cooperation itself is
113 dynamic in nature, and transboundary river cooperation is also evolutionary. For example, in
114 the Colorado River Basin shared by USA and Mexico, industrialization and population growth



115 have increased the stress on surface and groundwater resources and on water quality. Ground
116 water depletion and water pollution contributed to tension between the two countries from the
117 1940s. Following protracted negotiations, several treaties were signed and institutions built,
118 with the result that the interactions between USA and Mexico have now become more
119 cooperative in recent years (Frisvold and Caswell, 2000). Globally, the cooperative tendency
120 reached its peak during 1971-1986, compared to the previous 1948-1970 and later 1987-1999
121 periods (Wolf et al., 2003). The relatively low cooperative tendency over the 1987-1999 period
122 is thought to continue to the 2000-2008 period (De Stefano et al., 2010). The focus of
123 transboundary water treaties, which symbolize cooperation, have been reported to shift from
124 exploitation of water resources to sustainable water management and framework setting, with
125 increased importance given to environmental health (Giordano et al., 2013). The approaches
126 used in studies to date do not accommodate the dynamic co-evolutionary nature of
127 transboundary cooperation and conflicts and are therefore not up to the task of seeking
128 mechanistic explanations for observed dynamics of cooperation in transboundary river basins.
129 In this study, we aim to address this knowledge gap by adopting a process-based, socio-
130 hydrologic framework to represent transboundary cooperation in the Lancang-Mekong river
131 basin, which involves China, Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam as riparian
132 states. Using dynamic modeling to understand the mechanisms behind cooperative or
133 conflictive actions of riparian countries, not only in a specific river basin, but also similarities
134 and differences between basins, would help in elucidating key drivers that account for
135 differences in the cooperation level and its dynamics over time. Increased mechanistic
136 understanding will help increase the scope of cooperation and avoidance of conflict in the future,



137 and generate economic, social, and geopolitical benefits (Yu et al., 2019a;Sadoff and Grey,
138 2002), which are expressed as “beyond the river” benefits by Sadoff and Grey (2002). Enhanced
139 cooperation could lead to harmony in human-water relations generally and regionally, including
140 equitable and sustainable use of water. Conversely, the continuation of conflicts could result in
141 disordered water use, over-exploitation (Tian et al., 2019) and overall loss of amenities.

142 In approaching this aim, it is critical to capture the two-way feedbacks between the social
143 system and the transboundary river system. Entering the Anthropocene era, human society and
144 hydrological systems have become ever more tightly coupled, and in the long-term, co-
145 evolution of the resulting coupled, socio-hydrological system has been shown to result in
146 emergent dynamics and unintended consequences (Sivapalan and Blöschl, 2015). Examples
147 include decadal asymmetric dynamics of human water consumption in several large semi-arid
148 river basins in Asia (Tian et al., 2019), and the “pendulum swing” in agriculture water use and
149 human development in both Eastern and Western Australia (Kandasamy et al., 2014). Socio-
150 hydrology as a science explores the two-way feedbacks between human and water systems,
151 necessary to understand and mimic observed emergent dynamics (Sivapalan and Blöschl, 2015).

152 Driven by both natural and social forces, a transboundary river basin can also be viewed as a
153 coupled socio-hydrological system, now with a distinct spatial (upstream-downstream)
154 dynamics mediated by multiple riparian states. Observed patterns of cooperation and conflict
155 in a transboundary basin can then be seen as a special case of emergent dynamics that results
156 from interactions and feedbacks between the actions of water users or stakeholders in upstream
157 and downstream riparian states and the interplay of associated hydrological, economic, and
158 social, and geo-political processes (Di Baldassarre et al., 2019). Historical patterns of the



159 intensity or levels of cooperation between riparian states are key indicators that can be used as
160 targets of socio-hydrologic models developed with the aim of generating mechanistic
161 understanding of the co-evolutionary paths followed by transboundary river basin management.
162 In this study, we will present a coupled socio-hydrological model developed to simulate the
163 dynamics of conflict and cooperation in transboundary river systems, and its application to the
164 Lancang-Mekong river basin. The nature of shared use of the waters of the Lancang-Mekong
165 River has significantly evolved over the last 60 years through cycles of cooperation and conflict.
166 The socio-hydrological model developed here is used to mimic the mechanisms of cooperation
167 and conflict in this basin in a way to gain basic understanding that may be transferred to
168 transboundary river basins elsewhere.

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

176 **1. Study Area and Historical Timeline of Cooperation and Conflict Dynamics**

177 Lancang-Mekong River is an important transboundary river located in Southeast Asia. As
178 shown in Figure 1, it originates from the Tibetan Plateau in China, and over its entire length of
179 4900 km it passes through Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam (Wang et al.,
180 2017). The Lancang-Mekong river basin drains an area of 812,400 km² and supports the water



181 needs and livelihoods of over 65 million people (Ringler and Cai, 2006;MRC, 2018;You et al.,
182 2014). The annual average discharge of Lancang-Mekong River flowing into the South China
183 Sea is close to 475 billion m³/year (Campbell, 2016). The drainage area of the upstream part,
184 i.e., the Lancang River Basin in China, is 195,000 km², which accounts for 24% of the whole
185 basin area. The Mekong River Basin in Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam
186 covers an area of around 600,000 km² (Li et al., 2017).

187 Starting from a relatively undeveloped basin in the 1950s, Lancang-Mekong River Basin has
188 experienced rapid economic growth in recent decades (MRC, 2010). Although they all have
189 many shared interests, different riparian countries within the Lancang-Mekong river basin
190 benefit from different river functions. For example, while all riparian countries have the need
191 to protect themselves from the negative impacts of floods and droughts and ensure the
192 sustainability of ecosystem, the upper riparian states of China and Laos have constructed and
193 plan to construct many dams, mainly for hydropower generation (Keskinen et al., 2012). For
194 the downstream states of Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam, agriculture and fishery are the main
195 uses of the Mekong River. Irrigated agriculture is a major water consumer in the basin (MRC,
196 2018), and rice is the main staple crop (Campbell, 2016). In the lower Mekong region,
197 especially in Cambodia and Vietnam, fishery not only employs a large number of people, but
198 also sustains their protein demands (Campbell, 2016).

199 As an important and geopolitically sensitive region (Campbell, 2016), Lancang-Mekong River
200 Basin has experienced both conflict and cooperation since the end of World War II under the
201 impacts of changing geopolitical relationships, hydrological dynamics and socio-economic
202 conditions. With the sponsorship of the United Nations Agency ECAFE, the Committee for



203 Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin was initiated in 1957, and early
204 efforts included the setting up of comprehensive hydrological observations and the setting up
205 of regional plans for hydropower, flood control and irrigation (Campbell, 2016). However,
206 because of the withdrawal of Cambodia in 1977 due to political reasons, Thailand, Laos and
207 Vietnam initiated the Interim Committee for Coordination of Investigations of the Lower
208 Mekong, which took limited efforts towards regional cooperation. Until 1995, the four countries
209 of the lower Mekong were part of the Agreement on the Cooperation for the Sustainable
210 Development of the Mekong River Basin, through which they established the Mekong River
211 Commission (MRC). MRC was designed to enhance cooperation on water utilization and
212 management, socio-economic development and ecosystem conservation (MRC, 1995).
213 Although China signed an agreement on the provision of hydrological information on the
214 Lancang-Mekong River in 2002, the efforts of MRC were limited due to the absence of the
215 upstream states, namely China and Myanmar. Finally, the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation
216 Mechanism (LMC) was initiated in 2016 to include all of the six riparian countries and thus
217 enhance more comprehensive cooperation (Feng et al., 2019).
218 Specifically, cooperation in Lancang-Mekong River in the 21st century has been in the spotlight
219 because of rapid changes in climatic and hydrological conditions, intensified human activity
220 and geopolitical sensitivity of the region. Dam construction principally in the two upstream
221 countries, China and Laos, has continued over three decades. Since 2010, large hydropower
222 plants have been commissioned on the mainstream of Lancang-Mekong River (Han et al., 2019).
223 Reservoir operations in the upstream increase dry season runoff and reduce runoff peaks during
224 the flood season (Hoanh et al., 2010). The resulting changes in river flow were strongest in the



225 upper Chiang Saen station in Thailand and less marked in the lower station Kratie in Cambodia
226 (MRC, 2018). The resulting change of seasonality of river flows has a significant impact on the
227 benefits of different water uses (Pokhrel et al., 2018), for example, wetland ecosystem services
228 (Dudgeon, 2000) in Vietnam, and fish capture in the largest freshwater lake in Southeast Asian,
229 Tonle Sap (Kite, 2001) located in Cambodia. Correspondingly, due to the effects of upstream
230 dam operations for hydropower generation, the downstream countries faced concerns about
231 benefit losses. Here the loss indicates deviation from their maximum expected benefit instead
232 of absolute loss, because human values outcomes as gains and losses relative to a reference
233 level (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979). To obtain indirect political benefits, which is described
234 as “diplomatic returns” in Yu et al. (2019b), the upstream country China has worked to change
235 flow regulations of their reservoirs to satisfy the demands of the downstream countries and
236 achieve regional cooperation. One example of this is the emergency water release from China
237 in 2016 to alleviate the effects of a severe drought in the lower Mekong basin (Yu et al., 2019b).
238 This change of hydropower dam regulations in upstream countries can be regarded as an
239 example of a cooperative response.

