Supporting equitable and sustainable water allocation in a transboundary context

Draft handbook on water allocation in a transboundary context

Prepared by the secretariat in cooperation with the lead Party

Summary

At its eight session (Nur-Sultan, 10-12 October 2021), the Meeting of the Parties to the Convention on the Protection and Use of Transboundary Watercourses and International Lakes (Water Convention) decided to develop a handbook on transboundary water allocation, based on existing practices covering the key aspects of equitable and sustainable allocation of water in the transboundary context, addressing both surface waters and groundwaters, and also environmental flows (programme area 3, activity 3.3).

The development of the Handbook started in 2019 and has been supported by an Expert Group of approximately 40 experts in water allocation from across the world seeking balanced geographical, sectoral and technical representation from countries, river basin organisations, inter-governmental organisations, non-government organisations, academic etc. The Group has provided guidance and oversight on the structure, substantive content and illustrative case studies. The Group met three times (Geneva, 21 October 2019, and virtually on 30-31 March and 20-21 October 2020) and was consulted throughout the development process in order to suggest structural and substantive elements, review drafted content and provide feedback.

An annotated outline of the handbook on water allocation in a transboundary context (ECE/MP.WAT/WG.1/2020/INF.5) was presented at the fifteenth meeting of the Working Group on Integrated Water Resources Management (Geneva, 30 September–2 October 2020). The present document contains the first full draft of the handbook. Its main messages (see part III) are also presented in the official document entitled “Main messages of the draft handbook on water allocation in a transboundary context” (ECE/MP.WAT/WG.1/2021/7–ECE/MP.WAT/WG.2/2021/7).

Illustrative case studies from around the world have been selected to highlight diverse transboundary allocation practices, challenges and lessons learned. Transboundary case studies are a unique feature of the Handbook. Many have
been developed and/or are in the process of being reviewed by representatives of the relevant riparian states, river basin organisations and any other relevant parties as part of the drafting process.

A number of regional events and sessions in transboundary water cooperation workshops have been held to discuss the Handbook, including relevant case studies, and gain feedback. A dedicated session on water allocation was held in the ‘Regional workshop: Enhancing transboundary water cooperation in the MENA region: progress, challenges and opportunities’ on 3-4 March 2020 in Beirut, Lebanon. A virtual ‘Regional workshop on equitable and sustainable water allocation – Sharing experiences on transboundary water allocation and water scarcity’ focused on European Union countries, the Balkans, the Caucasus and Eastern Europe was held on 5-6 October 2020.

A parallel regional project on transboundary water allocation, covering 10 countries in and around Central Asia, was implemented by the International Water Assessment Centre in Kazakhstan with key outcomes and selected case studies linked directly to the global Handbook for integration where appropriate. As part of this process, the following meetings were held: a ‘Technical meeting of experts on water allocation and environmental flow Assessment in the transboundary context’ (Nur-Sultan, 12-13 December 2019); a virtual online ‘E-Meeting of Experts on Water Allocation and Environmental Flow Assessment’ (15 May 2020), and a virtual online ‘Regional meeting on water allocation and environmental flow assessment in a transboundary context’ (22-23 September 2020).

The Working Group on Integrated Water Resources Management and the Working Group on Monitoring and Assessment will be informed about the aim and contents of the draft Handbook, status of its preparation and the next steps in finalising the draft Handbook for submission to the ninth Meeting of the Parties, including the deadline for submitting feedback on the draft Handbook (21 May 2021).

The Working Groups are invited to review and comment on the text in the present document including the “Main messages of the draft handbook on water allocation in a transboundary context” presented in official document ECE/MP.WAT/WG.1/2021/7–ECE/MP.WAT/WG.2/2021/7. The Working Groups are then invited to entrust the secretariat, in consultation with the lead country Hungary and the Expert Group, with the task of integrating comments, editing and finalizing the main messages and the full draft of the handbook on water allocation in a transboundary context, and preparing the final version for adoption at the ninth session of the Meeting of the Parties to the Water Convention (29 September–1 October 2021).
DRAFT HANDBOOK FOR REVIEW & FEEDBACK

DEADLINE FOR FEEDBACK

- 21 May 2021

LANGUAGE VERSIONS

- The draft Handbook is currently available in English.

- The draft Handbook is in the process of being translated into French, Russian and Spanish. Once these versions are available they will be circulated and a deadline given.

PROVIDING FEEDBACK & INSTRUCTIONS

- Please submit your feedback in the MS Word document of the full draft.
  - Please use track changes to note any edits.
  - Please use comment boxes for suggestions or requests.
  - Please be as specific and constructive as possible.

- Please submit all written feedback or questions directly to remy.kinna@un.org

- This is a draft and is not the final version. This draft is being made available for comments and will be revised after reviewing feedback. It should not yet be shared or cited.

- Some place-holders have been included for case studies that are intended for inclusion but require some extra time to finalise the wording of the text.

- While every effort has been made to include at present the accurate sources, cross-references and weblinks within the text and footnotes, please note that some sources and cross-references will be clarified / adjusted / inserted in later versions once the revised text is settled.

- To utilize the interactive table of contents of the Draft Handbook, please do the following:
  - Click on “View” from the MS Word document top menu;
  - Tick the box for “Navigation Pane” under “Show”;
  - The “Navigation” pane will open alongside the Draft Handbook pages;
  - Click on any heading arrows to open all sub-headings;
  - Click on any of the Part, Chapter, Section or Sub-section headings to automatically be taken to that page within the Draft Handbook;
  - To collapse the contents, click again on the heading arrows to close any Parts, Chapters or Sections.
DRAFT HANDBOOK ON WATER ALLOCATION IN A TRANSBOUNDARY CONTEXT
PART 1 - FOUNDATIONS

CHAPTER I: Introduction to Transboundary Water Allocation and the Global Handbook

SUMMARY:
This chapter describes the rationale of water allocation in a transboundary context. It sets up the Handbook by interrogating the central question: why and how is water allocation applied in transboundary basins, including surface and groundwater? The role, relevance, aims and limitations of allocation under changing circumstances and finite water resources are outlined. Finally, the Handbook’s purpose, audience, process of development under the Water Convention, content and usability are also described.

1) Water Allocation in a Transboundary Context

A) Water Allocation across Borders in an Era of Changing Circumstances

The question of how freshwater resources are allocated is becoming of increasing relevance to water managers today. Demand for water is growing globally. Factors including population growth, economic development and changing consumption patterns are driving this demand. At the same time, availability of water is increasingly limited by growing pressures such as water scarcity, deteriorating water quality, ecosystem degradation and climate change that further exacerbates the situation in many already water-stressed basins.1 Reserving water for environmental flow, Indigenous groups and ecosystem requirements is increasingly seen as a prerequisite for overall viability of water resources systems.2

The question of allocation is especially heightened in transboundary contexts. Over 60% of freshwater resources globally cross national boundaries, including 310 transboundary rivers and 592 transboundary aquifers.3 Many of these shared basins are vulnerable to the effects of climate change and other growing pressures. Water scarcity, contested infrastructure developments such as hydropower dams and increasing demand for, and competition over, shared water resources are all separate, but often interlinked, factors that have been leading to growing tensions in transboundary basins around the world. Where adaptivity of the existing water management arrangements is low, this can exacerbate any issues. In turn, this can compound the difficulties of states reaching peaceful settlements on water sharing in both the short, medium and long-term future.4

Many of the current transboundary water allocation regimes rely on historical usage patterns. Some may require adjustment in light of changing circumstances. In parallel, establishing new allocation arrangements

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3 https://transboundarywaters.science.oregonstate.edu/content/register-international-river-basins; https://www.un-igrac.org/ggis/transboundary-aquifers-world-map
may be rising higher in policy agendas in settings where they were not previously considered a priority. While these topics have received detailed attention and guidance over recent years in national and sub-national contexts⁵, there is a dearth of resources exploring transboundary allocation. Water allocation in a transboundary context thus demands more robust investigation to assess its conceptualization and application in practice.

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The use of ‘transboundary’ in this Handbook follows the definition expressed in the Water Convention: international rivers, lakes and aquifers. Most case studies and anecdotes in the Handbook are thus international in nature. Recognizing that valuable lessons can also be learnt from transboundary water allocation examples at the sub-national level, a few such case studies are also outlined in the Handbook.

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B) The Role of Water Allocation in Transboundary Water Resources Management

Water allocation can be valuable for the management of transboundary waters. When water resources are shared between two or more states, some form of allocation may take place in order to obtain a level of security and certainty in availability for each of the sharing parties. The formality of allocation arrangements typically varies. They can range from temporary and technical arrangements for water sharing that may have no explicit references to ‘allocation’, to specific water quantity, quality or timing quotas in agreements and treaties with detailed allocation mechanisms.

**FIGURE 1: Simplified decision-making hierarchy in transboundary water allocation**

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Transboundary water allocation is both a process and an outcome which are not mutually exclusive. When formalized, water allocation can broadly be seen through two basic framings. On one hand, it is often a jointly agreed and clearly defined volumetric, qualitative or timing-related allocation quota. On the other, it generally involves an iterative process of joint planning and negotiation between two or more states (see Figure 1 for a simplified decision-making hierarchy in this regards). Ideally, both the process and outcome should be sufficiently flexible and adaptable to cope with changing needs and variabilities. While variations on water allocation exist within and outside these two broad framings, ultimately, the framing applied depends on the allocation context and the particular interests of the parties.

Water allocation is only one approach and is not an answer to all water-related challenges in transboundary settings. In many instances, broader approaches such as assessing the benefits of transboundary cooperation; benefit-sharing, water-energy-food-ecosystem nexus approaches, demand management strategies and exploring alternative water resources could inform and complement transboundary water allocation plans (see Chapter IV for details). While such approaches help to establish a broader basis for actual water allocation, the linkage goes both ways. When utilized as a part of a broader mix of joint basin planning and management approaches, water allocation has a key role in contributing towards sustainable and equitable outcomes for all (see Chapter III for details). To be realizable and sustainable, water allocation objectives need to be aligned with the broader development objectives of the given parties. These objectives need additional testing in different climate and socio-economic scenarios to ensure practicality. They must also be consistent with the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, especially SDG 6 on Clean Water and Sanitation and linked to related SDGs.

2) Global Handbook on Water Allocation in a Transboundary Context

A) Mandate for developing the Handbook

Sustainable water management lies at the core of the Convention on the Protection and Use of Transboundary Watercourses and International Lakes (Water Convention) whose secretariat is serviced by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE). The Water Convention is an inter-governmental legal and institutional framework with objective to ensure the sustainable use of transboundary water resources by facilitating cooperation. Good practices in different aspects of water management are essential in reaching its objectives.

The Programme of Work for 2019-2021 under the Water Convention included area 3: Promoting an integrated and intersectoral approach to water management at all levels. One of the objectives of the Programme was to support the development of equitable and sustainable transboundary water allocation criteria through the development of a ‘Handbook on Water Allocation in a Transboundary Context’. The Handbook was to be based on existing practices and would cover the key aspects of equitable and sustainable allocation of water in the transboundary context, addressing both surface waters and groundwaters and also environmental flows.

The Handbook is produced under the Programme of Work 2019-2021 of the Water Convention and aims to provide a reference point and general guidance for transboundary water allocation. It is not binding on states, nor does it supersede any of the provisions or obligations contained in the Convention.

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6 https://www.unece.org/env/water/benefits_cooperation.html
8 UNECE nexus
The Handbook deliberately builds upon the Water Convention’s past work on water allocation. In 2017, the Water Convention secretariat organized a global workshop on water allocation in transboundary basins in Geneva. The topics, case studies and presenters involved in that event were reviewed and integrated where it was deemed appropriate into the development of the Handbook and the composition of the Expert Group. Moreover, several other guidance documents and approaches developed under the Convention that are related to water allocation have been considered and integrated where appropriate, predominantly in Chapter IV.

**B) Process for developing the Handbook**

The development of the Handbook was carried out between 2019 and 2021 through an inter-governmental process under the auspices of the Water Convention (Figure 2). States were consistently involved in the feedback and review process as key drafting milestones were linked to meetings of several of the Water Convention’s bodies held between 2019 and 2021. Updates and draft documents were presented to two separate Working Groups – the one on Monitoring and Assessment and on Integrated Water Resources Management (held annually) – as well as the Task Force on the Water-Food-Energy-Ecosystems Nexus. States participating in the Expert Group had additional opportunities to review drafts and provide feedback through this forum.

**FIGURE 2: Overview of timeline for development and publication of the Handbook**

The Expert Group comprised approximately 40 experts specialized in water allocation from different continents, basins, states and organizations (see Annex for full list of members and guests). This Group guided and assisted the Drafting Team and the secretariat throughout the development of the Handbook. Three Expert Group meetings were held whereby the structure and contents of the Handbook were discussed, relevant thematic topics and case studies presented, and feedback and recommendations put forward for

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10 See the presentations and other documents of the workshop: https://unece.org/environmental-policy/events/global-workshop-water-allocation
further content elaboration: Geneva, 21–22 October 2019 (in person);11 and video conferences on 30–31 March 202012 and 20–21 October 202013. The Expert Group also advised on and helped drafting case studies on transboundary water allocation used to practically illustrate key features of chapter content.

A number of regional events and sessions as part of transboundary water cooperation workshops have been held to promote the Handbook and to gain region-specific feedback for its development. A virtual online ‘Regional workshop on equitable and sustainable water allocation – Sharing experiences on transboundary water allocation and water scarcity’ focused on European Union countries, Caucasus and Eastern Europe (virtual) was held on 5-6 October 2020. 14 A ‘Regional workshop: Enhancing transboundary water cooperation in the MENA region: progress, challenges and opportunities’ held on 3-4 March 2020 in Beirut, Lebanon sought to gain regional feedback for the Handbook through a session focused on lessons learned.

In Central Asia, a parallel regional process on transboundary water allocation was implemented by the International Water Assessment Centre (IWAC) in Kazakhstan. Two regional workshops were convened – a ‘Technical meeting of experts on water allocation and environmental flow assessment in the transboundary context’ held on 12-13 December 2019 in Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan and a virtual ‘Regional meeting on water allocation and environmental flow assessment in a transboundary context’ held on 22-23 September 2020. A ‘Technical Meeting of Experts on Water Allocation and Environmental Flow Assessment in the Transboundary Context’ was held online on 15 May 2020. The Central Asia regional process and events (in which the Water Convention Secretariat and drafting team participated) aimed to identify good regional practices and approaches that can assist Central Asian and neighboring countries in the development of equitable and sustainable transboundary water allocation mechanisms.15 The key outcomes of the IWAC regional process for Central Asia, including a report detailing lessons learned and main recommendations, directly served to inform the development of this Handbook along with selected case studies from the region.

C) Target audience of the Handbook and its Added Value

The Handbook aims to cover global practice of transboundary water allocation. It seeks to be a practical guide providing an overview of the key elements, frameworks and modalities to consider in the application of transboundary water allocation, while recognizing that every allocation context is unique. A wide array of case studies from different continents and geographical regions have been selected, in consultation with the Expert Group, for the purposes of achieving diversity and balance of representation in the global examples.

The Handbook’s primary audience is government officials, basin authorities and other water practitioners whose work directly concerns or relates to transboundary water resources, especially between states. Secondary audiences include all stakeholders with an interest in transboundary water allocation processes and outcomes. Such audiences would incorporate: the general public; water user groups such as farmers and Indigenous nations peoples; specific interest groups such as non-government organizations; and academics.

The novelty of the Handbook and its added value to the existing resources on water allocation are two-fold. Firstly, the Handbook was developed via an inter-governmental process (as outlined above). Secondly, its

11 https://unece.org/environmental-policy/events/first-meeting-expert-group-transboundary-water-allocation-handbook
12 https://unece.org/environmental-policy/events/second-meeting-expert-group-transboundary-water-allocation-handbook
13 https://unece.org/environmental-policy/events/third-meeting-expert-group-transboundary-water-allocation-handbook
focus is transboundary water allocation between states. This Handbook draws on key themes, common
elements and lessons learned from existing resources analyzing national and sub-national water allocation
(see Chapter VIII sub-section 7a). Yet, its specific framing is on water allocation in a transboundary context
and so addresses an identifiable niche in the available literature on water allocation and does so with a
practical focus. The Handbook also innovates by integrating a diverse global selection of case studies that
have never been previously compiled.