240 Figure 2 summarizes the hydrological and anthropogenic events in Lancang-Mekong River
241 Basin. The upstream countries China and Laos have constructed or planned to construct dams
242 on the mainstream of Lancang-Mekong River. Two major reservoirs on the mainstream,
243 Xiaowan and Nuozhadu, went into production in 2010 and 2012 respectively. The filling and
244 operation of reservoir caused the alteration of hydrological regimes in the downstream, i.e.,
245 increase of runoff in the dry season and reduction in the flood season. Economic losses
246 compared to expected benefits caused by the change of hydrological seasonality and natural



247 droughts, led to concerns raised by downstream countries, and tension and conflict. However,
248 cooperation has been enhanced in recent years, exemplified by some cooperative actions of the
249 upstream country China, such as emergency water release during a period of drought. We will
250 use the socio-hydrological model to simulate the water-related events and the cooperation
251 dynamics, and provide mechanistic explanations based on socio-hydrologic interpretation of
252 the emergent dynamics.

253 **2. Model**

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

264 As seen in Figure 3, the socio-hydrological model couples four main parts, i.e., hydrological
265 simulation, reservoir operation, economic benefit calculation, and policy feedback. A
266 distributed catchment hydrological model is used to model natural streamflow inputs to the
267 dams and is calibrated using observations at several stations along the Lancang-Mekong River
268 and its tributaries. With available reservoir information, the reservoir operation module



269 simulates two basic scenarios, i.e., maximizing upstream benefits versus maximizing
270 downstream benefits. The results of these two operational scenarios are weight averaged to
271 calculate actual water releases and reservoir storages. The economic benefit calculation module
272 estimates the economic benefits for both upstream and downstream countries covering
273 hydropower, irrigation and fishery sectors based on outcomes of the hydrological simulation
274 and reservoir operation modules. The fourth module simulates the policy feedbacks through the
275 estimation of economic benefits and operation weights through two key variables, i.e.,
276 cooperation demand of downstream countries and cooperation level of upstream countries.
277 Outcomes of sentiment analysis of newspaper articles are used to evaluate the modeled
278 cooperation demand. The calculation step length of the model is one month. Each of these
279 components of the model is discussed in detail in the following sections.

280 **3.1 Hydrological simulation**

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

289 In this study, we divide the Lancang-Mekong basin into 651 REWs on the basis of DEM data,
290 as shown in Figure 1. The precipitation data is retrieved from TRMM data of 1998-2018. The



291 accuracy of TRMM data for hydrological simulation in this region has been proven successfully
292 (MRC, 2018). Thirty-two meteorological stations dispersed around the whole basin provide
293 meteorological inputs, including temperature, wind speed, humidity and radiation to calculate
294 potential evapotranspiration based on Penman-Monteith equation. Soil data is extracted from
295 FAO world soil database, and LAI, NDVI and snow are obtained from MODIS data. Daily
296 runoff observations of 6 stations on the mainstream of the Lancang-Mekong river include data
297 of Jinghong (1998-2013), Chiang Saen (1998-2015), Luang Prabang (1998-2015), Nong Khai
298 (1998-2007), Nakhon Phanom (1998-2015) and Pakse (1998-2006).

299 The hydrological model is used to provide simulations of natural runoff without the impacts of
300 water withdrawal and reservoir operations. Therefore, we use the runoff data in the period
301 before large reservoir construction for parameter calibration, i.e., runoff data of the period of
302 1998-2009. Runoff data of the hydrological stations on the mainstream are used for distributed
303 calibration, i.e., the parameters are calibrated separately and in a spatially distributed manner.
304 Specifically, the year of 1998 is used as a warm-up period, 1999-2004 as calibration period,
305 and 2005-2009 is set as validation period. The simulated runoff of 2000-2018 is used as natural
306 flow of mainstream tributaries Q_n before the impacts of human activities.

307 **3.2 Reservoir operation**

308 Reservoir construction in the upstream reaches of the Lancang-Mekong River has accelerated
309 since 2000, and several large reservoirs on the mainstream have been constructed or are under
310 construction. Among them, the largest two reservoirs in China with seasonal runoff regulation
311 capacity (Yu et al., 2019b), namely Xiaowan and Nuozhadu, went into operation in 2010 and
312 2012 respectively. The basic information of Xiaowan and Nuozhadu including the total



313 reservoir storage S_{total} , dead reservoir storage, and flood limited storage S_{flood} are listed in
314 Table 1. The total storage of the two major reservoirs account for 90% of the total storage of
315 the largest six reservoirs (Han et al., 2019). The cascade of reservoirs within China is simplified
316 and approximated in this study by the Xiaowan and Nuozhadu reservoirs.

317 Laos has aimed to be the “battery of Southeast Asia” (Stone, 2016) and has started hydroelectric
318 dam construction on the mainstream of the Mekong river in line with this ambition. Before that,
319 Laos constructed many dams on its tributaries, which also impact the streamflow regimes of
320 the Mekong River. According to MRC (2018), the expected live storage of reservoirs in Laos
321 will ultimately reach 24,257 MCM, accounting for 73% of the flows left for the four
322 downstream countries. For simplicity, we only consider the completed tributary reservoirs in
323 Laos. They are aggregated by one proxy reservoir in the upper reaches, including some
324 reservoir storages located in the relatively lower reaches in Laos (Li et al., 2019;WLE, 2018).
325 In the model, the proxy reservoir used is assumed to have live storage from 5,074 MCM in
326 2000 to 21,066 MCM in 2018, which was linear interpolated and represents continuous dam
327 construction in Laos.

328 Overall, these simplifications through lumping the effects of many reservoirs is deemed
329 reasonable for the purposes of this study, because three reservoirs (Xiaowan and Nuozhadu in
330 China and the aggregated Laos Reservoir) shown in Figure 4 capture most of the effects of
331 reservoirs within the entire river basin. As shown in Figure 4, the river system and its water
332 diversion configuration are also simplified, where T0, T1 to T6 indicate natural runoff of
333 upstream and tributaries, W4, W5, W6 are the water withdrawal for irrigation in Laos, Thailand,
334 Cambodia and Vietnam. For each node, runoff flowing to the next node is calculated by water



335 balance equation, e.g., for Thailand,

$$336 \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{QN4} = \text{QN3} + \text{T5} - \text{W4} \qquad \qquad \qquad (1)$$

337 where, QN3 is runoff flowing to Thailand from the upstream node, Laos, T5 is inflow from
 338 tributaries in Thailand, W4 is irrigation withdrawal in Thailand, and QN4 is runoff flowing to
 339 the downstream node, Cambodia.

340 For the operation of constructed dams, we consider two basic scenarios. The first scenario is
 341 the self-interested scenario (non-cooperation scenario, abbreviated by NC), in which the
 342 upstream countries, China and Laos, operate the dams considering only their own hydropower
 343 benefits B_h .

$$344 \qquad \qquad \qquad B_h = \text{ph} \times 9.81 \times Q_r \times \Delta h \times \eta \qquad \qquad \qquad (2)$$

345 where, ph is the electricity price, Q_r is the monthly water release from the reservoir, Δh is
 346 the water head difference between the upstream and downstream, which is related to the actual
 347 storage S_r , and η is hydropower generation efficiency.

$$348 \qquad \qquad \qquad Q_{r,t} = \max\{S_{r,t-1} + Q_{in,t} - S_{total}, 0, Q_{eco}\}, \quad t = 1,2,3,4,5,11,12 \qquad \qquad (3)$$

$$349 \qquad \qquad \qquad Q_{r,t} = \max\{S_{r,t-1} + Q_{in,t} - S_{flood}, 0, Q_{eco}\}, \quad t = 6,7,8,9,10 \qquad \qquad (4)$$

350 Under this scenario, dams keep at their total storage S_{total} during the dry season (November
 351 to May) and their flood limited storage S_{flood} in flood season (June to October). If the actual
 352 storage of t-1 period $S_{r,t-1}$ is less than these two values the reservoir will store water to reach
 353 the amount; otherwise, the reservoir will release water. There are also constraints of minimum
 354 ecological release flow Q_{eco} to satisfy the requirements of ecosystem and navigation. Actual
 355 water release under the self-interested scenario $Q_{r,NC}$ is calculated using Equations (3) and (4).
 356 The actual storage of next month $S_{r,t}$ is calculated based on water balance equation.