D) Table of Contents and how to Read the Handbook

The Handbook is divided into three main parts:

- **Part 1 - Foundations (Chapters I-IV)** introduces the rationale of, foundations for, and limitations
to, transboundary water allocation. It also discusses broader complementary approaches such as
benefit sharing related to water allocation.
- **Part 2 - Operationalizing (Chapters V-VIII)** provides the substantive and procedural basis for
making water allocation happen, as well as practical steps for States to operationalize transboundary
water allocation.
- **Part 3 - Conclusions (Chapter IX)** discusses lessons learned and distils conclusions from the other
parts of the Handbook into main messages.

The Handbook contains brief summaries of case studies from around the world that have been identified as
being relevant to demonstrating transboundary water allocation. All of the case studies include valuable
lessons learned on transboundary water allocation, including illustrative features to the extent possible.
Finally, a bibliography and glossary for reference is listed at the back of the Handbook along with the details of the Expert Group.\(^\text{16}\)

The Handbook should be read as a compendium of different dimensions of transboundary water allocation, highlighting the need to strike a balance between robustness and flexibility when developing allocation arrangements. Chapter can be read in order, but the Handbook is also intended to be modular depending on specific needs. In this regard, chapters, sub-sections and case studies can be referred to and applied as self-standing guidance. For this purpose and to improve accessibility, each Chapter begins with a short summary explanation of its aim and contents so it can be read in isolation depending on the needs of the audience.

\textit{E) Dissemination and Feedback}

The Parties to the Water Convention and international organizations can play an important role in the dissemination of the Handbook and putting it into practice and future use by governments. Feedback on the Handbook and its use in practice can be sent to the secretariat of the Water Convention: \texttt{water.convention@un.org}. In particular, feedback is encouraged on how the Handbook is applied in practice in different regions and basins globally, including but not limited to, the steps for operationalizing transboundary water allocation and the main messages.

\(^\text{16}\) The Annex will be integrated into the handbook prior to its submission for adoption at the 9\textsuperscript{th} meeting of parties of the Water Convention
CHAPTER II: Definitions, Objectives & Components of Transboundary Water Allocation

SUMMARY:
This chapter details the definitions and objectives of water allocation in a transboundary context, and describes the key processes, approaches and mechanisms applicable in allocation arrangements and agreements. The chapter also presents an overview of the core components of international water law, shared knowledge and data and cooperation at different scales of governance for advancing sustainable and equitable water allocation.

1) Definitions and Objectives of Water Allocation in Transboundary Context

Simply put, water allocation determines who can use shared water resources, for which purposes, in what quantity and quality, where and in what point in time. This Handbook takes this as its starting point the following set of definitions for transboundary water allocation, building on previous practice and guidance:

**Transboundary water allocation** is an iterative planning and decision-making process and/or an outcome that determines the quantity, quality and timing of water between two or more States and grants associated entitlements.

**Water quantity** is most commonly specified as an average volume of water (per year, month or other period) at a certain location. It may also be defined as an average, minimum volume, as a percentage of available supplies (a share of flow or of the volume in storage), or by a particular rule on access (e.g. legal right or entitlement to abstract a certain volume under particular circumstances).

**Timing** relates to daily, monthly, seasonal or inter-annual variabilities and exceptional circumstances, both natural and human induced, in water quantity or quality. In transboundary contexts, this occurs at the border. Velocity of water allocated is a combination of quantity and timing which concerns the quantity of water passing through the border within a designated time period.

**Water quality** concerns certain water quality objectives and criteria with associated parameters, including standards and testing, that make water suitable for the intended use.

**Transboundary contexts**, in this Handbook, cover a range of settings where surface and ground waters (including rivers, lakes and aquifers) cross or are located along boundaries between two or more States.

**Allocable water** is the share of water resources utilizable for abstraction for different uses in the given basin or aquifer area. Ideally, this occurs after flows needed to meet environmental objectives have been reserved.

**Water entitlements** give rights to different parties to abstract and use water for specific or general purposes. The entitlements may be further allocated to sub-basins, regions and ultimately individual users who get water abstraction rights, permits, concessions or licenses, depending on the jurisdiction.

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Objectives of transboundary water allocation are context specific and often inter-connected. They include, but are not limited to those listed below (in no particular order):

- Equitable and reasonable use of shared water resources;
- Avoidance of significant harm to other States and parties;
- Environmental protection;
- Climate change adaptation;
- Management of exceptional circumstances, such as droughts and floods;
- Vital human needs;
- Benefit-sharing.

These different objectives are discussed in further detail in Chapter V of this Handbook.

2) Understanding Water Available for Allocation

Understanding water availability for different needs, uses and functions, in different seasons and climate and development scenarios, is a key requirement for sustainable and equitable water allocation. In a transboundary context, estimation of allocable water consists of:

1. Delineating and agreeing on the basin and/or aquifer boundaries;
2. Assessing surface and groundwater availability and quality, considering inter- and intra-annual variability and overlap between the two water sources with hydrological and geohydrological analyses utilizing commensurate methods and data;\(^\text{18}\)
3. Estimating allocable water in different seasons and in different scenarios.\(^\text{19}\)

These different steps and associated methods are presented in more detail in Chapter VII.

The water available for allocation does not equate with the total water amount present in a basin or aquifer primarily for three reasons. First, water availability may be constrained by hydrological variability, geology or infrastructure. Second, part of the flow is required for maintaining ecosystem and environmental functions. Third, the natural quality of water does not necessarily meet the requirements of different needs, uses and functions, and degraded water quality as a result of human impact such as pollution further limits the use of water for human and environmental needs. On the other hand, alternative water resources may increase the overall water availability within a given area, also for transboundary purposes. Common alternatives include desalinated water, inter-basin transfers and rainwater harvesting. Resource augmentation by, for example, managed aquifer recharge, may also improve availability.

The total water available for allocation is thus the share of water utilizable for abstraction for different uses in the given basin or aquifer area, after the flows needed to meet environmental objectives have been reserved (Figure 3). It should be approached as a dynamic concept and number, however, as both the availability of water resources and water requirements change depending on the season, development trajectory and climate. The issues impacting allocable water, and the issues water allocation may address, are discussed more in detail in Chapter III.

\(^\text{18}\) The overlap between river flow and groundwater recharge is largest where groundwater contributes significantly to river flow (i.e., a significant fraction of groundwater recharge is converted into river flow via base flow), which happens in humid areas. The other extreme is in arid areas, where river flow may contribute to groundwater recharge. Not accounting for this overlap, may overestimate total renewable, and allocable, freshwater resources.

3) Key Processes, Approaches & Mechanisms of Transboundary Water Allocation

Transboundary water allocation processes, as defined, are a part of broader cooperation and management systems of shared water resources across, or at, a border. They typically consist of:

1. **Identification** of water issues at stake, water resources availability and distribution and resource use and demand assessments, and identification of current legal status and institutional frameworks in place;
2. **Negotiating** and establishing transboundary agreements or arrangements, defining the water allocation approach and mechanism applied;
3. **Implementation** consisting of legal and policy instruments and mechanisms at different scales, including water laws, monitoring and compliance mechanisms, and entitlements, permits and licenses granted to individual or collective water users.20

These different elements of allocation processes are elaborated in detail in the following chapters of this Handbook, notably in Chapter III on Issues Water Allocation Can Address, and in Chapters V-VIII. This section will have a closer look at approaches and mechanisms which can be applied in transboundary water allocation.

Approaches to transboundary water allocation shape how States negotiate, establish, and develop methods and mechanisms to allocate water. According to research by McCracken et al. (forthcoming), these can be separated into seven general categories, as outlined in Table 1 below. These categories are not strictly defined

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and can overlap, and multiple approaches might influence States during transboundary water allocation processes. Different types of considerations – such as the physical characteristics of the basin (e.g., population, hydrology and climate), goals of intended water use (e.g., navigation, environmental flows, agriculture and other water-intensive industries), economic criteria (e.g., benefit-sharing and balancing of supply and demand), and considerations for future use – may factor into which approaches influence the allocation process. For example, a country’s hydrography can impact the amount of water allocated and influence its approach to developing and shaping the allocation mechanism. Basins with high intra-annual variability in rainfall might develop an allocation mechanism based on water availability during the wet and dry seasons. Together, theoretical approaches and associated practical considerations guide and shape transboundary water allocation processes and help States determine the specific allocation mechanism that outlines how water is physically allocated.

### TABLE 1: Approaches to transboundary water allocation and associated examples of considerations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Categorizations of Approaches to International Water Allocation</th>
<th>Examples of Considerations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Rights-based’ Approaches: Emphasizes the ‘right’ to water based on hydrography or historical use; often involves allocation of entire/partial rivers; includes the concepts of absolute sovereignty and integrity (Wolf 1999)</td>
<td>Hydrography, historical use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Needs’-based Approaches: Establishes allocation based on a riparian’s ‘needs’ rather than what they perceive to be their right. Needs can be based on various criteria, such as population or irrigable land area (Wolf 1999; Hamner and Wolf 1998; Giordano et al. 2013).</td>
<td>Population, irrigable land, future development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Hierarchy’ Approaches: Allocates water based on ‘priority’. Most commonly, different sectors or uses are given priority (e.g., drinking water, agriculture, environmental flows) (Speed et al. 2013). Such approaches may also seek to give priority to historical or existing uses for allocation.</td>
<td>Domestic, agricultural, or industrial requirements; historical use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Proportionate Division’ Approaches: Allocation based on the physical division of water, either implicitly or explicitly (Speed et al. 2013).</td>
<td>Equal amounts of water per capita or absolute equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Strategic Development’ Approaches: Allocates water by balancing competing needs. For example, this could include balancing economic development and environmental needs through the use of alternative scenarios, risk assessments, and addressing uncertainty (Speed et al. 2013).</td>
<td>Environmental and economic needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Market-Based’ Approaches: Allocates water by market, based on the economic value it generates in different economic activities (Speed et al. 2013; Roozbahani et al. 2014).</td>
<td>Supply vs. demand balance, efficiency, equity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Future Uses’ Approaches: Allocation is defined based on projected future demand and supply (Speed et al. 2013).</td>
<td>Projected population growth, planned development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: McCracken et al. (forthcoming).

Specific allocation mechanisms in negotiated transboundary agreements can take various forms. This determines how water is physically allocated, divided, or distributed between States. Allocation mechanisms can be categorized in many ways and the same research by McCracken et al. (forthcoming) highlights examples of explanatory components including fixed quantity, prior utilization, and water loans. Examples of context components include agriculture/irrigation, hydropower, or environmental flows. It must be noted that these are not exclusive categories, and an allocation mechanism can satisfy multiple explanatory and context components.
TABLE 2: General approaches, associated explanatory mechanisms and example allocation agreements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of General Approach</th>
<th>Explanatory Mechanism(s)</th>
<th>Transboundary Allocation Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rights-Based Approach</td>
<td>Fixed quantity; allocation of entire/partial rivers; historical or existing use</td>
<td>Harmon Doctrine 1960 Indus Waters Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needs-Based Approach</td>
<td>Fixed quantity; percentage of flow; prioritization of use</td>
<td>Tripartite Interim Agreement between the Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of South Africa and the Kingdom of Swaziland for co-operation on the protection and sustainable utilization of the water resources of the Incomati and Maputo watercourses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hierarchy Approach</td>
<td>Prioritization of use; historical or existing use</td>
<td>Agreement between Iran and Iraq concerning the use of frontier watercourses, and protocol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportionate Division</td>
<td>Fixed quantity; percentage of flow; equal division</td>
<td>An agreement between the Syrian Arab Republic and the Lebanese Republic for the sharing of the Great Southern River Basin water and building of joint dam on the main course of the river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic Development</td>
<td>Variable by water availability; water loans; prioritization of use; benefits sharing; sustainable use</td>
<td>Treaty between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on cooperation in the field of protection and sustainable development of the Dniester River Basin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market-Based</td>
<td>Market-based mechanism</td>
<td>Issue of new water entitlements through an auction/tender process in Queensland, Australia (Speed et al. 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Use</td>
<td>Equitable use; consultations and/or prior approval</td>
<td>Agreement on the development and utilization of the resources of the Komati River Basin between the government of the Republic of South Africa and the government of Kangwane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: McCracken et al, (forthcoming). Note: an example agreement is provided for each theoretical approach that contains an explanatory mechanism that could be associated with that approach.

As mentioned above, theoretical approaches provide a perspective that can inform the allocation mechanism established in an agreement, such as those described through the method applied in the Handbook. Each of the approaches can be associated with explanatory mechanisms (how water is allocated), as demonstrated in Table 2.

Table 2 lists the theoretical approaches to transboundary water allocation processes, examples of how water might be allocated, and an example treaty that could have been informed by that approach based on the type of allocation mechanism included in the agreement. Explanatory components can be used within more than one approach, such as fixed quantity. For example, a State can identify a specific volume of water it requires
based on its rights, its needs, or hierarchy of uses. The theoretical approach, therefore, influences how the volume of water allocated is arrived at, as well as how the State might present an argument for requiring this volume in a negotiation.

While a detailed discussion of the global trends in the types of allocation mechanisms – how and why water is allocated, as categorized by the method applied – is included in a later section (Chapter VI, section 1) there are some general trends worth noting here. Within the method, the explanatory mechanism can be separated into three broad groups: direct mechanisms, indirect mechanisms, and principle-based mechanisms.21

FIGURE 4: Global trends in the type of allocation mechanism over time

Direct mechanisms explicitly define a means for physically dividing water, such as a fixed volume or percentage of flow. Indirect mechanisms establish a procedure for determining the allocations, e.g., prioritization of uses or through a joint body. Lastly, treaties can establish mechanisms based on principles that guide the States in developing allocation mechanisms, e.g., historical use or equitable use. Historically, States tend to establish agreements that directly allocate water through a measurable way (direct mechanisms), as shown in Figure 4. While still evident in older agreements, indirect mechanisms and principle-based mechanisms have become more common in recent decades, with both indirect and principle-based mechanisms exceeding direct mechanisms in the 2010s. This trend illustrates a shift towards approaches that manage water allocation rather than directly allocating water itself. Furthermore, it shows how treaties have shifted from defining specific regulations towards establishing management procedures and principles.

Source: McCracken et al, (forthcoming). Note: The number of agreements with a direct, indirect, or principle-based allocation mechanism is separated by decade spanning the 1860s to the 2010s. Also note that the 2010 decade is partial and only summarizes the period from 2010-2017, not the entire 2010-2019 decade due to data availability and update timing.

4) **Basis of Water Allocation in International Water Law**

International water law constitutes the overall framework and foundation for transboundary water management and cooperation. International water law is also applicable to transboundary water allocation, both in terms of guiding principles and more concrete legal provisions stipulated in agreements. Together, these norms establish the rights and obligations of States sharing transboundary water resources.

The key principles and legal rules for States can be found in customary international law and in the two global international water law frameworks: the Water Convention and the 1997 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Non-navigational Uses of International Watercourses (Watercourses Convention). These UN global water conventions, as they are collectively referred to, codify international customary law rules on freshwater. The 2008 Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers provide further guidance in regard to transboundary groundwater resources. In general, several key principles of international water law are today regarded as having developed into customary law rules.

Transboundary water allocation is not directly and explicitly addressed in the UN global water conventions. Nevertheless, it will be discussed and illustrated later in this Handbook in Chapters V, VI and VIII, that numerous provisions and, especially, principles included in the conventions are highly relevant for and guide the establishment and maintenance of, transboundary water allocation arrangements. These include the principle of equitable and reasonable use of shared water resources, no significant harm rule, principle of cooperation, sustainability principle and the precautionary approach.