357 The second scenario is the altruistic scenario (full-cooperation, abbreviated by FC), where the
358 upstream countries operate dams to maximize the benefits of downstream countries. The
359 calculation of the benefits to downstream countries will be introduced in Section 3.3. Under
360 this scenario, the constraints contain maximum storage during dry season, maximum storage
361 during flood season, minimum storage of dead storage and minimum ecological release flow.
362 Then the processed results of actual water release $Q_{r,FC}$ will be used to calculate actual
363 reservoir storage S_r based on the water balance equation.

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

$$367 \quad Q_r = Q_{r,NC} \times \delta_1 + Q_{r,FC} \times \delta_2 \quad (5)$$

368 where $\delta_1 + \delta_2 = 1$, and δ_2 is calculated using the cooperation equations while δ_1 is
369 calculated as the residual $1 - \delta_2$, which will be introduced in section 3.4. It should be noted
370 that the calculated Q_r by equation (5) should be revised if it violates the constraints of
371 maximum storage during dry and flood seasons, minimum storage of dead storage and
372 minimum ecological release flow. And the final actual reservoir storage S_r is calculated for
373 hydropower benefit calculation.

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 were introduced in section 3.2. Here agriculture benefits
378 B_a only include irrigated rice without consideration of rain-fed crop production. Agricultural



379 water withdrawals dominate water consumption in the downstream countries, and rice is the
380 staple crop in this area. In this study, we use the FAO 33 crop water production function to
381 calculate crop yields and irrigation benefits (Doorenbos and Kassam, 1979).

$$382 \quad B_a = pa \times Y_a \times A \quad (6)$$

$$383 \quad \left(1 - \frac{Y_a}{Y_m}\right) = K_y \times \left(1 - \frac{AET}{PET}\right) \quad (7)$$

384 where pa is price of rice, A is the rice irrigation area, Y_a and Y_m are actual and maximum
385 crop yields, respectively. K_y is crop yield response factor, and AET and PET are actual and
386 maximum evapotranspiration respectively. The information on the price of rice, irrigation area,
387 rice yield and irrigation withdrawal of Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam are listed in Table 2.
388 Y_m is set as 8.5 ton/ha for all three countries (FAO, 2004). AET and PET are calculated based
389 on potential evapotranspiration and irrigation amount, and the detailed methods could be found
390 in Allen et al. (1998) and Kaboosi and Kaveh (2012).

391 Fishery is one of the dominant environmental water uses in the lower Lancang-Mekong River
392 Basin, but it is difficult to quantify fishery benefits. In general, comprehensive fisheries models
393 have many required inputs to calculate fishery benefits, such as mortality, recruitment, and
394 fishing efforts (Baran and Cain, 2001). There are many studies focusing on the simulations of
395 fishery benefits through their relationships with water level (Hortle et al., 2005) and flooded
396 areas (Burbano et al., 2020). It is difficult to couple complex fishery models to our model, and
397 there is not any standard function for fishery benefits up till now. Here, for simplicity, we only
398 capture fishery benefits and do not include aquaculture benefits, since it is not significantly
399 impacted by hydropower operation. Based on literature review, an increasing function of runoff
400 with decreasing marginal increase was adopted to calculate capture fishery benefits, which is



401 simple but effective in Mekong Basin (Ringler, 2001; Ringler and Cai, 2006).

$$402 \quad iff = \arctan\left(\frac{Q-Q_{min}}{Q_{max}}\right) \times \left(1 - b \times \left(\frac{Q-Q_{min}}{Q_{max}} - c\right)^2\right) \quad (8)$$

$$403 \quad B_f = pf \times iff - Fcost \quad (9)$$

404 where iff is the fishery production related to actual discharge Q , minimum discharge Q_{min} ,
405 maximum discharge Q_{max} , and two parameters b and c . In equation (9) to calculate fishery
406 benefit B_f , pf is the fishery price and $Fcost$ is fixed fishery cost. Overall, fishery benefits
407 for downstream countries are related to actual runoff, maximum runoff, and minimum runoff.
408 As shown in Figure 4, QN4, QN5, QN6 are used as actual runoff to calculate fishery benefits
409 for Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam respectively.

410 **3.4 Policy feedback**

411 Cooperation demands U of downstream countries arise from economic losses compared to
412 expected benefits, and the upstream countries take cooperative action to obtain indirect political
413 benefits, although this might reduce their hydropower generation benefits. Cooperative actions
414 of upstream countries take effect in multiple forms, such as information sharing and joint
415 investment (Sadoff and Grey, 2002). It is always difficult to quantify cooperation demand and
416 cooperation level. As a first attempt, in this study we only consider change of operation rules
417 of reservoirs as cooperative action and define the cooperation level C of upstream countries
418 as the weight assigned to the operation rules to maximize downstream benefits when upstream
419 countries operate their reservoirs, i.e., δ_2 in section 3.2. When cooperation level $C = 1$,
420 upstream countries operate dams to maximize the downstream benefits, i.e., altruistic scenario.
421 If $C = 0$, upstream countries will follow operation rules in Equations (3) and (4), which is
422 consistent with the self-interested scenario.



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

$$432 \quad U = \varepsilon_a \times \frac{B_{amax} - B_a}{B_{amax}} + \varepsilon_f \times \frac{B_{fmax} - B_f}{B_{fmax}} \quad (10)$$

433 where ε_a and ε_f are the sensitivity of agriculture loss and fishery loss. The sensitivities
434 indicate the importance of each sector to the overall lower basin economy, and larger sensitivity
435 means that downstream countries are more sensitive to the sector benefit change, and the unit
436 sector loss could lead to severer negative impacts. The expected maximum benefits B_{amax}
437 and B_{fmax} are also used for normalization.

438 For the cooperation level of upstream countries, we use a logit dynamics model (McFadden,
439 1981; Hofbauer and Sigmund, 2003) taken from environmental economics. This model is used
440 to relate economic losses and benefits with the probability of cooperation. It has been widely
441 used and proven effective to relate natural system dynamics with cooperation dynamics, e.g.,
442 the simulations of cooperation on pollution control among stakeholders, who behave
443 responding to other stakeholders' behaviors and their own benefits (Iwasa et al., 2007; Suzuki
444 and Iwasa, 2009a, b). In the logit dynamics model, the probability of cooperation Pr could be



445 calculated as below:

$$446 \quad \text{Pr} = \frac{e^{\beta \times B_C}}{e^{\beta \times B_C} + e^{\beta \times B_N}} \quad (12)$$

447 where β is a shape parameter ranging from 0 to 1, B_C is the benefit of cooperation, and B_N
 448 is the benefit without cooperation.

449 Similarly, for upstream countries, if they choose not to cooperate, their benefit B_N will be
 450 hydropower generation benefits under self-interested scenario $B_{h,NC}$ and benefits from other
 451 sectors. If they choose to cooperate, besides the hydropower benefits under the altruistic
 452 scenario $B_{h,FC}$ and benefits of other sectors, the upstream country will also gain indirect
 453 political benefits, which is related to the cooperation demands of downstream countries. Here
 454 we assume that the political benefit is proportional to cooperation demand U and a political
 455 factor P . If the upstream country values the political relations with downstream countries and
 456 regards diplomatic benefits as important, as China has demonstrated in recent years, the value
 457 of political factor P will be higher. Therefore, the equation to calculate the actual cooperation
 458 level C for China is as described below, and the cooperation level for Laos should consider
 459 agriculture benefits additionally.

$$460 \quad \frac{dC}{dt} = s \times \left[\frac{e^{\beta \times (U \times P + \varepsilon_h \times \frac{B_{h,FC}}{B_{hmax}})}}{e^{\beta \times (U \times P + \varepsilon_h \times \frac{B_{h,FC}}{B_{hmax}})} + e^{\beta \times \varepsilon_h \times \frac{B_{h,NC}}{B_{hmax}}}} - C \right] \quad (13)$$

461 where s is the responsive change rate reflecting the response speed of upstream countries, ε_h
 462 is the sensitivity of hydropower loss, and $\frac{dC}{dt}$ indicates the change of cooperation level
 463 compared to the last period. As mentioned before, the cooperation level C equals the weight
 464 δ_2 , so the cooperation demand and cooperation level will affect reservoir regulations, and in
 465 this way will drive the co-evolution of the coupled transboundary socio-hydrological system.
 466 Empirical observational data is needed to evaluate the simulation of policy feedbacks. It is



467 difficult to measure cooperation demand, particularly the cooperation among countries on a
468 specific item, i.e., reservoir operation and water resources management. Sentiment analysis is
469 an emerging tool to quantify social data, which exploits the denotation of words and assigns
470 sentimental value to text strings by an algorithm (Bravo-Marquez et al., 2014; Abdul et al.,
471 2018). It has already been used to provide information of the attitudes of Chinese citizens
472 towards dam construction (Jiang et al., 2016). In this study we use the method of sentiment
473 analysis of newspaper articles in Thailand, which are assumed to reflect the changes in
474 cooperation demands of downstream countries. Newspaper articles could reflect public opinion
475 on issues of interest to the community, which have been used in previous socio-hydrologic
476 studies to monitor the evolution of environmental awareness vis a vis economic livelihood (Wei
477 et al., 2017).

478 We used the Lexis-Nexis database to extract relevant information in English newspapers in
479 Thailand (Weaver and Bimber, 2008), sorted the data manually and conducted sentiment
480 analysis. Although the English newspapers could omit some information when compared to
481 local language newspapers, they are important sources to analyze the dynamics of local public
482 opinions. Firstly, key words for search (e.g., Mekong, water, dam, etc.) and search limitations
483 (e.g., location of publisher) are set for this study, and data retrieval is conducted automatically.
484 Secondly, manual data sorting was used to remove duplicates and irrelevant news. Thirdly, the
485 sorted data was analyzed through coding to get the sentiment of each piece of news and
486 corrected manually. This method has been used widely to explore the perspectives towards
487 specific topics and the detailed steps have been introduced in Wei et al. (2020). Finally, each
488 piece of valid data will provide information of news titles, publication year, sentiment category



489 (positive or negative) and sentiment values. The sentiment values range from -1 to 1, with
490 positive values indicating positive sentiment of the news towards the topic. We will use the
491 sentiment values to evaluate simulated cooperation demand of downstream countries.

492 **3. Results**

493 **3.1 Hydrological simulation and reservoir operation**

494 As major mainstream dams commissioned after 2010, the runoff data before that time could
495 roughly represent the natural runoff in Lancang-Mekong River. We use the observed runoff data
496 of 1999-2005 at Jinghong, Chiang Saen, Luang Prabang and Pakse for parameter calibration of
497 hydrological model, and use the rest of the data for validation. As shown in Figure 5, the
498 simulations at the four stations perform well with NSEs above 0.8 for the calibration period.
499 The NSEs of validation period at Jinghong, Chiang Saen, Luang Prabang and Pakse are 0.83,
500 0.80, 0.79 and 0.87 respectively. For most years, the simulations of troughs during dry seasons
501 and peaks during flood seasons are reproduced rather well, except for some extreme flood
502 events when simulations underestimated the flow. The accuracy over the dry and flood seasons
503 is important for later simulation of water availability and economic benefits. Besides, we also
504 use observations at two other stations, Nong Khai (1998-2007), and Nakhonphanom (1998-
505 2009), for validation of the hydrological model. The NSEs at these three stations reach to 0.81
506 and 0.75 respectively, which indicates the applicability of the THREW model at different
507 locations across the Lancang-Mekong river basin.

508 According to the observations and simulations, the annual discharge from China to downstream
509 countries at Jinghong station (QL3 in Figure 4) accounts for 66% of the discharge at Chiang
510 Saen (QN2 in Figure 4) and 20% of the discharge at Pakse (QN4 in Figure 4). As simplified in



511 Figure 4, runoff observed in Laos and Thailand account for 23% and 57% of the discharge at
512 Pakse. The proportions of China and Laos in Pakse runoff are higher during non-flood seasons
513 (November to May), and the change of seasonality of discharge in China and Laos caused by
514 reservoir operations could affect the discharge and thus economic benefits in downstream
515 countries.

516 Two basic scenarios of reservoir operations were set up. The first basic scenario is the self-
517 interested scenario, when upstream China and Laos operate reservoirs following their own
518 operation rules guided by self-interest only, as introduced in section 3.2. The other basic
519 scenario is the altruistic scenario, when upstream countries China and Laos operate reservoirs
520 to maximize the benefits of downstream three countries. Based the two basic scenarios, the
521 weighted average scenario (WA scenario) is also analyzed. Water release from Xiaowan,
522 Nuozhadu and the proxy Laos reservoir vary under the three scenarios, and we compare them
523 with natural water release without reservoir operation (NR scenario) in non-flood seasons. We
524 set the initial reservoir storage to maximum storage at the beginning of the year and simulate
525 the water release under two natural hydrological conditions, i.e., dry year of 2015 and normal
526 year of 2017. Initial value of cooperation level of China and Laos are both set to 0.5.

527 As shown in Figure 6(a-c and g-i), for both dry and normal years, the NC scenario keeps the
528 largest storages and the FC scenario keeps the lowest storages. In a dry year like 2015, with the
529 same cooperation level as in the normal year of 2017, reservoir storages under FC and WA
530 scenarios are lower to satisfy the demands of downstream countries. Water releases from the
531 three reservoirs under different scenarios in non-flood seasons in 2015 and 2017 are shown in
532 Figure 7. The final weighted average water releases (WA scenario) from Nuozhadu and Laos



533 Reservoirs to downstream countries are higher than natural water releases (NR scenario) during
534 non-flood season (December to May), especially in the dry year of 2015. It is consistent with
535 the phenomenon that reservoir operations increase discharge during non-flood seasons in
536 downstream countries in recent years.

537 As shown in Figure 8, the simulated reservoir storages under continuous WA scenario are lower
538 than the simulated storages under continuous NC scenario in all three reservoirs. As a
539 cooperative action, reservoir regulations under the continuous WA scenario keep releasing more
540 water, particularly during dry years when the demands of downstream countries are high. The
541 simulated storage of Xiaowan and Nuozhadu under continuous WA scenario keep a relatively
542 low level, because China values the indirect political benefits from downstream countries,
543 which leads to high cooperation level of China, as it will be introduced in detail in section 4.3.

544 **3.2 Economic benefit**

545 China and Laos operate reservoirs to obtain hydropower benefits, and the agriculture benefits
546 of Laos are also calculated. For each of the three downstream countries, benefits of agriculture,
547 fishery and wetlands are simulated individually. Overall, the economic benefits simulations
548 under WA scenario in each country and sector are reasonable compared to statistical data, as
549 listed in Table 3.

550 Under the continuous WA scenario, China and Laos have obtained increasing benefits mainly
551 due to ongoing dam construction. As Figure 9 shows, the simulated hydropower benefits of
552 China approached 1,800 million USD in 2018, which is reasonable since the annual generation
553 of the two reservoirs is close to 40 billion kWh (Yu et al., 2019b). The Laos reservoir generated
554 hydropower around 1,100 million USD while the statistical estimation of hydropower benefit



555 to Laos in 2015 is 1,076 million USD (MRC, 2018), proving the validity of economic benefit
556 simulations in Laos. In Figure 9(a), the hydropower benefit of China under WA scenario is
557 lower than NC scenario and higher than the FC scenario after 2012, indicating that cooperation
558 actions (WA and FC) could harm the hydropower benefit of China. It is similar in Laos, as
559 shown in Figure 9(b), but the benefits under WA resemble NC scenario are more due to the low
560 cooperation level of Laos. The differences between the blue and red lines indicate the losses
561 China and Laos need to bear if they cooperate altruistically to satisfy downstream demands and
562 maximize downstream benefits.

563 When the two major reservoirs in China went into operation and cooperation levels increased
564 after 2012, the total benefits of downstream three countries under WA scenario are higher than
565 the NC scenario, although they cannot reach the high level of the FC scenario when China and
566 Laos operate reservoirs merely for downstream benefits, as shown in Figure 10(a). The increase
567 of downstream benefits under WA scenario is remarkable compared to NC scenario (e.g., 420
568 million USD in 2018), indicating the significance of cooperation of upstream countries for the
569 benefits in downstream countries. The losses China and Laos need to bear is less than the gain
570 of downstream countries, which help to rationalize cooperation actions to enhance regional
571 benefits and is consistent with outcomes of simulations in other studies (Yu et al., 2019b; Li et
572 al., 2019; Do et al., 2020). Notably, in the dry years of 2015-2016, cooperative action of
573 upstream countries could mitigate the losses of downstream countries, but their benefits would
574 still be lower compared to those in normal years.

575 The downstream benefits of agriculture and fishery under the WA scenario are shown in Figure
576 10(b). Simulated agriculture benefit in 2018 is around 4,000 million USD with irrigation



577 withdrawals of 35 billion m³, while the statistical irrigation withdrawal of the three countries is
578 47 billion m³ (FAO, 2019). The simulated agriculture benefits of Thailand, Cambodia and
579 Vietnam are 1,355, 595 and 2,011 million USD respectively, which are consistent with the
580 statistical values for irrigated rice in Table 4, i.e., 1,314, 592 and 2,727 million USD. Statistical
581 values for irrigated rice are calculated by the irrigation areas (Cramb, 2020), irrigated rice
582 production per unit area and rice price (MRC, 2018).

583 As for the capture fishery benefits, the losses during the years of reservoir filling and droughts
584 are remarkable, approaching 224 and 181 million USD in 2010 and 2015, respectively. The
585 reduction of fishery capture is consistent with the outcomes of study by Orr et al. (2012), which
586 estimated that losses of fishery capture could reach to 20% with the impacts of upstream dams.
587 In 2018, the simulated fishery benefits of Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and the total fishery
588 benefit are 116, 1,146, 178, and 1,440 million USD, while the corresponding statistical values
589 are 120, 1,188, 195 and 1,503 million USD. The statistical fishery values are estimated on the
590 basis of fishery production (Burbano et al., 2020) and fishery prices (MRC, 2018). Overall, the
591 simulated benefits of downstream countries in the three economic sectors are basically
592 consistent with statistical values.