5) **Cooperative Frameworks & Scales of Governance for Water Allocation**

Transboundary water allocations are usually first made based on area, e.g. States, sub-catchments or administrative areas, and after that further divided based on purpose of water use, of e.g. sectoral user groups, irrigation or other water supply schemes. In international water bodies, the management scales are often nested: while transboundary allocation is agreed between the countries, each country then implements the arrangement and agreements by applying its own allocation schemes based on its own national policies and legislation. As described by Dore & Lebel, “Water-related decision-making is often complex and necessarily should take into account many different scale and level perspectives; deliberation is a way of coping with this complexity and contributing to ensuring that negotiations and policy making is better informed than might otherwise be the case. Rarely does a single scale or level have the sole claim to legitimacy. A key strength of deliberation is that it can ensure that different scale and level perspectives are heard and competing logics are examined.” (see Figure 5 for a visual representation of interaction between levels and scales in transboundary water allocation).

Transboundary bi- and multilateral water agreements codify the basin level provisions for water allocation. These agreements may contain provisions on water allocation methods and criteria on exchange of information. While it is also possible that a particular transboundary water agreement does not specifically and/or explicitly address the issue of allocation, they generally promote cooperation and facilitate joint water management among the riparian States.

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At the global level, customary international law, the UN global water conventions and Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers form the overarching legal framework for transboundary water cooperation. Cooperation at the transboundary level is the foundation for water allocation within basins that are shared by two or more States. Many of the international water law principles are transferable also at the national and sub-national levels in federal States with transboundary waters and applicable via incorporation into domestic legislation.\(^{25}\)

**FIGURE 5: Example of interaction between levels and scales in transboundary water allocation**

The actual operationalization and implementation of water allocation takes place within defined jurisdictions, such as at the national and sub-national levels. National level water allocation or State level water allocation typically sets the context for, and informs the needs for, transboundary water allocation. Depending on the State system, national level water allocation is further divided to basin level and regional water allocation. It usually allocates the transboundary shares to sub-national jurisdictions, administrative regions and management entities that decide and grant water entitlements, permits and licenses to individual water users and abstractors. While each national context is different, having some general guidelines and principles on water allocation also at national and sub-national level facilitates fluent cooperation on water allocation. The general steps/elements for operationalizing transboundary water allocation are presented in Chapter VIII of this Handbook.

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6) Shared Knowledge & Data for Water Allocation

Sustainable and equitable transboundary water allocation planning and agreements are best supported by a shared knowledge base, commensurate data and well-functioning monitoring and information-sharing systems. Ideally, harmonized and comparable assessment and monitoring methods, data management systems and uniform reporting procedures can provide a common ground for deliberation, planning, negotiating, decision making and operational water management. 26 They are built on the regular and systematic collection of sufficient quality-controlled data and represent a necessary basis for reliably assessing and monitoring shared water resources and understanding different needs, uses and functions, which can in-turn inform water allocation arrangements.

More specifically, shared knowledge and data may relate to: assessment of available surface water and groundwater resources; potential for augmentation of resources (water re-use, desalination, managed aquifer recharge etc.); determining needs of the environment, sectors and States in different development scenarios, and supply and demand management options, and the development of technical and management tools for water allocation, monitoring and compliance. This component is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter VII.

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CHAPTER III: Issues Water Allocation Can Address

SUMMARY:
This chapter initially discusses the main drivers of water management challenges today and in the future—particularly the need to respond to increased and competing demands for water and water-related services—and the resulting pressures on available water resources. How allocation approaches and frameworks can seek to address these challenges of water availability, variability and uncertainty is then examined, focusing particularly on interventions in transboundary contexts. Lastly, methods for balancing various water uses and needs when planning and implementing transboundary water allocation and potential re-allocation are proposed, including balancing historical, current and future uses.

1) Understanding the Drivers and Roles of Water Allocation in Transboundary Context

Increased and competing demands for water and water related services and the resulting pressures on the available water resources have resulted in a growing attention towards water allocation during the past decades. The key driver behind the interest towards water allocation globally has been the overall and ongoing growth in water abstractions primarily due to population growth, economic development and changing consumption patterns. Basin ‘closure’, i.e. complete allocation of all available water resources, is an increasingly common problem in many parts of the world. Due to higher water demand, there is also a greater interaction between, depletion and pollution of, both surface and groundwater sources. Water allocation can thus play an important role in addressing these major water issues of today and the future, many of which cross State and national borders. Moreover, it can be stated that “Appropriate water allocation results in more socially and economically beneficial use of the resource while protecting the environment. Unsuitable or ineffective approaches drive water stress. Understanding water rights and water allocation is therefore key to understanding the solutions to global water stress”.28

From the outset, water allocation must not be viewed as a race to delineate and claim access to the world’s increasingly scarce and degraded freshwater resources. Rather, water allocation is one method of addressing water challenges in seeking to achieve more effective, sustainable and equitable IWRM. As emphasized in Chapter II, water allocation approaches, mechanisms and arrangements are best applied as a part of broader basin level planning, management and transboundary cooperation. In many instances, demand management measures, efficiency improvements or finding alternatives from benefit-sharing can complement supply focused allocation solutions towards achieving effective IWRM (for further discussion, see also Chapter IV). Moreover, environmental protection is increasingly central to allocation frameworks. In a survey of 27 OECD and key partner countries in 2015, environmental protection, or meeting ecosystem requirements, was the most frequently cited driver for both recent and ongoing national allocation reforms. It was followed by economic development, while equity in access to water, water quality concerns, climate change mitigation and adaptation and the need to address water scarcity all featured in more than half of the cases as well.29

Transboundary water allocation is not and should not be considered a zero-sum game for available resources. As a necessary basis for allocation decision-making, this chapter will first discuss availability and variability of water resources now and in the future, including the outlook on climate change and exceptional

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circumstances such as droughts and floods. It will then present the different water use needs and functions with their associated characteristics to be taken into account when allocating water. The chapter will also highlight the importance of understanding and addressing different factors impacting allocable water, including water infrastructure, water scarcity, and water quality and environmental degradation. To conclude, the chapter discusses the importance of considering historical, current and future uses and balancing different water uses and needs.

2) Availability, Variability and Associated Uncertainty: Now and in the Future

A) Availability of Surface and Groundwater Resources

Availability of freshwater resources for allocation in a transboundary context generally depends on the availability of renewable surface and groundwater sources (see Figure 6 below). Many different factors impact water availability. Human activities directly affecting surface water resources’ availability for allocation consist of abstraction and water use that may further be divided to non-consumptive and consumptive uses. Non-consumptive uses are generally described to release water back to the source after use or not to abstract water for use at all (e.g. recreation at water bodies, or navigation) while consumptive uses remove the water from local sources, (e.g. via irrigation and evapotranspiration in agriculture). However, change in the quality of the water released back to the source also effectively limits its re-use, too (for a detailed description on consumptive and non-consumptive uses, see sub-section 3b). In addition, water infrastructure, depending on its coverage and efficiency or leakage ratio, may further increase or decrease surface water availability. Climate change, water quality and ecosystem health also impact on availability as detailed later in this Chapter.

FIGURE 6: Simplified diagram of available water and water for allocation in a transboundary context

Aquifers are usually connected to surface water systems which has implications for overall water availability. In areas with significant connectivity between surface and groundwater, high levels of groundwater abstraction can affect the availability of surface water as groundwater provides significant contributions to streamflow. The implication of this is two-fold: first, assuring minimum water flows in a stream, e.g. for environmental flows (see sub-section 3a of this Chapter) requires control of groundwater allocations and abstractions; and second, water allocation may be contingent on the level of depletion of groundwater

resources in a transboundary setting, and may favor a shift from groundwater to surface water reliance or to one of enhanced/managed aquifer recharge. Due to their non-renewable nature, fossil transboundary aquifers require special attention in water allocation, whether surface water resources are available or not.

**CASE STUDY: Spatial limitations to abstracting non-renewable groundwater from the Saq-Disi aquifer**

The Saq-Disi sandstone aquifer (estimated area 308,000 km²), shared by Jordan and Saudi Arabia, supplies water through the Disi water transport project (350 km) to Amman and other governorates in Jordan. Saudi Arabia uses the same basin to supply Tabuk and other cities, in addition to agricultural uses. Already significant in the 1980s, abstraction in the past decades has increased. In the past decade, migration of large numbers of Syrian refugees into Jordan exacerbated the need for water. With the objective of achieving a long-term sustainable management of this transboundary groundwater source with a low rate of contemporary renewal, the aquifer sharing countries signed an agreement in 2015. More specifically, the agreement determines, firstly, protected areas in both countries – some 50 km long and 10 km (in Jordan) or 20 km wide (in Saudi Arabia) - where no groundwater investment projects are allowed, and secondly, managed areas where restricted, mutually agreed drilling standards are applied to reduce the effects on declining water level and on water quality. Moreover, in the Managed areas, injection of any contaminant is prohibited to protect groundwater.

A technical committee that emanated from the Saudi Arabia–Jordan Joint Water Committee is to supervise the implementation of the provisions; monitor groundwater (withdrawal, water levels and quality) as well as collect and analyze data, information and studies. Among future challenges in this mainly arid zone is the severe drawdown in the water level that gradually reduces the aquifer's capacity to provide water, while demands have increased. The depletion has led to restricting groundwater use from Saq-Disi aquifer for household and drinking water purposes only. Other water sources are being developed in the countries, including desalination and water reuse, although not a part of the agreement’s scope.

**THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW**

Groundwater availability is predominantly affected by human activities and access to the aquifer systems, including availability of appropriate infrastructure and technology. Due to climate change, groundwater demand is expected to grow further in certain regions around the world due to the higher demand for, and temporal variability of surface water flows. In various regions, groundwater is a more important source of water supply than surface water. With 592 transboundary aquifers identified globally, groundwater provides drinking water to at least 50% of the global population and constitutes 43% of the global irrigation water use. At the same time, 20% of the world’s aquifers are estimated to be over-exploited and many of them are contaminated. Groundwater rights may also be less well-defined, or not enforced, compared to surface water rights, implying that groundwater may be exploited at the expense of surface water in the vicinity of shared transboundary water courses with indirect implications for surface water availability. Increases in

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33 https://www.un-igrac.org/ggis/transboundary-aquifers-world-map
groundwater abstraction coupled with shifts of increasing variability in aquifer recharge have further highlighted the need for the conjunctive management and regulation of surface and groundwater systems.36

Alternative water resources may increase the volume of surface and groundwater available in a given State, in other area or for a specific user and thus indirectly contribute to the overall volume allocable with other parties. Examples of alternative water resources include inter-basin water transfers, managed aquifer recharge (groundwater recharge enhancement), desalinated water, harvested rainwater, non-renewable groundwater, return water in irrigation, reclaimed and recycled wastewater, or utilizing soil, water or precipitation in areas previously irrigated. It should be noted, however, that given the externality of many of these alternatives, their use can potentially increase the stress or scarcity of water availability in other basins.

B) Managing Temporal and Spatial Variability in Transboundary Water Allocation

Natural hydroclimatic conditions form the basis of available water resources of a region (e.g. dry or humid). Water resources availability varies intra-annually (between seasons), inter-annually (between years), over decades and longer periods of time due to climate oscillations. Hydrological flow regimes and thus availability of water for allocation, are influenced by the main water sources. Snow-melt sources commonly have a pronounced spring flooding period, whereas in glacier-fed rivers from high mountains a higher flow is better sustained over time. Rivers with an important base flow from groundwater, or with big lakes in their basin, are more stable providers of water.37 Hydroclimatic shifts to these flow regimes may be the result of natural variation or driven by human activities. Human-induced shifts are exemplified globally by climate change and regionally, for example, by changes in land cover due to deforestation, afforestation, agriculture or urbanization resulting in changes in runoff and evapotranspiration.

Managing temporal variability and trends in water resources availability for transboundary water allocation requires long-term availability, access and sharing of data; solid understanding of different water resources and their uses and changing demands; allocation mechanisms that are flexible and adaptable to adjust and cope with shifts in hydroclimatic patterns, including exceptional circumstances such as droughts and floods; integrate appropriate conflict resolution mechanisms or dispute resolution processes; and fit-for-purpose infrastructure for both surface and groundwater (e.g. dams and reservoirs, and managed aquifer recharge), as detailed in the sections below.

Besides temporal variations, upstream-downstream basin positions are spatial factors resulting in differences in the surface water available for allocation in transboundary contexts. Impacts of climate change and exceptional circumstances, such as droughts and flooding, also typically vary in different parts of large river basins. Addressing the resulting issues in a way that respects the principles of equitable and reasonable utilization and no harm is at the very heart of transboundary water allocation and broader cooperation as discussed in other sections of this Handbook. In some aquifers, most of the groundwater recharge may occur in one country, whereas the groundwater may be extensively abstracted in the other areas. Groundwater recharge and its effects on surface water availability are thus also necessary to consider in allocation arrangements.38

C) Climate Change as a Cross-cutting Challenge

Impacts of climate change on water resources
Climate change is unequivocally a major challenge for water resource use and allocation throughout the world.\textsuperscript{39} The impacts of climate change are primarily felt via changes in the hydrological cycle.\textsuperscript{40} Climate change causes shifts in timing, location, amount and forms of precipitation (both in mean precipitation and between seasons and years), affects mean annual stream flows and increases the frequency and intensity of extreme events such as droughts and floods. Climate change impacts to water resources are thus both episodic, such as extreme weather events like droughts and floods, long-term and permanent, as evident in changes in flow regimes and absolute water balances (Figure 7).\textsuperscript{41}

\textbf{FIGURE 7: Percentage change of mean annual streamflow for a global mean temperature rise of 2°C above 1980–2010 (2.7°C above pre-industrial)}


Rising temperatures increase surface water evaporation, evapotranspiration from vegetation affecting e.g. agricultural water use and glacial ice melt. Glacial melting in the major mountain ranges worldwide, the sources of rivers supplying 1.5 billion people worldwide, may temporarily provide more water downstream.

\textsuperscript{40} OECD: Water and Climate Change Adaptation. Policies to Navigate Uncharted Water (2013) p. 23.
but deplete those water towers over time. Some areas in the world may experience wetter conditions due to climate change, but those often come with their own challenges and trickle-down effects such as increases in flooding and nutrient leaching from land. Climate change further affects the availability and condition of freshwater resources by aggravating other growing pressures on water resources such as water scarcity, deteriorating water quality and ecosystem degradation. It thus also complicates achieving the target of SDG 6 of ensuring safe and sustainable access to water for all.

Transboundary water resources management and cooperation in a changing climate

The 2015 Paris Agreement to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and SDG 13 both urge countries to collaborate on taking urgent action in combating climate change and its impacts, including both mitigation and adaptation measures. As climate change is expected to alter the desired and actual uses of water, it calls for adaptation measures in water resources management at the national, transboundary and regional scales. Types of adaptation measures include legislative and regulatory instruments (e.g. laws, regulations, and agreements based on international conventions); financial and market instruments (e.g. licenses, permits and taxes); education and informational instruments (e.g. public awareness campaigns); policy instruments (e.g. inter-sectoral mechanisms for cooperation and agreement of different sectoral policies, etc.) as well as structural (e.g. flood protection infrastructure) and non-structural (e.g. information exchange and nature-based solutions such as wetland restoration).

In practice, examples of adaptation measures can range from demand management strategies including structural changes in economy (e.g. shift to crops or sectors using less water), new technical standards (e.g. Best Available Techniques), metering and pricing, and introducing other incentives for water saving and improving water-use efficiency, to trading of water rights and ecosystem conservation and restoration.