593 **3.3 Cooperation demand and level**

594 As introduced in section 3.4, two key variables in the policy feedbacks contain cooperation
595 demand of downstream countries and the actual cooperation level of upstream countries. In the
596 model, cooperation demand of downstream countries was assumed to be related to the losses
597 in the different sectors compared to maximum possible benefits, and the sensitivity to
598 agriculture loss and fishery loss, expressed in terms the parameters ε_a and ε_f . We calculated



599 the cooperation demands of the three downstream countries based on benefit calculations, and
600 the simulated cooperation demands reached to high levels in 2004-2005, 2010, 2012-2016
601 (Figure 11). These peaks are caused by benefit losses compared to other years. The losses in
602 2004-2005 and 2015-2016 arose from recorded droughts (MRC, 2018), while the losses in 2010
603 and 2012-2014 are related to the constructions and operations of Xiaowan and Nuozhadu dam.
604 Cooperation levels of China and Laos are simulated separately so that they could decide their
605 own weights used in reservoir operations. Cooperation levels are related to downstream
606 cooperation demand U , political factor P reflecting how much upstream countries value the
607 indirect political benefits that can be gained from downstream countries, upstream benefits
608 when cooperating or not, and the change rate s that reflecting the response speed of upstream
609 countries. Compared to Laos, China regards the geopolitical values and diplomatic relations as
610 more important (Urban et al., 2018). Therefore, the political factor P and change rate s of China
611 are set as 2 and 0.1, respectively, while those of Laos are 1 and 0.02, respectively. As shown in
612 Figure 11, the cooperation level of Laos increased from the start at a slow speed and exceeded
613 0.17 in 2018. The slowly increasing trend of cooperation level of Laos could be reflected by
614 the on-going disputes and negotiations between Laos and other MRC members in respect of
615 reservoir construction by Laos on the mainstream of Mekong River since 2009 (Hensengerth,
616 2015). China finished the first major dam construction in 2010 and the increase of cooperation
617 levels started then. Compared to Laos, the increase rate is much higher, especially when the
618 major reservoirs were constructed and China adjusted their operational rules before 2015. The
619 rapid increase of cooperation level of China could be proven by the cooperative actions from
620 China in recent years. China initiated Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC) framework in 2015,



621 which is a much broader framework that goes beyond water cooperation. When the historically
622 severe drought hit Mekong Basin in 2015 and 2016, China implemented emergency water
623 release to mitigate the negative impacts of droughts in downstream (Middleton and Allouche,
624 2016).

625 To evaluate the simulation outcomes of cooperation demands of downstream, we conducted
626 sentiment analysis towards the reservoir constructions and operations in upstream China and
627 Laos. Because the analyzed newspaper needs to be in English due to the language difficulty,
628 and we can only obtain continuous and relevant English newspapers in Thailand among the
629 downstream countries, we selected Thailand newspaper articles for the sentiment analyses used
630 for evaluation. The data processing is similar with that used in Wei et al. (2020), but we adjusted
631 the key words and filtering rules to fit our goals. From the database of Lexis-Nexis, we extracted
632 in total 4,622 pieces of data with keywords related to the dam constructions and regulations in
633 China and Laos, which are published by Thai newspapers. Then we selected 592 pieces of
634 relevant articles by removing duplicates and irrelevant news manually. The 592 valid pieces of
635 news cover the period of 2000-2018. Through coding and manually correcting, the sentiment
636 values of each piece of news are provided for statistical analysis. As shown in Figure 12, the
637 number of news articles concerning the impacts of upstream reservoirs increased significantly
638 after 2010, from less than 20 pieces each year to over 70 pieces in recent years. The means of
639 sentiment values fluctuate greatly in early years, which is caused by relatively small numbers
640 of pieces of news. In 2004, 2010-2012 and 2015, sentiment results reached low values through
641 the years, reflecting that the concerns and criticisms from Thailand towards China and Laos on
642 dam operation were high compared to normal years. The dynamics of sentiment values are



643 basically consistent with the simulations of cooperation demand of Thailand shown in Figure
644 12. Simulated cooperation demands of Thailand are high during 2005, 2009-2010, 2012-2015.
645 Similar to the cooperation demand of the three downstream countries introduced before, the
646 peaks of cooperation demand and concerns from downstream in 2005 and 2015 are ascribed to
647 droughts and losses, while the concerns in 2010 and 2012 are due to the effects of dam
648 constructions at Xiaowan and Nuozhadu during these two years. According to Wei et al. (2020),
649 topic analysis shows that most of the negative publications in Mekong countries are related to
650 the constructions and operations of dams, which is consistent with our results. Besides the
651 factors mentioned above, based on the text information of news, another reason why concerns
652 increased in 2010-2012 is that Laos started to construct Xayaburi dam, which is the first dam
653 Laos constructed on the mainstream of Mekong River and is regarded as a violation of the 1995
654 Mekong Agreement (Herbertson, 2013). Overall, our simulations of cooperation demands
655 reflect the empirical dynamics of downstream countries obtained through sentiment analyses.

656 **4. 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. 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 indirect political and economic benefits, e.g., better diplomatic relations
672 and more investment opportunities in downstream countries (Sadoff and Grey, 2002).

673 The socio-hydrological model presented in this paper captured 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 were evaluated by using empirical observations of runoff and published statistics
679 of economic benefits in the different sectors. The model simulated cooperation demands by
680 downstream countries reached to high levels during dry years of 2004-2005 and 2015-2016,
681 and the dam filling years of 2010 and 2012. These patterns were consistent with outcomes of
682 sentiment analysis carried out based on articles published in English language newspapers in
683 one downstream country, Thailand, proving the validity of policy feedbacks embedded in the
684 socio-hydrological model.

685 A novel feature of the model is the quantification of policy feedbacks between upstream and
686 downstream countries in the form of a logit dynamics model. The logit dynamics model



687 operates in a way that willingness to cooperate increases when there are greater benefits to be
688 gained if the parties cooperated and fewer benefits if they do not. A particular strength of the
689 logit model is that it could explicitly include geopolitical factors that add to the indirect benefits
690 that upstream countries may gain through increased cooperation. The potential benefit increase
691 for upstream countries through cooperation, which may include direct economic benefits such
692 as eco-compensation and indirect political benefits, is assumed to boost their willingness to
693 cooperate. When upstream countries value the indirect political benefits more and are thus more
694 responsive to the downstream concerns, the cooperation level would increase, which is
695 consistent with the cooperative actions taken by China in recent years. Over the last two decades,
696 cooperation demands of the downstream countries increased over drought years and over the
697 years of reservoir filling. The surge of downstream concerns towards upstream countries needs
698 to be treated appropriately, otherwise the concerns could turn into more severe conflicts. The
699 losses of the downstream relative to maximum expected benefits could be mitigated by
700 cooperative actions of upstream countries, i.e., change of reservoir regulation, which will lead
701 to less concerns and less criticism from downstream countries.

702 As an early version transboundary river socio-hydrological model, there is significant room for
703 further improvement in the model formulation. The current model simulated the effect of
704 hydroelectric power generation in multiple dams in China and Laos in a lumped manner, which
705 has a negative impact on the accuracy of reservoir releases, and hence on benefit calculation
706 for downstream countries. The situation can be improved in the future through more distributed
707 simulation of a cascade of reservoirs. Additionally, in order to integrate the complex hydro-
708 economic relationships into the model, agriculture and fishery benefits are calculated in the



709 present model with rather simplified equations. There is room for significant improvement in
710 these benefit calculations. Flood control is one of the important functions of existing and
711 planned future dams, but has been ignored in this study, which may have under-estimated
712 benefits to both upstream and downstream countries. In future studies, with inclusion of more
713 accurate reservoir operation rules, hydro-economic relationships and consideration of flood
714 losses and impacts on ecosystem, a more advanced model could be used for sensitivity and
715 scenario analyses under future scenarios of possible climatic, socio-economic and political
716 changes. Sensitivity analysis will help to identify dominant influential factors and explore the
717 consequences of changes to the coupled human-nature system and upstream-downstream
718 feedbacks. Climate change and the expansion of human activities, including reservoir
719 construction and irrigation area expansion, will affect the water supply, water demand,
720 economic benefits and cooperation dynamics in transboundary rivers. Simulations under
721 different scenarios of climate change and human activities could provide projections of the
722 dynamics of transboundary river cooperation and conflict. The results of both sensitivity
723 analysis and scenario analysis will provide useful insights for transboundary river management
724 in the future and can help the riparian countries to enter into regional cooperative behavior to
725 maximize collective benefits synergistically and advance water resource sustainability.