Climate change poses seven specific challenges for transboundary IWRM:

- increased uncertainty regarding availability and variability of shared water resources;
- potentially unequal regional distribution in climate change-induced effects and resulting impacts;
- changing water demands (e.g. agricultural water demands are sensitive to increase in evapotranspiration);
- development of strategies and measures which will help to manage floods and droughts coherently in the same basins;
- resulting growing tensions even in areas where transboundary interaction in the past has been characterized by cooperation;
- worsening of water quality and dissemination of water-related diseases;
- increasing costs for water management especially if there is lack of transboundary and cross-sectoral cooperation in prioritizing of the adaptation measures;

At the same time, enhanced transboundary cooperation provides many benefits for climate change adaptation. Benefits primarily come in the form of potential for joint climate and socio-economic scenarios, vulnerability and impact assessments, disaster risk reduction strategies and response measures, reducing uncertainties

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42Daniel Viviroli, Matti Kummu, Michel Meybeck, Marko Kallio, Yoshihide Wada. Increasing dependence of lowland populations on mountain water resources. Nature Sustainability, 2020; DOI: 10.1038/s41893-020-0559-9
44 See https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal6
46 See: https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal13
47 UNECE, 2009: Guidance on Water and Adaptation to Climate Change. Geneva
through exchange of data, sharing costs and benefits, better prioritization of measures and improving/developing broader regional cooperation and dispute settlement mechanisms.\textsuperscript{49} Joint bodies are central forums for developing and implementing adaptation strategies, but their operationalization lies with the member countries. Conversely, some national adaptation measures may have transboundary impacts and thus require transboundary cooperation.\textsuperscript{50}

**Transboundary water allocation in a changing climate**

Climate change must be approached as a cross-cutting challenge for effective transboundary allocation. It is a potential risk-multiplier that may necessitate adjustment of existing – and a careful drafting of any new– transboundary water allocation agreements and arrangements. Transboundary allocation arrangements need to factor-in the increased uncertainty, inter- and intra-annual variability of precipitation, run-off and in some cases step-reductions to cope with increasing frequency and extremity of drought and flood events. Measures such as adaptative capacity and flexibility can assist in addressing these issues, as outlined in Chapter V section 6. Making transboundary allocation arrangements climate-resilient also requires strong coordination mechanisms between different levels of governance, sectoral policies and stakeholder groups. They need to be aligned with climate change adaptation and mitigation efforts, taking into account the water requirements of different energy options such as hydropower and biofuels.\textsuperscript{51} Renewable energy can drive sustainable water use and allocation and *vice versa* when the synergies and trade-offs in the water-food-energy-ecosystem nexus are appropriately addressed.\textsuperscript{52}

### CASE STUDY PLACE-HOLDER: CLIMATE CHANGE MODEL SCENARIO-PLANNING OR CHALLENGES POSED BY CLIMATE CHANGE

#### D) Drought

**Impacts of drought in transboundary settings**

Drought along with flooding is an example of exceptional, though ever more frequent, circumstances that transboundary water allocation needs to address. Commonly understood as a deficiency of precipitation over an extended time (meteorological drought), it may also occur as a deficiency of groundwater, stream water or lake storage (hydrological or blue-water drought), or as a deficiency in water stored in the soil or vegetation (agricultural or green-water drought).\textsuperscript{53} Beginning as hydrological events that cause water shortages, how droughts evolve and what their impacts are and who/what is impacted depend on the State and management of human systems.\textsuperscript{54} Drought can result in loss of harvest and livestock, food insecurity, and decreased domestic water supply that lead to famine, malnutrition, poor hygiene and stunting, with children and women being the most vulnerable. Prolonged drought conditions may cause collapse of social structures and lead to forced migration and be a significant contributing factor to conflict (eg. Syria).

\textsuperscript{49} UNECE and International Network of Basin Organisations, 2015: Water and Climate Change Adaptation in Transboundary Basins. Lessons Learned and Good Practices. Geneva

\textsuperscript{50} UNECE, 2009: Guidance on water and adaptation to climate change. Geneva, United Nations

\textsuperscript{51} UNECE and International Network of Basin Organisations 2015 Water and Climate Change Adaptation in Transboundary Basins. Lessons Learned and Good Practices.

\textsuperscript{52} UNECE 2020 Towards sustainable renewable energy investment and deployment. Trade-offs and opportunities with water resources and the environment ECE ENERGY SERIES No. 63


As droughts and floods are increasing in certain regions globally, the number of people affected by these phenomena is growing and will further increase in the future. This is due to population growth, but also a result of changing land and water use patterns, such as people moving to marginal lands that are more exposed to the hazards. Drought risks and impacts usually vary within transboundary basins and aquifer areas. Differences exist not only in the timing of rainfall deficits, but also in how runoff is generated and regulated across the basin. Drought affects groundwater resources depending on hydrogeological conditions, and through increased demand and consumption as availability of surface waters diminishes and via lowered seepage and renewal.

Drought and flood risk in transboundary settings may be further understood as the interaction between: (1) the hazard (i.e. drought or flood); (2) exposure to those hazards i.e. the population, and environmental and socio-economic assets potentially affected; and (3) vulnerability i.e. local and transboundary water governance capacity to manage impact of the hazard. The exposure to drought will further vary according to the type of water use, distribution of population in rural and urban areas, and environmental assets. Vulnerability to droughts and capacity to manage their impact may also vary significantly across the basin, influenced by water resource development and the distribution of water and shortage risks under transboundary water agreements. Accordingly, transboundary water allocation must look at the distributed risk of drought across a basin, so that the most at-risk parts/areas receive higher/more assured allocations.

Transboundary drought management and water allocation
The multiscale nature of drought requires coordination. In a transboundary context, this means coordinating between riparian States: measures for monitoring and timely data exchange (early warning systems); drought risk mitigation and adaptation strategies; and integrated surface and groundwater management. Water allocation and entitlements are critical in determining what water resources will be available for abstraction and use during drought periods and how those resources will be shared. Groundwater tends to be increasingly relied upon on in drought situations, indicating the need to have a good understanding of the availability, renewability, and trade-offs associated with groundwater resources. One example of this is heavy groundwater development in proximity to streams, which may reduce base flows in streams (derived from groundwater) during dry and drought periods. Proper water accounting is critical for operational water allocation.

Drought often acts as a trigger to, and is easier to identify than, water scarcity as a long-term trend. Drought management thus provides important reflection points for longer-term development of management
processes and mechanisms, including those related to achieving the SDG targets 6.4 on water-use efficiency, 6.5 on IWRM, 11.5 on disaster risk reduction and 15 on protecting terrestrial ecosystems and combating desertification and land degradation. For legal principles and mechanisms regarding transboundary drought management, see Chapter IV sub-section 6c.

E) Flooding

Impacts of floods in transboundary settings
Floods can be defined as temporary conditions of inundation of normally dry land areas, from overflow of inland or tidal waters, or from the unusual and rapid accumulation or runoff of surface waters from any source. They are a natural climate-driven phenomena that are necessary for the survival and health of many ecosystems. Moreover, some livelihoods such as floodplain and flood pulse agriculture and fishing are dependent on floods and floods can also form part of cultural heritage in many parts of the world. Flood waters are a vital water resource, especially in many arid and semi-arid areas, where they also function as important sources of groundwater recharge. Both regular and exceptional flood events can frequently present a serious hazard to infrastructure and economic assets, health, and human lives, and the environment.

Risks and impacts of floods can vary within transboundary basins. It generally depends on the exposure of communities to flooding and the vulnerability of people, their property and infrastructure to flood damage. Probability of damage grows when development activities in river channels and the adjacent floodplains have not accommodated the associated flood risks. The heavier the river channels and floodplains are altered, the lower their resilience to flooding usually is; or alternatively, the more their impacts are shifted downstream. Both the magnitude and frequency of floods and their associated risks are expected to increase with climate change. Land use changes, i.e. drainage or deforestation, also affect the flood peak height and duration downstream (see the case study below on the Pripyat River basin and the operation rules for the Vyzhevsky spillway).

The hydro-morphology (i.e. shape and cross-sections) of rivers and deltas are constantly changing due to erosion and sedimentation. The changes can also affect the river’s flood predictability over time. Heavy floods associated with extreme meteorological events may change rivers’ shape and size rapidly. Flood protection or erosion control measures might affect river morphology too. Erosion and sedimentation also impact on the performance of flow regulation infrastructure that has an important role in flood protection but also in implementing water allocation arrangements. In a transboundary context this might have implications on basin agreements and in-turn, on water allocation mechanisms.

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61 See https://sdgs.un.org/goals
64 UNECE 2009 Transboundary Flood Risk Management: Experiences from the UNECE Region.
65 UNECE 2009: Transboundary Flood Risk Management: Experiences from the UNECE Region.
Transboundary flood risk management and water allocation

Transboundary flood risk management requires basin-wide integrated land and water management, focusing the measures to parts of the basin where they are most needed and effective and thus enable redistributing risks and resources. Integrated flood management approaches build on the IWRM approach; risk management principles covering the cycle of preparedness, response, recovery and reconditioning the management system; and accommodate also the beneficial aspects of floods to humans and ecosystems.\(^{68}\) Similarly to droughts, flood risk management is integral for achieving the aims of SDG 11.5 to significantly reduce the number of people affected by natural disasters.

For transboundary water allocation, floods should generally be approached as exceptional events, the frequency and severity of which is likely to grow in the future. Allocation quotas need to accommodate variability in water availability, but they may also act as flood management measures (see case study below of the Vuoksi River). Monitoring, data exchange, early warnings systems and prior notifications of flow releases between co-riparians are equally necessary to build into allocation agreements. For legal principles and mechanisms regarding transboundary flood management, see Chapter IV, sub-section 6c.

CASE STUDY: Developing climate-adaptable agreements to manage floods & dry periods in the Pripyat Basin

In its upper reach, the river Pripyat flows from Ukraine to Southern Belarus. Before reaching Belarus in its natural bed, the Vyzhevsky spillway in Ukraine diverts part of the water from the Pripyat to South-Western Belarus to provide water for Dnieper-Bug Canal. Proper functioning of the longest navigable channel in Belarus depends on water intake via Vyzhevsky spillway, along with other sources. There are important wetlands along the natural river bed and the diversion channel, making proper balancing of the flow between the two a challenging task.

In 2010, operation rules for the Vyzhevsky spillway were agreed upon between Belarus and Ukraine. The principles of water allocation are based on a bilaterally accepted approach and methodology. Their implementation is monitored on both sides by regional water authorities. Both annually inform the Belarusian-Ukrainian working group meetings, ensuring the institutional and political stability of the arrangement.

On top of establishing a regime for allocating water to the Dnieper-Bug Canal, the rules regulate activities during floods. Among other issues, the operation rules clarified that Belarus is to deal with maintenance of the headlock of the spillway in territory of neighboring Ukraine, resolving the long-existed property issues. The rules proved to work well, including during dry periods in 2015 and 2016 when no water was taken from the Pripyat to the Dnieper-Bug Canal. Such cooperative management will become ever more important as climate change intensifies in the basin.

** THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW **

3) Water Uses & Needs

A) Environmental Needs

Ecosystem well-being as a foundation for sustainable water allocation

The health of freshwater ecosystems is the foundation for the sustainability of water resources and the services and benefits derived from water. In modern water allocation arrangements environmental needs are assessed and an environmental reserve is recommended to be set aside before allocating water to other uses.\(^{69}\) While deciding on environmental requirements in water resources management, is ultimately a political

\(^{68}\) UNECE 2009: Transboundary Flood Risk Management: Experiences from the UNECE Region.

process and decision, those decisions should be based on verifiable scientific data. The latest science as well as the UN SDGs (notably 6.6, 14, 15) emphasizes that the environment should not be seen as a water-using sector among others needs of which may be negotiated, rather that ecosystem wellbeing has to be given high value as it affects all other water uses. The 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity can be used as a general guide for water allocation in this regard in so far as it defines an ecosystem approach relevant to IWRM and distinctly promotes “the restoration and maintenance of biologically diverse ecosystems as a way of improving access to clean drinking water and as a means to eradicate poverty”.

**Environmental and ecological flows**

Environmental needs within water allocation are best described with the concept of environmental flows, often used interchangeably with ecological flows, with both commonly abbreviated to 'e-flows'. While multiple definitions exist for the term, the most comprehensive recent definition from The Brisbane Declaration and Global Action Agenda on Environmental Flows (2018) describes environmental flows as “the quantity, timing, and quality of freshwater flows and levels necessary to sustain aquatic ecosystems which, in turn, support human cultures, economies, sustainable livelihoods, and well-being.” The concept of ecological flows focuses on ecosystem needs as a part of the overall environmental flow. When properly implemented, environmental flows can achieve multiple benefits including: helping sustain and generate ecosystem services and livelihoods dependent on them; create economic and recreational value; preserve rivers; share benefits of basin development more equitably; and in general contribute to the sustainable management of rivers.

**Environmental flows in transboundary water allocation**

Environmental flows have emerged as one of the key frameworks for informed, participatory decision-making in water resources planning to arrive at a balance between extraction, use and conservation of watersheds and their waters. One of the key challenges of environmental flow management is to maintain a sufficient minimum flow of water in rivers and preventing over abstraction during low-flow periods. Periodic high flows are required for maintaining water quality, triggering fish spawning and migration, sediment transport, groundwater recharge and wetland inundation (see the anecdote box below on spring flows from the Dniester Basin). River ecosystems may also be negatively affected if too much water is released from storage during periods when rivers would naturally experience low flows. As all aspects of the environmental flow regime are potentially important to the environment, water allocation arrangements should ideally account for natural variability, predictability, seasonal timing and flood magnitude of the given aquatic system and its connections to other systems (e.g. surface and groundwater).

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71 See https://sdgs.un.org/goals
74 UNECE Desk study, 2019. on Environmental Flows and Flow Regulation in the Drina River Basin (by Rafael Sanchez Navarro).
CASE STUDY: Ecological flow and water allocation in the Samur River

For rational use and protection of the Samur River, a border river between the Russian Federation and Azerbaijan, a bilateral agreement was signed in 2010. According to the agreement, water is allocated 50-50 between the countries. Importantly, 30.5% of the water shall be reserved for the ecological flow while the rest is allocated equally between the countries as per Article 3 of the agreement. It’s also stated that satisfying the need for water of either country is not allowed at expense of ecological flow. As some of the groundwaters are hydraulically connected with surface waters of the Samur, countries have also agreed to ensure the regime of groundwater abstraction which excludes a decrease in the groundwater level in the Samur river delta.

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In transboundary settings, environmental flow assessments provide optimal results when undertaken as a joint exercise considering the river basin in a holistic manner. Assessments should account for interlinkages and interdependencies across political boundaries. Besides the national or State levels, local stakeholders directly dependent on and affected by the flow regulations should be consulted.77 A functional transboundary environmental flow program requires harmonization of environmental flow methods in the basin, integration of environmental flows in the water planning and allocation and their effective implementation, operational rules (i.e. for reservoirs) and exchange of information.78 For the necessary knowledge base for the assessment of environmental requirements and assessment methods, see Chapter VII, Section 10.

Since the 1980s, springtime artificial ecological water releases take place at Dniester Hydropower Hub to provide water for flora and fauna in the middle and the lower stretches of the river. The Hydropower Hub was constructed in the 1980s, among other reasons, to improve flood protection and water availability during low-water periods for Moldova and the Odessa City and oblast of Ukraine. Analysis is still needed to study and address ecological flow needs throughout the year as opposed to only the Spring season. A paper entitled “Analysis of the goals, limitations, and opportunities for optimizing the regime of spring ecological reproductive release from the Dniester reservoir”79 was developed at the request of the governments of Moldova and Ukraine by the GEF Dniester project and published in April 2020. This study included development of a simple “calculator” tool that can be used to support operational decision-making when comparing and selecting specific release scenarios depending on the hydrological situation, requirements, limitations and expectations.

B) Water Use Sectors and Functions

Sectors, functions and in-stream uses
Water allocation has a key role in balancing water availability for different sectors and functions, ideally after the environmental flow requirements have been accounted for. While major differences in sectoral shares exist between countries depending on their socio-economic structures, agriculture, including inland aquaculture, continues to be the biggest water user globally constituting 69% of water withdrawals. Industries contribute to 19 %, including water use in the energy sector, while municipal and domestic uses amount to 12 %.80

78 UNECE, 2019. Desk study on Environmental Flows and Flow Regulation in the Drina River Basin (by Rafael Sanchez Navarro)
The other main functions or in-stream water uses that depend on known or sustained water levels but do not contribute to water withdrawals per se include navigation, pollution dilution, tourism and recreational uses, cultural uses, freshwater capture fisheries and ecosystem maintenance. For example, Niagara Falls, shared between the United States and Canada, is governed by treaties that allocate fixed quantities of water that are variable depending on the time of year. This is done to ensure the Falls’ aesthetic is preserved during months of heavy tourism, while simultaneously satisfying hydropower requirements of the nearby power generation stations.