726 Finally, the kinds of transboundary dynamics that transpired in the Lancang-Mekong river basin
727 and described in the socio-hydrologic model are commonly found in many transboundary river
728 basins. In particular, benefit losses to downstream countries by the actions of upstream
729 countries such as dam construction, water extraction and pollution, can be counterbalanced by
730 the willingness to cooperate by upstream countries, by sharing some economic benefits with



731 downstream countries as compensation for their loss of economic benefits, in return from
732 indirect geopolitical benefits and investment opportunities. By capturing these mechanisms and
733 by accounting for the effects of hydrologic variability and reservoir releases on the economic
734 benefits of the various water uses in the quantification of willingness to cooperate, the socio-
735 hydrological model presented in this paper provides an objective scientific framework to
736 underpin transboundary water management and negotiations elsewhere.

737

738 **Code/Data availability**

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

740

741 **Author contribution**

742 You Lu, Fuqiang Tian, Liying Guo, Iolanda Borzi and Rupesh Patil discussed the framework
743 of model. You Lu developed the model code and performed the simulations. Jing Wei,
744 Dengfeng Liu, Yongping Wei and David J. Yu discussed and revised the model. You Lu,
745 Fuqiang Tian and Murugesu Sivapalan prepared the manuscript with contributions from all co-
746 authors.

747

748 **Competing interests**

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

750

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756

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991 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

992

993 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

994

995 Table 3. Simulated economic benefits in 2018 and statistical benefits

Unit: Million USD	Simulated benefit	Benefit from statistical data
China hydropower	1,767	2,000
Laos hydropower	1,083	1,076
Thailand agriculture	1,355	1,314
Thailand fishery	116	120
Cambodia agriculture	595	592
Cambodia fishery	1,146	1,188
Vietnam agriculture	2,011	2,727



Vietnam fishery	178	195
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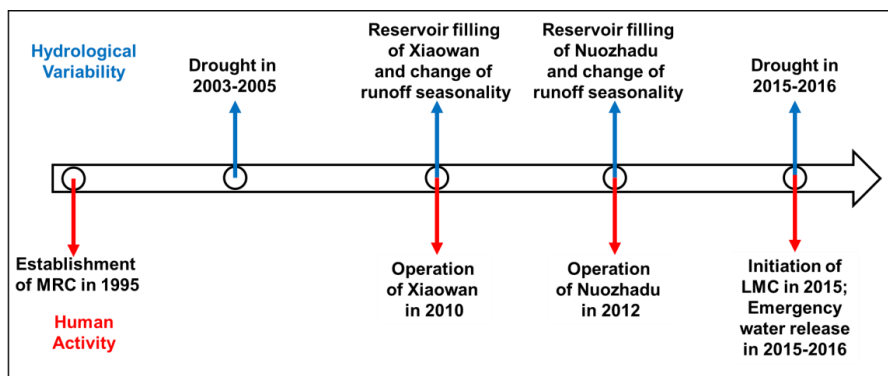
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998 Figure 1. Map of Lancang-Mekong River Basin, Subbasin Division and Hydrological Stations

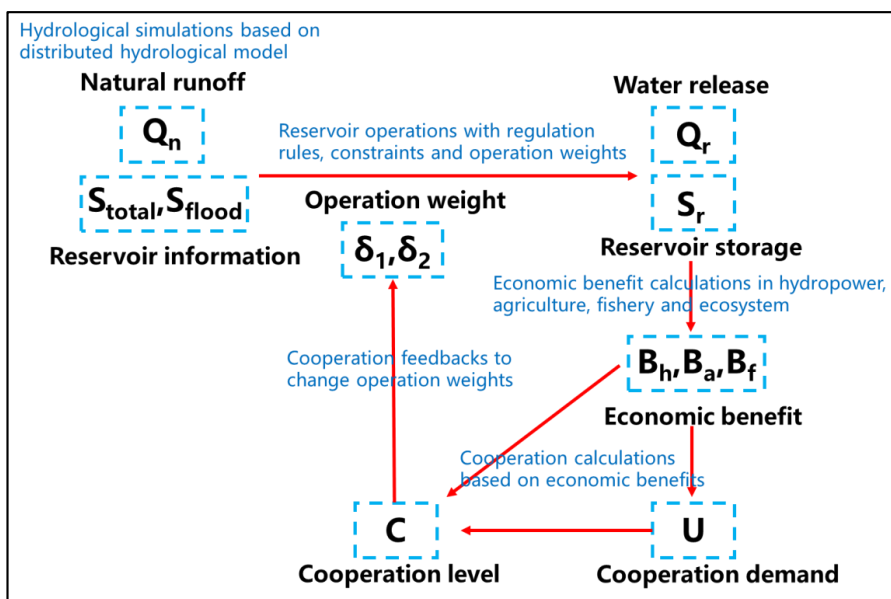
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1001 Figure 2. Timeline of hydrological and anthropogenic events in Lancang-Mekong River Basin

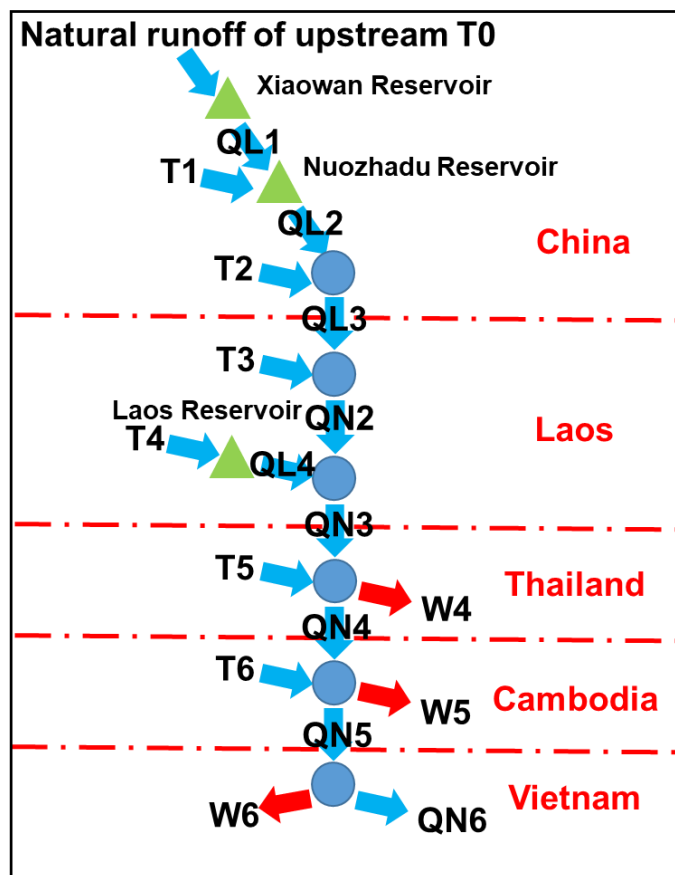
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1004 Figure 3. Framework of Transboundary River Socio-Hydrological Model

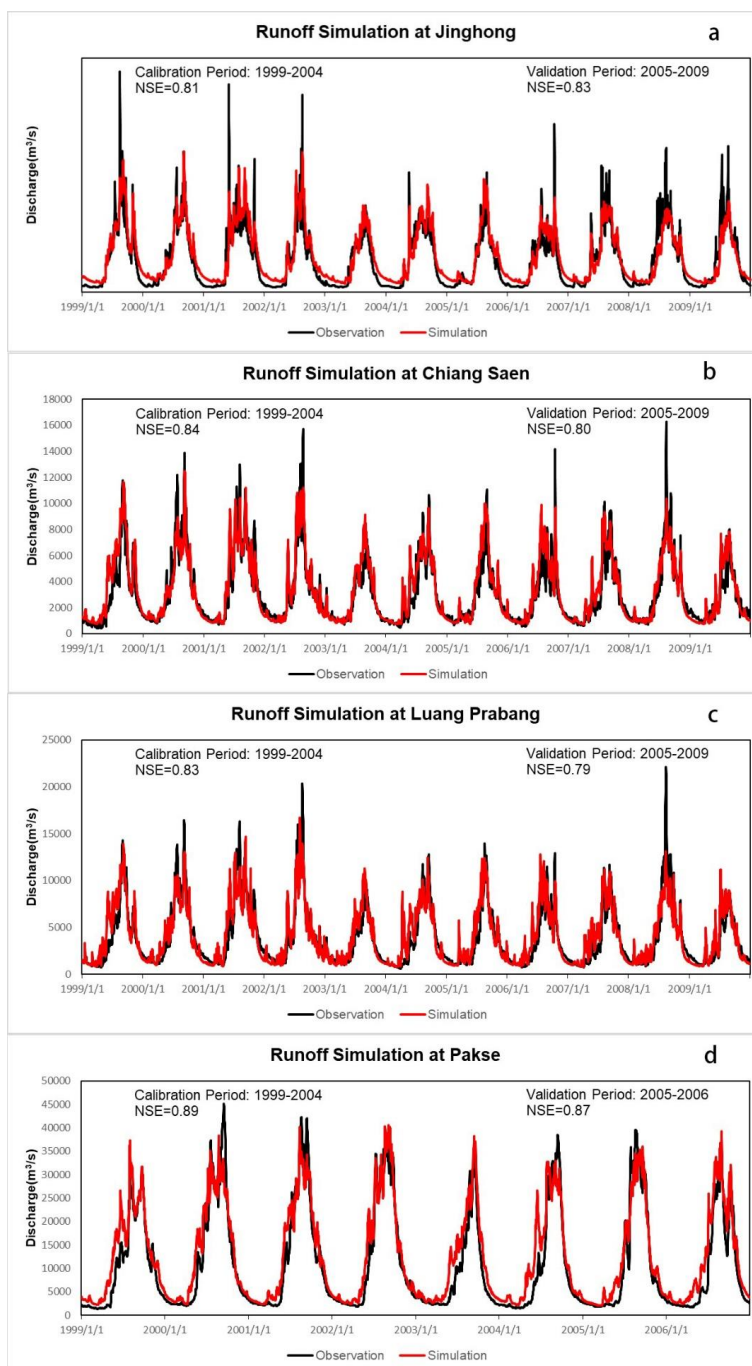
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1007 Figure 4. Framework of simplified water system in Lancang-Mekong River Basin