**CASE STUDY PLACEHOLDER: LA PLATA BASIN: ALLOCATION FOR NAVIGATION**

**Consumptive and non-consumptive uses**

An important distinction to be made when assessing water use of different sectors and functions is whether their use is consumptive or not. For consumptive uses, the water withdrawn is effectively removed from the local water body, such as via evapotranspiration in agriculture and evaporation in thermoelectric power generation, or its quality is changed. In non-consumptive uses, water is not withdrawn from (e.g. in-stream water use), or it is returned to the same water body (sometime after treatment) and may be reused or recycled. Some industrial and domestic water uses as well as different functions are non-consumptive by their nature, but with most of them direct reuse of the released or otherwise affected water is typically limited by a change in its quality. A key parameter defining both surface and groundwater availability is the ratio between water consumption and renewable freshwater resources. A consumption rate higher than renewal results in water stress and depletion of the water source over time.

While improving water use efficiency is generally encouraged, it may also reduce return flows, the amount of water seeping into groundwater or available for downstream uses. Disregard for diminished return flows or other interceptions of run-off as a result of afforestation, for example, may result in over-estimation of available water resources, their over-allocation and overuse. Furthermore, improvements in water use efficiency may not change or may even increase overall water consumption if caps for abstraction are not in place. Allocation arrangements need to therefore account for effects of water use of one user to water use of others, specifying consumption rates of various uses and return flows, including the water quality of same, or different water entitlements.

**Water use in agriculture**

Agricultural priorities have traditionally dominated national water allocation arrangements globally. Being afforded such high priority has been due largely to its direct connection to food security and rural livelihoods. In many countries its position has also been challenged by growing water demand from other sectors and higher economic value uses such as industries and tourism. Agriculture limits availability of water for other uses due to its commonly dominant share of total water use and pollution loading (e.g. excess nutrients, pesti-,

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herbi- and fungicides). Conversely, agricultural practices can add to water availability due to their relative flexibility in accommodating variability (e.g. annual rather than fixed capital costs), and via major return flows. Furthermore, in many regions and in the case of many crops, water demands for agriculture occur at certain periods of the year and may be of limited duration when water availability is low. In years of surplus water availability, agriculture may be best positioned to utilize more abundant allocations, and agricultural land, irrigation and drainage systems may also regulate the excesses in flows.\(^85\) Now and in the future, agricultural water use must be balanced with uses in other sectors, especially in drought conditions.

There is potential for major water savings in agriculture, providing both for the growing needs of other sectors and the need for an increase in food production.\(^86\) Increased water productivity (crop/value per drop) can be achieved for example with improvements in water use efficiency (SDG 6.4) (e.g. more efficient irrigation technologies, fertilizer use and soil management) and crop management (e.g. change of crops, crop rotation). These changes are generally supportive of downstream needs when providing improved water availability and water quality (SDG 6.3), but they should also accommodate dependency on previous return flows if improved efficiency leads to their reduction.

**CASE STUDY: Allocation for irrigation with monitoring & maintenance systems in the Zarumilla River basin**

Water stress is a critical characteristic of the Zarumilla River basin shared between Ecuador and Peru, particularly in the extended dry seasons, is a relatively dry region between both States with important presence of water-intensive crops such as rice, sugar cane and fruits. The socio-economic characteristics of this basin demands high volumes of water to satisfy agricultural needs, aquaculture (shrimp farms) and human consumption.

In 1944, the critical water condition forced Ecuador and Peru to cooperate in order to share a water infrastructure channel aimed to help irrigation in the border area, sharing costs but also sharing benefits through a simple coordinated water allocation mechanism. The Zarumilla International Water Channel (part of the Zarumilla Basin) was built in 1947. This approach was feasible for the particular context of the Zarumilla because the watercourse acts as border and at the same time agricultural fields surround both sides of the watercourse creating a common need to share flows.

According to the Agreements signed by both countries, the allocation of flows establishes a 55% for Ecuador and a 45% for Peru. However, when flows are below 1.5 m\(^3\)/s both countries will use the flow based on turns (this happens for various months of the year), that means a number of days for Peru and an equal number of days for Ecuador. The agreement also establishes a permanent e-flow of 0.4 m\(^3\)/s to maintain ecosystem health in the waterway to the ocean.

The maintenance and cleaning of the Zarumilla channel are performed jointly by the countries in cooperation with sub-national governments. Today, channel maintenance is conducted under an alternation scheme where one year Ecuador is responsible for cleaning and paying the infrastructure insurances and associated costs, and the other year Peru is responsible. Regarding the monitoring and enforcement of water allocations, this is overseen by the water user associations of both countries who have been cooperating for decades in securing a correct use of the waters they rely on (See Chapter VII Operationalizing for Public Participation in Implementation).

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**Water use in industry and energy production**

Industrial water use is typically dependent on sustained quantity and quality of water, whereby sudden reductions in its availability can potentially lead to higher costs and/or production losses. Water quality requirements vary significantly depending on the type of industry, food and beverages and pharmaceuticals exemplifying the highest standards. Besides its growing prioritization for economic reasons, industrial water


use may limit water availability for other uses due to point-source pollution. Water use efficiency (SDG 6.4) in industries and energy generation can generally be improved with optimized processes, more efficient technologies and recycling, reuse, reduction or even, where appropriate, replaced with waterless alternatives. Curbing water pollution from the industries (SDG 6.3) goes hand-in-hand with the efficiency improvements and provides cost-savings and lower water-related risks to business. For further information on complementary approaches on water and energy to transboundary water allocation, see Chapter IV, section 2.

Availability of water in the energy sector is critical for society and gaining increasing international attention as demand for both resources mount and governments continue to struggle to ensure reliable supply to meet sectoral needs. Water shortages may lead to power outages or significant generation losses with typically widespread impacts to all other sectors and their water use systems. In transboundary water management and allocation contexts, an especially important aspect to consider is the flow regulation. The production of hydropower is mainly associated with reservoirs, which in many cases have a continuous multipurpose function, such as flood protection, navigation, as a source for consumptive use of water, or recreational water use activities. Since hydropower is commonly generated to meet peak demands, however, hydropoaking may occur and, if not adjusted upon high flows, flooding may be aggravated downstream. Dams, particularly large-scale hydropower dams, may also cause a range of direct or indirect impacts including: environmental impacts, such as altered fish spawning and reduced sediment loads; and social impacts, such as loss of livelihood and involuntary resettlement for local communities. Any such impacts that could cause significant transboundary harm should be addressed in both the planning and operationalization phases, if not already at a stage of strategies and policies (e.g. designation of no-go zones). Measures to address impacts include not only the placement and design of individual dams which can be subject to negotiation, but also agreeing on an operational regime that reconciles different needs and cascades of dams with different operation regimes, which require cooperation and potentially joint infrastructure development with a potential for broader benefit-sharing.

CASE STUDY: Vuoksi River hydropower generation & flow levels

The flow of the Vuoksi River shared between Finland and the Russian Federation and levels of the connected Lake Saimaa are governed by two main agreements, the 1989 Vuoksi Discharge Rule and the 1972 Vuoksi Hydropower Agreement. The main aims of these agreements are to ensure the efficient use of four hydropower stations, two on either side of the border, and to manage the floods and droughts.

88 CDP 2020 Cleaning up their act - Are companies responding to the risks and opportunities posed by water pollution? CDP Water Programme.
The 1972 Vuoksi Hydropower Agreement governs the daily regulation of streamflow in a way that ensures efficient use of two hydroelectric stations: one on the Finnish side of the border (upstream) and one on the Russian side (downstream). The daily regulation of the streamflow at the Russian ‘Svetogorsk’ hydroelectric stations downstream to the Finnish ‘Imatra’ hydroelectric station upstream, must follow certain water flows and upstream water levels detailed in the Agreement. By maintaining these flows, the parties have identified and agreed that this causes the permanent annual loss of electric energy of 19,900 MWh per year at Imatra and agree that the loss is compensated by Russia through annual energy transfer (see also: Chapter VI re Transboundary Harm & compensation).

Under the 1989 Vuoksi Discharge Rule, Finland, as an upstream country, must release water from Lake Saimaa in such a manner that the water level of the lake and the flow into the Vuoksi River remain as far as possible within normal limits. Finland must 1) monitor changes in water conditions in the Vuoksi River system, 2) prepare a preliminary appraisal of them, 3) inform the Russian Federation of changes in the normal water release. The normal water limits are + or - 50 centimeters from the median water level specified in the Discharge Rule. If it becomes apparent that water levels will be higher or lower than normal are imminent, water releases may be adjusted at the first opportunity so that any damage which may be anticipated can be effectively prevented in time. Every effort has to be made to prevent a rise in the water level of Lake Saimaa too high (NN+ 76.60 meters). At the same time, every effort shall be made to minimize any possible damage to the Vuoksi River. Under this rule, lowering the water level below minimum levels (NN+ 75.10 meters during the shipping season, and NN+ 75.00 meters at other times) must also be prevented whenever possible. As a result, every effort must be made to maintain a certain velocity of flow (300 cubic meters per second).

** THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW **

**Domestic water use**

While minor in comparison to water use in agriculture, industries and energy production, ensuring water of safe quality for domestic use is of high priority due to its vitality for human health and well-being (see SDG. 6.1, 6.2) (see also Chapter V, Section 3c). Water use efficiency at homes depends heavily on behavioral choices of households (influenced by climate, cultural traditions, water pricing) besides the technologies and systems available.92

**Water use sectors and functions in transboundary water allocation**

Granting water rights and entitlements for different uses and functions is ultimately a matter of national and sub-national water governance (see case study example on the Murray-Darling Basin). While national needs inform transboundary negotiations on water allocation, they are best coordinated as a part of basin wide planning and scenarios. These should take account for possibilities of cost and benefit sharing and opportunities from applying the water-energy-food-ecosystem nexus approach (see Chapter IV).

4) Impacts on Allocable Water

4A) Water Management Infrastructure

**Infrastructure as an enabling and limiting factor in water allocation**

Water management infrastructure sets the physical basis and constraints on how allocable water can be managed. Freshwater infrastructure traditionally includes:

- dams for hydropower, flow regulation, storage and water withdrawal;
- reservoirs;
- pumping stations for rivers and aquifers for supply of water;

• irrigation systems;
• water purification and wastewater treatment plants and water and wastewater networks, and outlets returning wastewater to these systems;
• dredging, channelization or straightening of rivers for navigation;
• basin transfer pipelines and canals;
• natural and (man)-made ponds and swamps.93

Historically, growing demand for water was typically first met with infrastructure development, increasing access to available water.94 Investing in upkeep, repairs and modernization of existing infrastructure (e.g. canal networks) has significant potential to improve water efficiency and various demand management means overall. It may also reduce the need to spend on expanding new development for additional supply. Allocation planning is therefore useful in the development and operation of certain infrastructure and related water-uses that pertain to the transboundary allocation of water resources.

Past infrastructure choices can limit existing and future allocation options. Large dams, water transfers and large-scale irrigation systems typically have profound impact on flow regulation, groundwater, the environment and downstream water uses. Poorly maintained large-scale infrastructure can lead to major transboundary risks of losses or water wastage, exacerbating water scarcity, water contamination and accidents such as dams breaks and flash floods. Inadequate infrastructure further reduces adaptive capacity to respond to drought and floods and longer-term changes in water availability and variability.95 Disparities in infrastructure between States sharing transboundary water resources may also create unequal water utilization opportunities. Existing and planned transboundary infrastructure systems must carefully assess how to be equitable, avoid harm and evaluate ways to minimize environmental impacts (e.g. fish passages or outlets for e-flows on hydropower dams).96

**CASE STUDY: Joint management of water infrastructure in Chu-Talas basin**

In Soviet period up to 1991, intra-State principles and conditions were used to allocate water resources of Chu and Talas basins between Kazakh and Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republics. In 2000, Inter-Governmental Agreement was signed between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan about the use of interstate water management facilities on the Chu and Talas rivers. The Agreement covers six water infrastructure objects in upstream Kyrgyzstan (reservoirs, canals, waterworks).

According to the Agreement, downstream beneficiary Kazakhstan reimburses Kyrgyzstan for the operational costs of maintenance, repair, overhaul and reconstruction of interstate water management facilities in proportion to the volume of water it receives. For each year, the required amount of funds is agreed between the Parties. Kazakhstan finances most of its costs by conducting maintenance and construction works by itself. A standing bilateral Commission on equal footing with the permanent Secretariat sets an operational schedule and defines required expenditures. There is a desire to add further water infrastructure objects for joint management and to clarify the status and financing of the permanent Secretariat.

Using the Chu-Talas agreement as an example, Kyrgyzstan used the model when signing a similar agreement with its other downstream neighbor Uzbekistan in 2017 for joint management of Orto-Tokoi (Kasansay) water reservoir.

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93 Alternative water sources such as harvested rainwater or desalinated water have their own infrastructure, which in a larger scale may be linked to main networks and systems.

94 McCracken et al, (forthcoming)


Developing sustainable infrastructure for water allocation

The larger the infrastructure, the more careful its selection, capacity and choice of location needs to be and the more comprehensively co-riparian States and all other key stakeholders should be engaged in its development. Appropriate infrastructure choices, including size (capacity) and location may contribute to fairer water allocation between parties, provide more value to users and maintain a healthy environment.\(^7\) Large scale infrastructure is typically expensive to build and expected to last and serve for decades. In order to ensure its functionality in changing circumstances (impacts of climate change, structural changes in the economy or technological innovations), infrastructure needs to pass sensitivity and risk analyses, and environmental and social impact assessments in different simulations and scenarios.

Nature-based solutions to water allocation infrastructure rarely have negative transboundary impacts while they simultaneously help to meet environmental requirements. Nature based solutions may include those for managing water availability (e.g. natural wetland forests and wetlands’ improved soil and vegetation management), water quality (e.g. forest, wetlands, grasslands) water-related risks, variability and change (e.g. flood plains, surface and sub-surface water storage and managed aquifer recharge).\(^8\)

**CASE STUDY: Value of investing in nature-based solutions and implementing measures where they make a difference, even across borders: flood protection in the Rhine River basin**

Under the IRMA (Interreg Rijn Maas) program, the Netherlands contributed some 5 million euros to the construction of the Bislicher Insel retention area in Germany. The retention measure was included in the International Action Plan on Floods on the Rhine adopted by the Rhine riparian countries’ Ministers in 1998. The measure consisted of putting back a bank embankment and lowering the old bank embankment in parts, so that the water can flow into an old arm of the Rhine in both summer and winter when a certain water level is exceeded, hence reducing flood waves. With this solidary co-financing, the Netherlands contributed to the realization of the whole package of measures implemented in the Action Plan, aimed at reducing extreme water levels, with a positive effect for the country.\(^9\)

**Water scarcity as a central challenge for sustainable water allocation**

Water scarcity occurs when demand for freshwater exceeds supply.\(^10\) It seriously affects the functioning of societies and undermines possibilities for sustainable development. Population growth, urbanization and changing consumption patterns, increased demand from irrigated agriculture and industry, as well as inadequate water management all contribute towards scarcity of water resources. It may compromise water supply and sanitation services and have negative impacts on human health. Water scarcity may also threaten food security and limit economic growth because of declining agricultural production, while the environment


Climate change further accelerates the effects of scarcity. The results can be: an increase in the frequency and intensity of droughts and floods; changes in precipitation patterns; higher surface water evaporation and depletion of glacial and surface water sources (see above sub-section 2c on the cross-cutting impacts of climate change). In transboundary contexts, water uses in one riparian State can impact or exacerbate water scarcity in another. Water scarcity sets absolute or relative limits to allocable water. Water scarcity thus forms a central challenge for sustainable allocation of transboundary water resources as “ever increasing withdrawals of water from the world’s freshwater ecosystems are creating new threats as water stress leads to pervasive, catchment scale reductions in ecosystem functions. Put simply, rivers across the world are being sucked dry. Catchment scale challenges such as these, with widespread social, economic and environmental consequences, can no longer be addressed by local engagement at a limited number of sites, but require broader solutions: effective water allocation mechanisms are required that match the scale of the problem.”\footnote{WWF Water Security Series (2007). Allocating scarce water: a primer on water allocation, water rights and water markets, by Tom Le Quesne, Guy Pegram and Constantin Von Der Heyden, p. 8}

**Definitions and aspects of water scarcity**

Water scarcity has multiple definitions and aspects. Physical water scarcity arises out of the low availability and shortage of water resources, while social water scarcity is caused by unbalanced power relations, poverty, and related inequalities.\footnote{Falkenmark, M., Berntell, A., Jägerskog, A., Lundqvist, J., Matz, M., & Tropp, H. (2007). On the Verge of a New Water Scarcity: A Call for Good Governance and Hyman Ingenuity (pp. 1-19). Stockholm International Water Institute (SIWI).} Another important aspect of water scarcity is economic water scarcity. This occurs due to lack of investment in water infrastructure or a lack of human capacity to satisfy the demand for water.\footnote{Molden et al., 2007: Water scarcity: the food factor} Scarcity of capacity (organizational scarcity) and scarcity of accountability are further measures of water scarcity.\footnote{The World Bank: Making the Most of Scarcity: Accountability for Better Water Management Results in the Middle East and North Africa} It is useful to make a distinction between absolute and perceived scarcity. Absolute scarcity exists when there is no affordable source of additional water within a given area, or where the costs of additional water supplies exceed the benefits of their provision. Even scarcity that is perceived as absolute may be relative and related to more structural problems regarding water supply or distribution. These perceptions need to be therefore addressed before there is actual “measurable” scarcity.\footnote{http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SC/pdf/WWDR4%20Volume%201-Managing%20Water%20under%20Uncertainty%20and%20Risk.pdf}

**Water stress** is commonly used to mean scarcity in situations where water use exceeds natural renewal capacity of water resources. The SDG indicator 6.4.2. defines the level of water stress as freshwater withdrawal as a proportion of available freshwater resources, where over 70% is serious water stress.\footnote{FAO. 2018. Progress on level of water stress - Global baseline for SDG 6 Indicator 6.4.2 2018. Rome. FAO/UN-Water. 58 pp. Licence: CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 IGO.}

A good summary of when and how allocation approaches may typically be employed to address water scarcity that has often led to water stress is provided by WWF: “There typically comes a point, however, at which engineering solutions will no longer suffice to meet increased demand, or are considered to be...”
economically, socially or environmentally undesirable. When this happens, over-abstraction from the ecosystem leads to water stress, with serious negative impacts on social and economic development and the deteriorating health of aquatic ecosystems. Where there is no further water available for use, catchments are referred to as “closed”. When such water stress is reached, a new and more sophisticated approach to water management is required. Rather than an engineering approach, these approaches seek to restore river flow through a multi-disciplinary and multi-stakeholder process of managing water withdrawal. Effective water allocation mechanisms need to be developed that manage the use of the scarce resource. In more prudent cases, such allocation systems may be introduced before catchments experience major water stress, but often a crisis is required to inspire reform.”109

**CASE STUDY PLACEHOLDER: SCHELDT RIVER BASIN ALLOCATION & ADAPTING TO CHANGE**

*Combating water scarcity in transboundary water allocation*
The different aspects of water scarcity highlight important challenges for transboundary water resources management. Four billion people comprising nearly half of the world’s population experience water scarcity at least one month a year and half a billion live in conditions of permanent water scarcity.110 Hence, the transboundary dimension of water scarcity has attracted more international attention. For example, target 6.4 of the Sustainable Development Goals requests countries to substantially reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity, while target 6.5 requires implementing integrated water resources management at all levels, including through transboundary water cooperation. Development of new allocation agreements and other arrangements and re-allocation of existing ones should in-turn be aligned with these SDG targets.

Recognition that water scarcity conditions are likely to become more severe and frequent in the future supports reconsideration of certain prevailing approaches to water allocation in many river basins and aquifers around the world. Combating water scarcity requires reconsidering traditional supply management strategies such as increasing capacity of water infrastructure.111 The focus needs to be shifted to demand management options such as increasing water use efficiency and water productivity. For successful integration of mitigation and adaptation strategies addressing water scarcity within transboundary allocation frameworks, the drivers and impacts of water scarcity need to be identified and understood in each context. Therefore, in water scarce regions especially, “countries need to focus on the efficient use of all water sources (groundwater, surface water and rainfall) and on water allocation strategies that maximize the economic and social returns to limited water resources, and at the same time enhance the water productivity of all sectors. In this endeavour, there needs to be a special focus on issues relating to equity in access to water and on the social impacts of water allocation policies.”112

**B) Water Quality**

*Water quality as a factor of water availability*
Water availability is not only a question of quantity, as deteriorating quality limits water uses for multiple purposes. Changes in volume and timing of flow as a result of withdrawals and discharges or dam storage

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equally affect water quality via altering the amount of dissolved oxygen, channel erosion, compound condensations and suspensions, and turbidity, and in some cases temperature. Water quality varies naturally along rivers and aquifers influenced by altitude, geology, instream habitat, wetlands and floodplain connectivity; as well as over time due to changes in climate and flow regime. Freshwater ecosystems have major water quality managing functions, but they are also heavily affected by human impact. Water quantity and quality, combined with ecosystem health, should therefore be approached as equally important aspects in water availability and any related allocation measures.

Drivers and impacts of water quality degradation
Water quality degradation is a sum of alterations of flow regimes, ecosystems, climate change and polluting discharges. Over 80% of the world’s wastewater, including sewage, agricultural runoff and discharges from industry is estimated to be released into the environment without treatment. Both point-source and diffuse pollution degrade water quality. Point-source pollution originates from pipes, outlets and ditches of sewage treatment plants, industrial sites and livestock operations. It causes the worst water quality impacts during low flows when water bodies have reduced dilution capacity. Storm and flood events can also cause overflows from sewerage systems. Diffuse pollution refers to nutrient runoff and leaching from agriculture and forestry, atmospheric deposition of nitrogen oxides from energy and transport emissions, and runoff of petroleum hydrocarbons and heavy metals from urban surfaces to surface and groundwaters. It continues to be a major problem even in regions where point-source pollution has been effectively curbed. In water bodies, polluting solutes and particles such as pathogens, organic matter, salt, hazardous chemicals and materials, pharmaceutical residues, micro plastic and endocrine disrupting chemicals get transported downstream or infiltrate into aquifers, making pollution also a transboundary problem.

Water quality in transboundary water allocation
Deteriorating water quality has been a driver for several recent allocation reforms. It decreases the available resource pool and the need for treatment increases the costs of water use. Water quality degradation reduces the value derived from in-stream uses including ecosystem functioning, fisheries and recreational uses. However, in many transboundary rivers basins, water quality data is not collected or exchanged by riparians in a uniform manner, if at all. The number of measured water quality parameters varies by State and comparability is limited by temporal and spatial representativeness of data. Moreover, national water quality monitoring may be under several different agencies.

CASE STUDY: Addressing water quality in transboundary water allocation for the Great Lakes

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119 UNECE 2019 Outlook for developing monitoring cooperation and exchange of data and information across borders: Background paper to the Global workshop on exchange of data and information and to the fifteenth meeting of the Working Group on Monitoring and Assessment under the Water Convention (Geneva, 4–6 December 2019). Note by the secretariat with contributions from the International Network of Basin Organizations, the International Water Management Institute and the World Meteorological Organization.
The Great Lakes and especially Lake Erie are experiencing severe blue-green algal blooms. The source of the nutrient pollution is from tributaries within the United States and Canada. For this and other reasons, the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement (GLWQA) between the governments of Canada and the United States was amended in 2012. The GLWQA entered into force in 1978, with amendments in 1983, 1987 and 2012. The GLWQA is implemented by the parties to the agreement. Article VII of the GLWQA contains a standing reference to the International Joint Commission (IJC). The GLWQA tasks the IJC with a number of responsibilities including the review of progress in achieving the general and specific objectives of the agreement and reporting on any problem of water quality of the Great Lakes. Under the GLWQA, the two federal governments monitor and conduct research on water quality.

Under the GLWQA, the IJC has two very effective Great Lakes Advisory Boards. The binational Great Lakes Water Quality Board (WQB) is a very active and progressive board consisting of 28 members: 14 from each country. Half of its members represent government agencies and the other half represent basin users and local and tribal governments. It is a unique binational group of experts from all sectors – government, non-governmental organizations, academic institutions, etc. The binational Great Lakes Science Advisory Board consists of two committees. The Research Coordination Committee (RCC) and the Science Priority Committee (SPC). Members of the RCC consist primarily of the government agencies responsible for monitoring, research and regulation of the Great Lakes. The SPC consists primarily of university researchers. The SPC focuses on research and data management issues. The WQB focuses on policy.

The worst algal bloom ever experienced on the lake occurred in 2011, prompting the IJC to make binational investigation into the science and opportunities for action by governments to reduce algal bloom-causing pollution a priority. Daily water quality and river flow monitoring data at key locations were incorporated into appropriate water quality models (e.g. binational SPAtially Referenced Regression On Watershed attributes or ‘SPARROW’ modeling) to determine loading of phosphorus and nitrogen amounts into Lake Erie and the originating sources of the pollutants. The loading numbers were then used to calculate target reduction concentrations in shore and deep lake regions of Lake Erie that would be needed to reduce or eliminate severe algal blooms as documented in a 2014 Report of the Lake Erie Ecosystem Priority.

The GLWQA requires the IJC to evaluate every three years how well the Canadian and United States governments are meeting the general and specific objectives of the Agreement. Following the federal governments publication of its State of the Great Lakes Report in 2016 and after extensive public engagement and review of the government’s report, the IJC prepared its first Triennial Assessment of Progress Report on Great Lakes Water Quality, Nov 2017. The report provides advice and recommendations to assist the U.S. and Canadian federal governments to better meet the general and specific objectives of the of the GLWQA. The IJC, its Great Lakes Regional Office, and Water Policy and Science Advisory Boards are continually refining and updating their analyses to better determine the sources of nutrient pollution and additional mitigation strategies. The federal governments have a responsibility to address nutrient pollution in the Great Lakes consistent with the objectives of the GLWQA.

Addressing water quality issues in transboundary water allocation demands both national and transboundary coordination. Agreeing on acceptable water quality levels should be informed by desired uses for the given water source, and international and national environmental, chemical and health standards as described in Chapter VII. Cross-sectoral interdependencies should also be addressed as water quality objectives of an allocation regime may be undermined by incentives in other sectors that encourage pollution. It should also be taken into account that reaching acceptable water quality levels for environmental requirements and

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human and sectoral needs may require dilution of flows or reservoir management that reduce the total volume of allocable water for all.\(^\text{123}\)

**C) Ecosystem Degradation**

*The dual linkage of ecosystems degradation to water allocation*

Ecosystems and their degradation is linked to water allocation in two major, interrelated ways. First, healthy ecosystems typically help to maintain overall availability of water, while conversely, ecosystem degradation reduces it. Second, unsustainable water allocation and water use regimes negatively impact freshwater ecosystems, other ecosystems dependent on them and their biodiversity.

When it comes to the first linkage, changes in upstream water use in different sectors and for different functions are the dominant external factor influencing the status of water resources situation downstream. Notwithstanding, the status of ecosystems also affects the quantity, quality and variability of allocable water. Land ecosystems, especially vegetation, play a key role in regulating evapotranspiration and runoff from land. Vegetation typically supports water availability but in some cases removal of forests and e.g. alien species may also release more water to streams.\(^\text{124}\) As surface and groundwater systems are connected, plant cover may also significantly impact groundwater recharge, which when reduced may lead to reduction or drying of rivers in low flow seasons. Furthermore, freshwater ecosystems have multiple functions in flow and water quality regulation, as well as an important role in many other ecosystem services ranging from food production including freshwater fisheries to recreational and cultural values.

For the second linkage, multiple stressors are involved in negatively impacting freshwater ecosystems. Changes to river flow regimes and connectivity as a result of water withdrawals and dam construction, water pollution and the general undervaluation of aquatic ecosystems and ecosystem services have contributed to the loss of over 80% in freshwater species populations since the 1970s, with climate change further exacerbating the situation.\(^\text{125}\) Loss of biodiversity fundamentally weakens balance and future resilience of the ecosystems. In-turn, there are widespread impacts to both society and the environment via weakening of the provisioning, regulatory, cultural and habitat supporting services healthy freshwater ecosystems provide. The above realizations have resulted in water allocation frameworks that increasingly prioritize the needs of ecosystems.

**Meeting minimum requirements for ecosystem well-being**

Natural freshwater ecosystems have evolved to thrive in dynamic hydrological conditions. In almost all contexts, variations in flows and water levels are essential for freshwater species and for ecosystem functions such as sediment transport and fisheries. However, people need water too. In many contexts the question of meeting ecosystem requirements is less about how to maintain pristine ecosystems and more about understanding how to maintain essential aspects of flow variation even while using water for human social and economic purposes.\(^\text{126}\) Environmental flow assessment tools and approaches focus on providing answers to this question (see also Chapter III, sub-section 3a and Chapter VII, Section 5).\(^\text{127}\)

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While environmental flow assessment is underpinned by science, decisions about how much water to take from an ecosystem for human use are ultimately social and political in nature. It is crucial that such decisions are made with an understanding that maintaining healthy freshwater ecosystems is not in competition with human water uses; rather, safeguarding or restoring key aspects of ecosystem functioning, such as downstream water supply, freshwater fisheries or sediment transport to low-lying delta regions are strategically important. Thus, ecosystem health should be a foundation of water allocation in a transboundary context as it is crucial for the long-term sustainability of the world’s shared freshwater sources.

The Commonwealth Water Act governing the transboundary Murray-Darling River within Australia, for example, requires the Basin Plan to identify sustainable diversion limits (SDLs) for the Basin. The SDLs aim to provide an ecologically sustainable level of take at which “key environmental assets and key ecosystem functions” are not compromised. The SDLs define how much surface and groundwater can be extracted for urban water supply, irrigation and other economic activities. The SDL is set for the entire basin, and is being set for each subregion (each major river valley) and each groundwater management unit. The basin-wide surface water SDL is set at 10,873 gigaliters per year (GL/y) on a long-term average. This represents a reduction in water use of 2,750 GL/y compared to 2009 extractions. A basin-wide long-term average limit of 4,340 GL/y has also been set on groundwater use. To meet the requirements of the SDLs, the Australian Government has been ‘recovering’ water through a combination of water buybacks and efficiency projects.

Preventing ecosystem degradation in transboundary water allocation

Preventing ecosystems degradation has been the main driver for national water allocation reforms in past years. At the transboundary level, ecosystem protection is gradually gaining recognition but requires enhanced cooperative and coordinated efforts. The SDG target 6.6 sets a goal to protect and restore water-related ecosystems, including mountains, forests, wetlands, rivers, aquifers and lakes by 2020. As this goal was not met in the originally intended timeframe and there is evidence of accelerating negative consequences for both humans and the environment instead, conservation efforts in the coming years need to respond to growing challenges. New and revised transboundary allocation arrangements environmental requirements should be assessed and an environmental reserve be set aside before allocating water to other uses (see also Chapter III, Sections 1 and 3a; Chapter VII, section 5).