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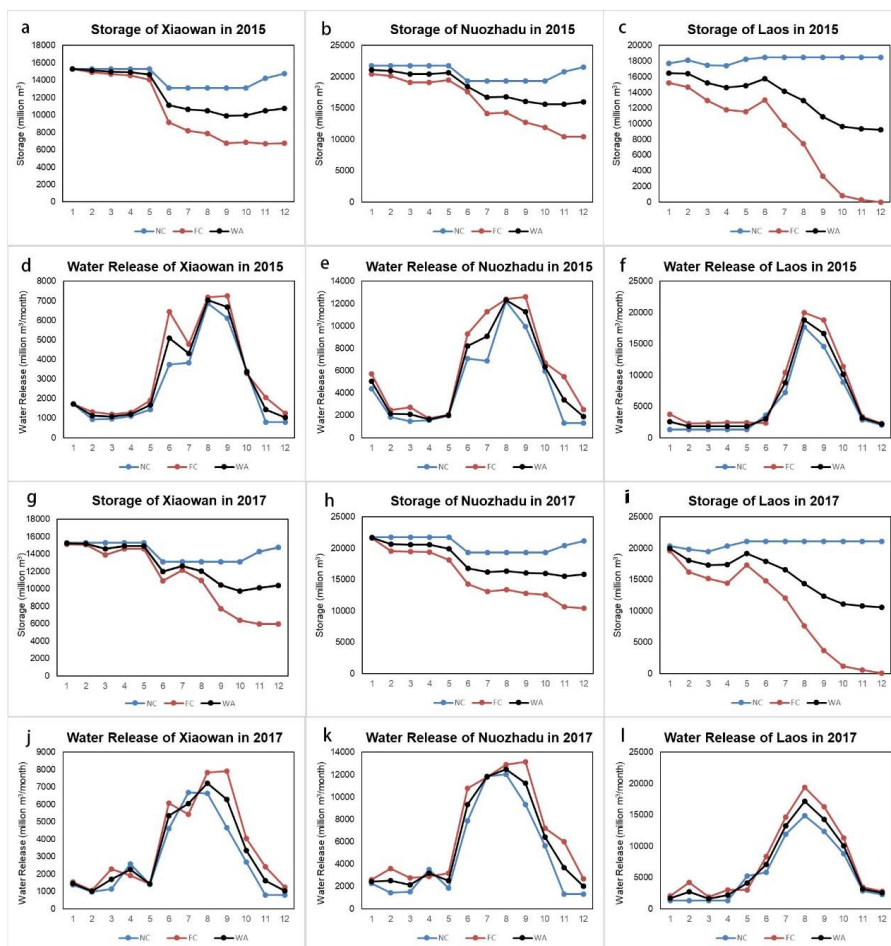


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1010 Figure 5. Daily Runoff simulations at Jinghong (a), Chiang Saen (b), Luang Prabang (c) and

1011 Pakse (d)

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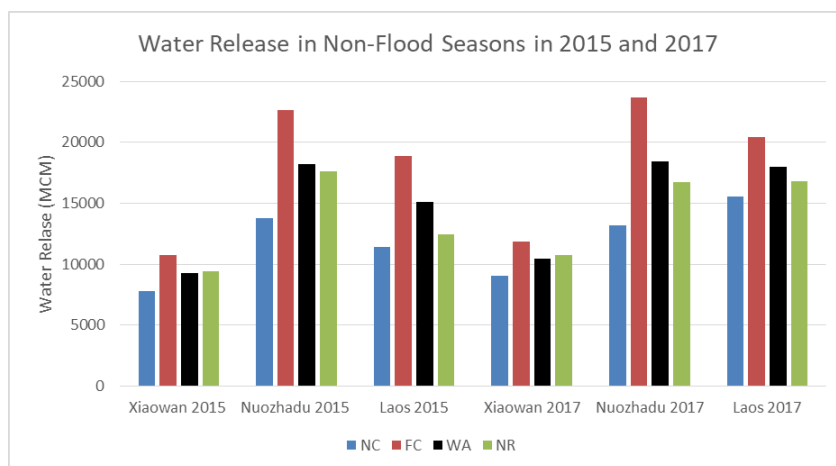
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Figure 6. Reservoir storage and water release simulations of Xiaowan, Nuozhadu and Laos

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Reservoirs in 2015 (a-f) and 2017 (g-i).

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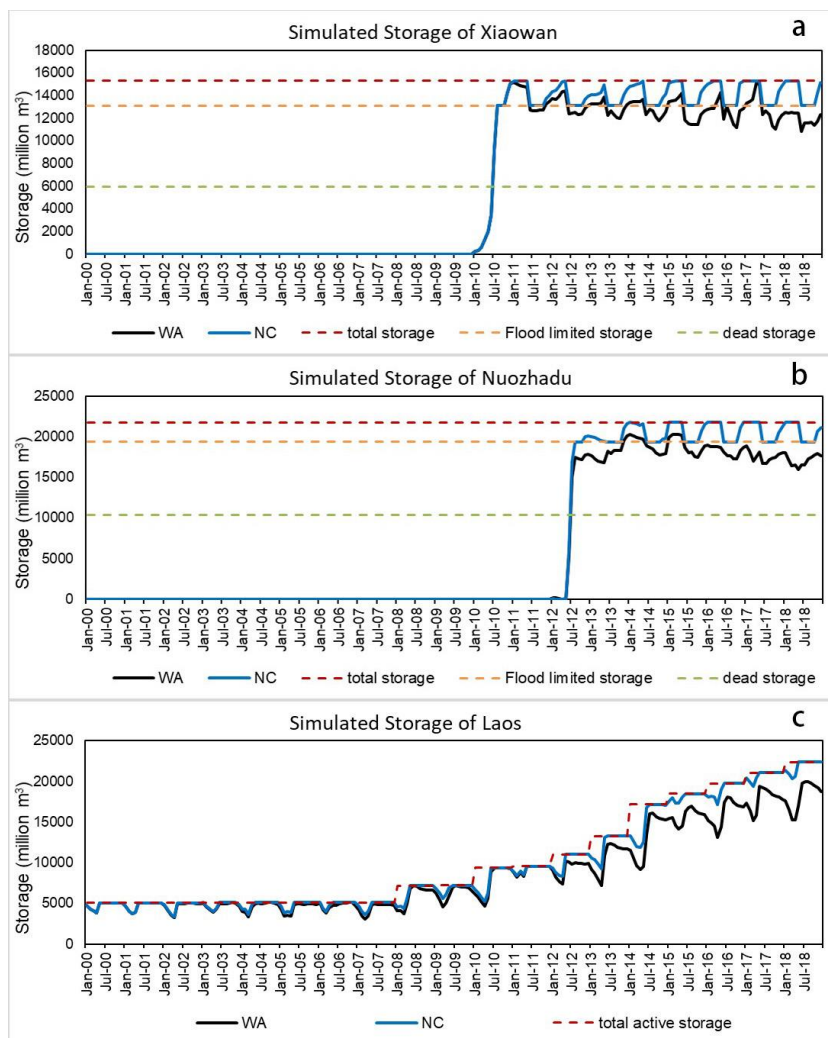


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1018 Figure 7. Water release of Xiaowan, Nuozhadu and Laos Reservoirs in non-flood seasons in