5) Balancing Different Water Uses and Needs

A) Considering Historical, Current and Future Uses

Development trajectories of water use

Water use and water allocation has a strong temporal dimension across years and even decades. While water allocation typically focuses on current and (short-term) future water uses, it builds on historical use and development, and should also consider longer-term needs. Consideration of this temporal dimension thus links to the broader view on water and its role in the development of societies, including linkages to food and

130 See https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal6
energy security as well as the environment. The temporal dimension of water allocation in this regard can be considered through three main trends, or development trajectories: changes in the total water use of a society; comparative changes in the water use between sectors and functions; and changes in water availability due to changing climate and other alterations in the hydrological system. The first two changes can be considered as socio-economic trajectories that drive water use and which are discussed in this section, while the third is a physical, though human influenced, trajectory discussed in sections 1 and 2 of this chapter.

CASE STUDY: Allocation Lessons from Australia’s Governance of Intra-Country Cross-Border Rivers

The Murray Darling Basin (MDB) covers nearly one million square kilometers of south-eastern Australia. It contains the largest and most complex river system in Australia, with 77,000 kilometers of rivers, many of which are connected. The MDB includes 16 internationally significant wetlands, 35 endangered species and 98 different species of waterbirds. First Nations people have lived in what we now call the MDB for over 50,000 years and the basin contains many sacred and spiritually significant sites (see case study on Indigenous Cultural Flows in Chapter V for further details). The MDB has been the site of most Australian intra-country cross-border water governance experiences, with 6 governments involved: Federal, four States, and one territory – the Australian Capital Territory (ACT).

For about 160 years there have been agreements and plans about how much water can be used from the River Murray and the Basin as a whole. Over the decades more and more water was being extracted. The health of the Murray Darling system was in decline. The water was over-allocated. In 1995 the MDB cap on surface water diversions was introduced, and thereafter annual auditing of compliance with the cap was commenced. It became obvious that further significant changes were needed to the water law, water allocation, and water use practices. A devastating drought from 1997-2009 catalyzed community and political action. This led to a 2007 National Plan for Water Security and the Commonwealth Water Act (2007). Australia’s Water Act is an ambitious piece of legislation that seeks to return water allocations in the MDB to sustainable levels and to coordinate planning and decision-making at the Basin level.

The Act established the Murray–Darling Basin Authority (MDBA) that was given responsibility to: prepare, implement, and review an integrated Basin Plan; operate the River Murray system and efficiently deliver water; measure, monitor, and record the quality and quantity of the Basin's water resources; support research; advise the Minister; provide water information to facilitate water trading; and engage and educate the community. The MDBA is responsible for assessing and monitoring Basin State compliance with Sustainable Diversion Limits (SDLs) by towns, communities, industry, and farmers. Limits are being set for 29 surface water areas and 80 groundwater areas across the Basin.

The aim of the plan is to bring the basin back to good health, while continuing to support farming and other industries for the benefit of the Australian community. It took five years to develop and agree to a plan to manage the basin as a whole, connected system. For surface water, the Basin Plan requires, on average, a reduction of 2,750 gigalitres (GL) of water used for consumption annually across the basin.

Underpinning the Basin Plan, under preparation, are 33 sub-basin water resource plans (WRPs) for surface water and groundwater. These will be legally binding. WRPs must contain: evidence of compliance with SDLs and water trade rules; protection of water for the environment, water quality and salinity objectives; First Nations values and uses; measuring and monitoring; and, arrangements for extreme weather events.

The Murray–Darling Basin Plan, in place since 2012, and backed by AUD$13 billion, is one of Australia's most scrutinized pieces of public policy. Since 2012, the overall average water take is down from ~14,000 GL/year to ~11,000 GL/year. Water extractions in the Basin are capped (now to a lower level than previously) and new enterprises can only be established if they purchase existing water entitlements from others. There is no net additional water extraction as a result of such trades.

Problems remain, however, including with water accounting and compliance; ecosystem health (as evidenced by recent fish kills); community support and maintaining inter-jurisdiction political buy-in. These are all areas recognized as requiring further attention and improvement. Water entitlements yielding an average of 2,000 GL per year have been acquired for the environment by the federal government, via a combination of government buybacks and infrastructure modernization. There is an additional ~1,000 GL per year of environmental water. This is a substantial transfer of water from the consumptive pool. It is the largest re-direction of water to the environment in any large river basin in the world.
The Commonwealth Environmental Water Holder (CEWH, created by the Water Act 2007), in concert with relevant State government agencies, now routinely and competently deliver these secure water entitlements. Over the past four years, Commonwealth and other environmental water has been used in more than 750 planned watering events to improve the health of rivers and wetlands.

In September 2020, the MDBA has committed to a new range of initiatives to further boost transparency and collaboration. These include: increasing communications about river operations; using new engagement methods tailored to suit local communities; boosting the diversity of MDBA consultative committees; and splitting out the MDBA compliance role to a separate statutory authority.

In conclusion, years of over-allocation degraded the ecosystem and climate change is making the recovery task even harder. Climate change projections indicate a small increase in total rainfall in the northern Basin is likely, however, decreasing winter and spring rainfall is consistently predicted for the southern Basin. However, of the many large water basins in the world grappling with water scarcity and conflict between users, the Murray-Darling Basin is one with a strong rules-based order, including clearly defined water entitlements, a cap on extractions, a large environmental water reserve, substantial (but imperfect) transparency, and a systematic audit process. For these reasons, when it comes to the complicated business of sharing water between competing interests, basin managers from around the world look to Australia to observe a functioning example of work-in-progress.

The first development trajectory of total water use has had a strong upward trend globally over the past 50 years with water use in all key water-using sectors increasing dramatically.\textsuperscript{132} Irrigated land area, abstraction of groundwater, reservoir and hydropower capacity as well as water use for industrial and domestic uses have all grown significantly in almost all countries and river basins globally, yet regional differences exist. For example, total withdrawals are now decreasing on average in OECD countries.\textsuperscript{133} This is partly a result of heightened scarcity, deteriorated water quality and heightened environmental degradation, and partly due to efficiency improvements and lower than expected demand in specific water use sectors. Overestimating demand has led to hugely oversized infrastructure and major costs. Global water withdrawals have been projected to further grow by 55% from year 2000 to by 2050, as a result of increasing demands from manufacturing (400%), thermal electricity generation (140%) and domestic use (130%).\textsuperscript{134} While population growth and increasing production and consumption require more water, the potential for efficiency improvements and demand management measures should not be neglected to avoid over-sized allocations.

The second development trajectory considers comparative changes in the water use between sectors and functions. It may differ greatly even within an individual river basin, both temporarily (e.g. between different decades and seasonally) and spatially (e.g. between different countries and/or their regions). This trajectory relies strongly on existing policies, as the changes occur through decisions and activities that can increase and decrease both the comparative and actual water use of different sectors and functions. Examples of structural changes on this trajectory include shifts to more water-efficient technologies (e.g. as directed by Best Available Technologies), less water intensive crops (e.g. shifting from cotton cultivation to cereals), alternative power generation technologies that are less water-intensive, or prioritizing higher economic value and less-water intensive sectors (e.g. tourism and recreation over water-intensive agriculture, where appropriate.

\textit{Understanding water use in transboundary settings over time}


Different approaches can be applied to understand how water use changes over time in a transboundary river basin or aquifer. One option is to make use of the concept of basin closure or ‘closed’ basins. Basin closure indicates the stage when majority of water resources within a basin are allocated for various water uses and little to no water from the natural flow and sources remains to be further used and allocated. Three general phases are linked to the concept of basin closure: development, utilization and allocation:

- In the development phase, water may be abundantly available and water infrastructure is developed to access the resources.
- In the utilization phase, the focus moves from infrastructure construction to improved water management, typically when water availability starts to become constrained.
- In the allocation phase, water availability is limited and decisions need to be made for the (re-)allocation of water between different uses.

Each of the phases consists of different water management practices such as water diversions, storages and at the later phases, demand reduction. These practices aim to balance the water availability with (growing) water demand.

CASE STUDY: Storage infrastructure & joint monitoring for flow re-allocation needs in the lower Orange-Senqu River system

The Orange-Senqu River system, shared between Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa in Southern Africa is highly regulated, because of the historical and ongoing extensive abstraction and dam infrastructure deployed in the upper and middle section of the river to address demand gaps. The lower Orange Senqu region is well-known for producing table grapes and other fruits for the export market in Europe and other parts of the world. Due to its unique climate and the rich soils, the region enjoys early harvests and is therefore very competitive and is of significant national economic importance. The challenge to the irrigation farmers hinges on access to predictable and adequate water flow, especially during the season when the farming operations need such flow. Another challenge is ensuring adequate flows for ecological functions, including the river mouth, which is designated as a wetland of international importance (Ramsar site) on both sides of the common border.

The Vioolsdrift and Noordoewer Joint Irrigation Authority(JIA) was firstly established in 1992 for both States to jointly operate and maintain a canal built in the 1930s to supply water for irrigation, and control abstraction of water to farmers in the river valley on both sides of the border in South Africa and Namibia through a weir close to the border towns of Vooilsdrift and Noordoewer. In conjunction, the Permanent Water Commission (PWC) between Namibia and South Africa established in 1992, was on the other hand mandated to advise the parties on matters related to development and utilization of water resources of common interest to the two State Parties. In relation to water allocation in the area of the JIA, the two State Parties adopted volumetric allocation set at 20 million cubic meters per annum in 1992. However, water needs for the region have been increasing mainly as a result of increased productivity and increased uses upstream of the region. Complaints have been reported, on the insufficient flows and inadequate water for irrigation especially during the October to February period when the farmers need it most.

In order to address the allocation challenges, South Africa and Namibia identified a solution to build a flow re-regulation dam at Vioolsdrift/Noordoewer. The purpose of the flow-regulation dam is to secure sustainable long term water resources yield for the lower Orange Senqu River, including environmental allocations for the river mouth. In this regard, the dam would serve the purpose of retaining any additional flow releases from upstream.

136 Molden, D., Sathivadivel, R., & Samad, M. (2001). Accounting for changes in water use and the need for institutional adaptation. In Intersectoral management of river basins: Proceedings of an international workshop on" Integrated Water Management in Water-Stressed River Basins in Developing Countries: Strategies for Poverty Alleviation and Agricultural Growth," Loskop Dam, South Africa, 16-21 October 2000 (pp. 73-87);
during the winter months, as well as scheduled flow releases and flood water in the rest of the year, and release the required flows according to farmer needs, and to address ecological flow requirements towards the river mouth.

The Orange-Senqu River Commission (ORASECOM) which is the river basin authority which was established in 2000, is mandated to provide technical advice to the four State Parties, in utilization, development, conservation and management of the overall basin. The ORASECOM integrated water resources management plan articulated joint measures, including a suite of infrastructure solutions, and environmental initiatives, to promote cooperation and sustainable development of shared river basin, in its entirety. The Vooilsdrift dam feasibility study is currently ongoing, jointly financed by the two State Parties. In the interim, the two State Parties have installed gauging stations along the common border, equipped with advanced flow measurement and transmission capabilities. Joint field observations and monitoring of the flow gauging network continues, including joint field excursions to consult key role players such as local irrigation boards, Water User Associations, and the JIA. The ORASECOM Secretariat has been co-opted to join the joint field excursions and consultations with key role players, especially when there has been reported complaints regarding water allocations. The PWC regularly reports and updates ORASECOM on all major developments including progress on deployment of the Vioolsdrift Noordoewer dam.

B) Balancing Water Uses and Needs in Transboundary Water Allocation

Transboundary water allocation today and in the future needs to balance multiple growing needs while at the same time deal with the increasingly limited and varying availability of water. Furthermore, different water uses have different scopes for coping with change and improving efficiency. Allocation in a transboundary context may thus include difficult and potentially contested decisions on water use priorities. The allocation process requires the assessment of available water resources and understanding of different water uses and needs across both temporal (current and future uses) and spatial scales (in different States, jurisdictions and geographical, hydrographical and geo-hydrographical settings). It should address water availability, water entitlements and the potential conflicts between different water use needs in terms of water quantity, quality and timing. In cases where all water use needs and demands cannot be met with the available water resources, parties need to discuss their priority both at transboundary and national levels.

CASE STUDY: Determining allocation priority uses & proposal for a risk-based approach in the Incomati River Basin

The Incomati River Basin is a transboundary watercourse in southern Africa. The basin covers approximately 46,500 km² shared by South Africa (28,600 km², 61%), eSwatini (2600 km², 6%) and Mozambique (15,300 km², 33%). The basin is in a relatively semi-arid area with annual rainfall on the order of 750 mm. Like elsewhere in Africa, intra and inter annual variability in rainfall is high. Droughts prevail in some years, floods in others. The Kruger National Park is an internationally recognized hotspot for wildlife, and covers a large portion of the basin.

The current Interim IncoMaputo Agreement (IIMA) signed in 1998 between the three countries makes water allocations that distinguish between so-called First Priority Use and Irrigation Use and specify the amount of water for maximum utilization under “average” conditions. However, assurances of supply are not specified and as such IIMA does not explicitly address situations where a water deficit occurs. The IIMA does not include environmental flow requirements as a consumptive water use, but allows for minimum instream flows at key points in the Incomati watercourse to sustain the ecology.

The IIMA allocated water based on past water use and estimates of the availability of water in 2002 to the three countries for first priority supplies, irrigation and afforestation in the Incomati Basin. The Tripartite Permanent Technical Committee (TPTC) between Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland have also agreed and implemented the Progressive Realization of the IncoMaputo Agreement (PRIMA) since 2010 upon which current allocations are based. Moreover, when the TPTC determines that a drought condition exists and that the water use by the Parties must be reduced, the irrigation use shall be the first to be reduced.
The IIMA allocations may need to be revisited, as the most recent hydrology study of the Komati, Crocodile and Sabie sub-catchments, results in less water than originally assumed due in part to the effects of climate change. A risk-based approach has been proposed for the allocation of water in the Incomati Basin, i.e. assurances of supply are assigned to the various user sectors in the system. This approach allows for greater flexibility while providing a consistent manner in which to operate the overall basin. For each user category refined allocations into proportions into risk categories that should be supplied at different levels of assurance. This for instance means that an irrigator will have a large portion of his water at a low assurance but also have a small amount of water at a much higher assurance, while a first priority user may have a large proportion or all of his water at a high assurance and a small proportion at a lower assurance. Included in the allocation system are mechanisms to realize the potential benefits that could accrue during a surplus situation. The risk-based approach however provides the flexibility for the water users to adapt to both situations of surplus and deficit.

**THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW**

Decisions on balancing water uses are typically informed by socio-economic aspects, assessments of environmental requirements and pre-existing institutional frameworks. Principles of international water law including equitable and reasonable utilization, no significant harm and protection of the environment as well as the human right to water provide a guiding framework for negotiations (for a detailed description, see Chapter V, sub-Section 3c). Considering that water allocation for human consumption, some national security uses and environmental requirements have limited scope for negotiation, the socio-economic aspects should be analyzed in detail, providing opportunities to understand how to make interventions in different water uses, what are the best practices and what are the potentially sensitive and contested aspects.

In 1992, just a few months after the break-up of the Soviet Union, five water-scarce Central Asian countries reached a quick agreement on transboundary water allocation by balancing historical, current and future uses. This helped to avoid potential conflicts and illustrates the importance of effective water diplomacy.  

Socio-economic aspects focus commonly on water-related livelihoods and economic sectors such as agriculture, industry and energy production, cultural features and well-being, including domestic water supply, as well as on broader food security and energy security issues. The water needs for the different socio-economic uses need to be evaluated against, and aligned with, the overall development and climate scenarios in the given context (see this Chapter II section 1, Chapter VI section 4). Furthermore, after water for vital human needs and the environment have been allocated, national allocation between sectors may be made based on highest value uses (economic, cultural) (see also section III sub-section 3c above). In a transboundary context, benefit-sharing and a nexus approach may provide means to further balance the socio-economic interest of different parties and address challenging upstream-downstream dynamics (see also Chapter IV).

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CHAPTER IV: Limitations to Water Allocation and its Linkages with Broader Approaches

SUMMARY:
This chapter will highlight the conceptual and procedural limitations to water allocation and the broader approaches to transboundary water resources management and cooperation with their linkages to water allocation. Several recognized broader approaches—integrated water resources management, basin-wide planning, benefit-sharing and water-energy-food-ecosystem nexus—to consider in conjunction with transboundary water allocation are presented with case studies and further resources for reference.