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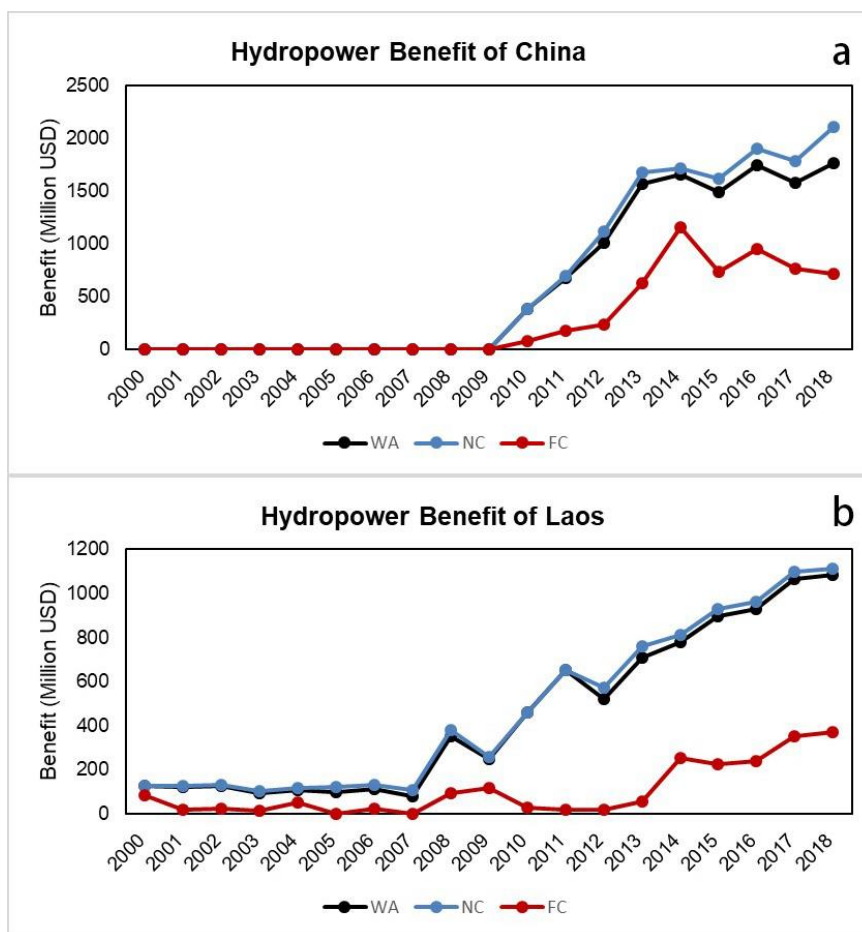
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1022 Figure 8. Simulated storage dynamics of Xiaowan (a), Nuozhadu (b) and Laos reservoirs (c)

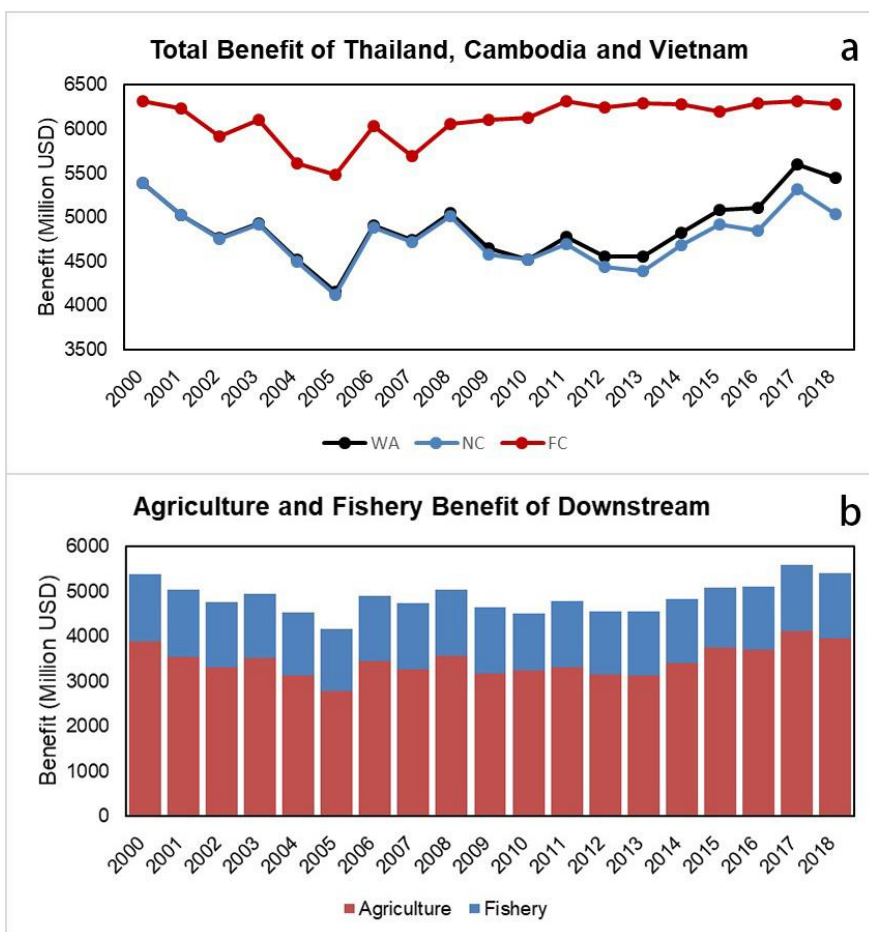
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1025 Figure 9. Benefit of upstream China (a) and Laos (b) under the three different scenarios

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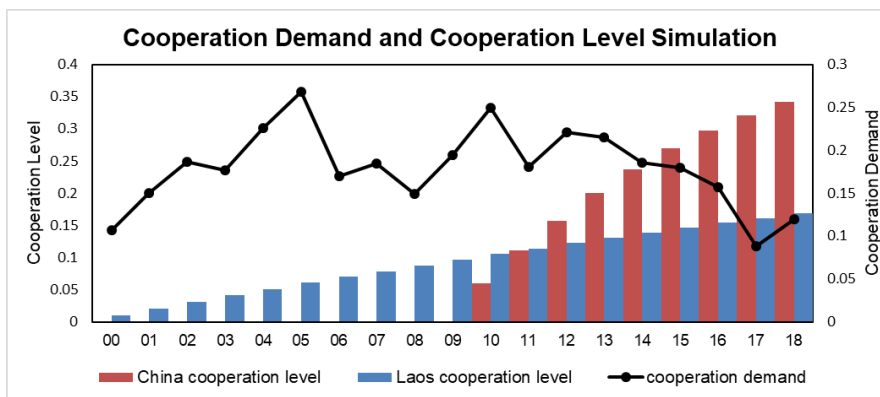


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1028 Figure 10. Agriculture and fishery benefit of downstream Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam

1029 under the three different scenarios

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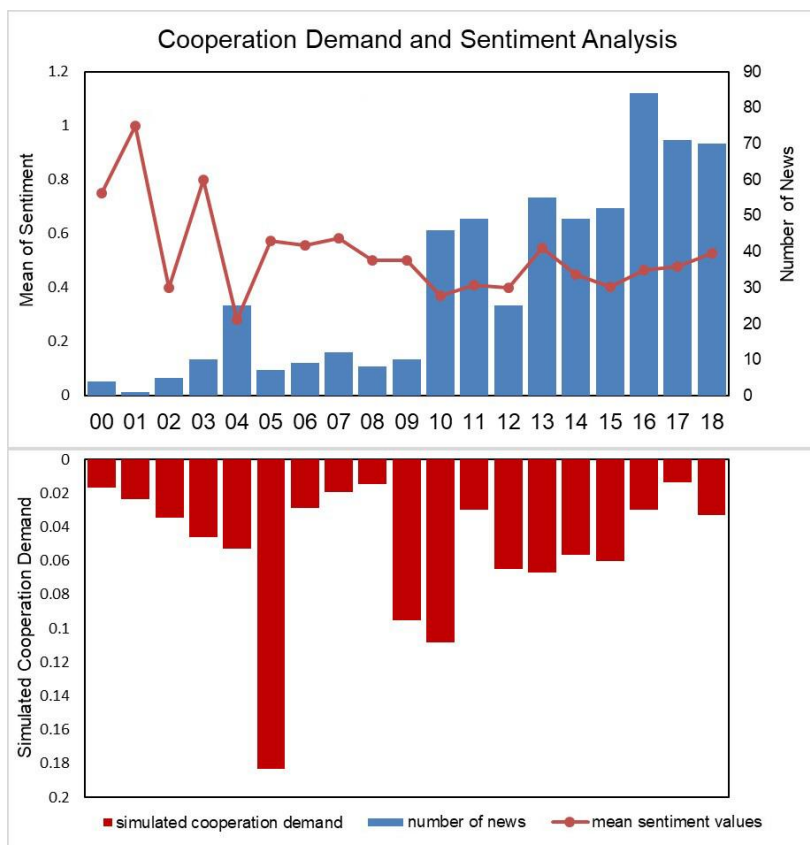


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1032 Figure 11. Simulation of cooperation demand of downstream and cooperation level of China

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