1) Limitations of Water Allocation

While useful, water allocation has its limitations. Conceptually, the focus on water quantity, quality and timing means that water allocation does not really consider the broader aspects of water use, such as the linkages to sectors such as food and energy and to the broader development agenda, including the SDGs. Focus on water allocation may also conceal the need to progress from supply management options to demand management measures. Such measures include improved efficiency, the growing water demand rather than actual availability often being the limiting factor to development and human and environmental well-being.

The actual process of water allocation has additional limitations. First, in transboundary contexts, practically all agreed allocations are based on a simplification regarding the diverse and dynamic nature of shared waters. This is further amplified by the fact that most transboundary allocation arrangements have fixed mechanisms for water quantity, with over 30% of the agreements with an allocation mechanism designating a fixed quantity or volume of water (see Chapter II). While these mechanisms establish a clear structure for allocation, they also mean that fixed allocation mechanisms have a limited capacity to consider the changes that e.g. climate change or land use cause for shared waters (see Chapter III). Many water allocation arrangements therefore lack the necessary flexibility to adapt to the changing nature of water resources.

Second, while water allocation arrangements benefit greatly from long-term observations and shared databases as well as shared observation networks, these are not always in place: this hampers the operationalization of water allocation and may even lead to misleading decisions regarding it. Third, operationalization of transboundary arrangements may also face challenges at a national level: results from a 2015 OECD survey of national arrangements on allocation indicated that while important building blocks were in place in many cases, the design and implementation of the arrangements had significant flaws. Finally, given that transboundary water allocation is typically agreed between the governments of riparian States, other key actors such as the private sector and civil society may have limited possibilities to participate in and influence water allocation.

Yet, these limitations do not render water allocation irrelevant. Instead, they highlight the importance of clearly describing and comprehending the important but focused role water allocation has in transboundary water resources management and the related governance, and the necessity to link it to broader social, environmental and economic development planning. It also means that water allocation plays a critical part in many related, complementary or broader approaches used in transboundary water cooperation. The central ones of such approaches are discussed next.

140 McCracken et al., (forthcoming)
2) Broader Approaches to Consider

Water allocation forms an important part of transboundary water resources management, establishing an agreed baseline for water quantity, quality and timing. At the same time, water allocation links to the broader approaches that are commonly used to both initiate and advance transboundary water cooperation and the related governance arrangements. Understanding the linkage that water allocation has to such approaches - and its own focused but limited role - is important to put the allocation into the right context, also indicating how the limitations of water allocation can be addressed. Such approaches typically consider larger spatial scales and cross-sectoral aspects and themes of water resources management and governance and involve a more diverse group of stakeholders. Four broader approaches that have been developed by actors internationally are particularly relevant to consider with water allocation:

**FIGURE 8: Simplified visualization of linkages between water allocation and complementary approaches**

As emphasized, water allocation is closely connected to the broader activities of transboundary water resources management. While there are many ways to describe the key principles for water resources management, IWRM (Figure 9) is highlighted here due to its importance and well-recognized role within both the Water Convention and the water-related SDGs. SDG 6.5 specifically sets a target to implement IWRM at all levels by 2030, including through transboundary cooperation as appropriate.\(^\text{143}\) The common definition for IWRM is provided by GWP: “IWRM is a process which promotes the coordinated development and management of water, land and related resources, in order to maximize the resultant economic and social benefit.”

\(^\text{143}\) [https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal6](https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal6)
welfare in an equitable manner without compromising the sustainability of vital ecosystems and the environment.\textsuperscript{144}

TABLE 3: Allocation characteristics vis-a-vis broader approaches to transboundary management and cooperation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus (simplified)</th>
<th>Main scale</th>
<th>Timing</th>
<th>Scope of action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Water allocation</strong></td>
<td>At a specific defined point; typically a country border</td>
<td>Targeted: to ensure meeting a need or to address a specific issue</td>
<td>Water supply / bulk water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IWRM</strong></td>
<td>Transboundary basin, building on national management plans</td>
<td>Short, medium, long-term</td>
<td>Water resources management, mainly at operational and tactical level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basin-wide planning</strong></td>
<td>Transboundary basin; beyond States</td>
<td>Medium to long-term</td>
<td>Water resources management, mainly at strategic level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nexus (e.g. water-energy-food security nexus)</strong></td>
<td>Applicable at different scales: here considered at regional scale</td>
<td>Medium-term and preferably also before sectoral plans impact water use</td>
<td>Trade-offs and synergies between sectors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assessing and sharing benefits and costs/ and minimizing harm</strong></td>
<td>Regional scale (i.e. in and beyond basin scale)</td>
<td>Medium to long-term</td>
<td>Seeing water’s role for regional economic and political cooperation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Authors: UNECE, 2021. Note: The characteristics are simplifications, and intentionally emphasize the differences between the closely related and partly overlapping approaches.

IWRM thus aims to ensure sustainable and equitable use of water and related resources with the help of key management instruments (e.g. allocation), key institutions as well as a broader enabling environment (e.g. policies and cooperation forums) and financing. According to the recent progress report on SDG 6.5, a great

majority of the countries have already established a firm institutional foundation for IWRM also in transboundary basins. The actual degree of implementation varies greatly, however.¹⁴⁵

**FIGURE 9: Conceptualization of IWRM and its related sub-sectors**

![Diagram showing conceptualization of IWRM and its sub-sectors]


**B) Basin-wide planning or strategic basin planning processes**

Basin-wide planning or strategic basin planning processes (Figure 8) have during the past decade emerged to complement IWRM implementation. Their best practices exemplify ten golden rules:

- develop a comprehensive understanding of the entire system,
- plan and act, even without full knowledge (or perfect foresight),
- prioritize issues for current attention, and adopt a phased and iterative approach to the achievement of long-term goals,
- enable adaptation to changing circumstances,
- accept that basin planning is an inherently iterative and chaotic process,
- develop relevant and consistent thematic plans,
- address issues at the appropriate scale by nesting local plans under the basin plan,
- engage stakeholders with a view to strengthening institutional relationships,
- focus on implementation of the basin plan throughout, and
- select the planning approach and methods to suit the basin needs.¹⁴⁶

At their core are shared scenarios and visions for the future of the basin, which are crucial for reaching joint understanding on allocation needs and requirements.

¹⁴⁵ UN Environment (2018). Progress on integrated water resources management. Global baseline for SDG 6 Indicator 6.5.1: degree of IWRM implementation.

C) The Water-Food-Energy-Ecosystem Nexus Approach

The nexus approach to managing interlinked resources has equally gained prominence during the past decade as a way to enhance water, energy and food security. Resource management and economic policy decisions in agriculture and energy are taken outside the sphere of water management but they translate into impacts and demands on water, and vice versa. The nexus approach aims to increase resource efficiency, reduce trade-offs, build synergies and improve governance among and between sectors, while simultaneously protecting ecosystems. Integrated planning, coherent policies and multi-purpose investments are among the means to address nexus issues. Intersectoral or nexus assessments and dialogues, supported by analysis to varying degrees, have sought to point at such opportunities in policy and in taking technical measures.

Identifying and addressing intersectoral trade-offs and synergies can inform water allocation decision making processes, foster transboundary cooperation and increase resource use efficiency. Need for water allocation measures to address scarcity or its impacts could potentially be avoided by integrated planning and informed sectoral policies that are coordinated and take into account availability and variability of water resources. For example, locating water intensive primary production or industries in areas with more abundant water resources or importing the water-intensive commodities, and thus “virtual water” in areas suffering from water scarcity is an example of nexus strategy that helps to expand the pool of water resources available for different uses and needs. Another nexus strategy is to explore alternative renewable energy technologies such as solar, wind and tidal that are less water intensive than conventional energy generating methods, such as hydro-power. Doing so may relieve the pressure on water resources use and trade-offs between power generation and irrigation or other water uses. Using the nexus approach can help to identify the stress points where hydropower development is creating concerns.

D) Identifying, Assessing and Sharing Benefits of Transboundary Water Cooperation

Identifying, assessing and sharing benefits of transboundary water cooperation increases the scope of benefits considered from pure water allocation to benefits from improved water management and enhanced trust for and beyond economic activities. Those may include, among others, economic benefits, social and environmental benefits as well as regional economic integration benefits and enhanced peace and security benefits. Sadoff and Grey (2005) outline a process leading to capturing shared benefits through implementation of relevant projects, starting from assessing cooperatively the opportunities for potential

benefits in the region in question, followed by negotiating a bundle of projects, benefit sharing arrangements and legal agreements. The analysis of potential for sharing benefits can be revisited to continue the cycle.

The broad-ranging benefits from transboundary cooperation are illustrated by the outcomes of the assessment of benefits in the Drina River Basin (see case study below). Focus on benefits in strictly economic terms (quantifiable and monetized by e.g. hydro-economic modelling) does not lessen the importance of other benefits which may not all even be quantifiable. Identification of qualitative benefits of cooperation can be equally helpful, helping to create enabling conditions, including the political willingness, for strengthening cooperation. Besides sharing benefits, sharing of costs may be a central part of joint management of shared water resources, such as in the case of the Chu-Talas Basin between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (see earlier case study).

The potential for sharing benefits from the use of water resources can help to prioritize water uses and needs. Integration of clear benefit-sharing measures into the water allocation arrangements, including priority water needs to be secured and how any costs incurred in exceptional or changing circumstances should be dealt with, can help prevent related tensions and disputes (see also Chapter V on adaptability of allocation arrangements). Understanding the benefits from the use of shared water resources and from transboundary cooperation broadly can, first, inform and help design a more equitable water allocation; second, reinforce cooperation on basin management that contributes e.g. to sustaining the allocable water resource, ensuring the functioning of the necessary built or natural infrastructure and reducing transboundary impacts; and, third – with a cross-sectoral (nexus) perspective – extend and diversify the type of benefits that can be realized through cooperation engaging economic sectors.

**CASE STUDY: Identifying benefits of cooperation with a nexus approach as a broader perspective to revisit flow regulation in the Drina River Basin**

The Drina River, shared mainly by Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia, serves various flow related needs: There is currently important hydropower generation and also plans for further development, the population’s water needs are met partly from the river (while groundwater is also important), recreational activities notably water sports are practiced on the tributaries and valuable ecosystems and their services depend on the Drina. Various sections of the river are also at a risk of flooding.

All economic activities in the Drina Basin depend on a timely flow of adequate quantities of water, with fit-for-purpose quality. Currently, the regulation of flow is uncoordinated and sub-optimal, and this has an impact on both water availability and quality.

The identification and assessment of benefits of transboundary cooperation in the Drina River Basin (the result of the identification shown in Table 4) was integrated into a participatory assessment of the water-food-energy-ecosystems nexus under the Water Convention which aimed to foster transboundary cooperation by identifying jointly with the riparians’ ministries concerned intersectoral trade-offs and synergies. To capitalize on the benefits, coordinated policy and technical actions in the fields of water management, energy, and environment protection, at different levels, across borders were proposed.

In the nexus assessment of the Drina, some benefits were quantified: Energy system modelling allowed to estimate that a cooperative operation of hydropower dams could deliver above 600 GWh of electricity over the 2017–2030 period, compared to optimization of dam operation on a single unit basis. Overall system savings for the three countries could amount to USD 136 million over the entire modelling period with the assumptions made. Setting aside

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153 A very small part of the Drina River Basin (less than 1 percent) is in Albania.
30% of dam capacity for flood control would have a cost (in terms of lost energy production) equivalent to 4% of the combined operational cost of the electricity system in the three countries. The analysis points also at the value of increasing energy efficiency to reduce pressure on hydropower generation.

**TABLE 4. Benefits of transboundary cooperation identified in the Drina River Basin**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From improved water management</th>
<th>Economic activities benefits</th>
<th>Benefits beyond economic activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic benefits</td>
<td>● Expanded activity and productivity in economic sectors</td>
<td>● Health impacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Reduced cost of carrying out productive activities</td>
<td>● Employment and reduced poverty impacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Reduced economic impacts of water-related hazards (floods, droughts)</td>
<td>● Improved access to services (electricity, water supply..)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Preservation of cultural resources or recreational opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Avoided/reduced habitat degradation and biodiversity loss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various issues are still to be solved in the Drina Basin, including some border-related and historical compensation issues, and the riparians are still negotiating and looking for feasible solutions. Paths to solve these include water management, including bilaterally and in the framework of the International Sava River Basin Commission, but also the field of energy, where possible new development opportunities are at stake as the sector grapples with the challenge of a sustainable transition.

**Sharing benefits and costs: hydropower as an example**

Based on global data\(^\text{157}\), one of the predominant purposes for allocation has been hydropower but in fact States often allocate benefits from hydropower rather than allocating water volumes to hydropower projects. Benefits from hydropower are shared or divided, among others, as fixed quantities of power, percentages of power, and value generated from power sales (Table 5 can be referred to for different approaches).

**TABLE 5: Hydropower division of benefits according to the method of water allocation classification used in the Handbook**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hydropower Benefit Division</th>
<th>Percentage of power generated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None: Only generally describes a hydropower project and does not detail any benefits-shared/allocated, e.g., power, money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{156}\) Identifying, assessing and communicating the benefits of transboundary water cooperation: Lessons learned and recommendations. UNECE, 2018.

\(^{157}\) Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database at Oregon State University.
Fixed quantities of power: generated from a hydropower project

Variable quantities of power: generated from hydropower projects may vary due to water availability, time, etc.

Consultation: States must consult with other parties to determine or change the division of benefits from a hydropower project

Percentage of assessed value of electricity generated: such as an assessed value determined by market pricing mechanism

Other: States use a different mechanism than listed above. If other, this will be specified in the Hydropower text code.

Source: McCracken et al, (forthcoming)

CASE STUDY: Cooperation on the use of water and energy resources of the Syr Darya River basin (Central Asia)

Over the Soviet period, water allocation in the Syr Darya River Basin and in the broader Aral Sea Basin, centrally decided as a domestic issue, was based on the irrigation conditions of the main reservoirs and compensatory energy supplies were ensured to the upstream Soviet republics.

With the establishment of new sovereign States in the region (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) in 1991, the conditions for using water resources fundamentally changed: The countries’ resource base and economic development lead to different priorities which were – and are still - not compatible at all times, with upstream Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan developing and operating hydropower with generating peak in Winter while downstream Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan needing water for irrigation in Spring and Summer period. With market economy and no central enforcement mechanism, the former seasonal exchange of water and energy carriers between now newly independent countries ceased to work.

However, just a few months after gaining independence, five Central Asian countries signed an agreement in early 1992, stressing that earlier structures, principles and agreements on water allocation will remain valid. In an attempt to regulate crucial water-energy nexus, an agreement on use of water and energy resources of Syr Darya basin was signed in 1998 between Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan with Tajikistan joining a year later. The agreement concentrated on multi-annual regulation of the Naryn Syr Darya cascade and Toktogul reservoir in Kyrgyzstan. The compensation from downstream countries was foreseen in energy resources, such as coal, gas, electricity and fuel oil, and the rendering of other types of products (labor, services), or in monetary terms as agreed upon.

Water consumption quotas between the countries to implement the Agreement were to be agreed in the framework of the Interstate Commission on Water Coordination (ICWC; for its role in water allocation and its functioning, please refer to the case study on the Amu Darya). The Commission was established in 1993 with secretariat with mandate to elaborate and approve annual water consumption quotas for five Central Asian countries, as well as schedules for reservoir operation regimes, based on forecasts and actual flow. However, the agreed water consumption quotas between the countries to implement the agreement started to be soon neglected and agreement ceased to work after few years.

The assessment of the water-food-energy-ecosystems nexus in the Syr Darya River Basin\(^\text{158}\) (2017) provided for a dialogue about the intersectoral challenges on a broader basis. It illustrated the value of actions like diversifying energy sources – including for energy security - from the current heavy reliance on hydropower in the upper reaches as well as improving energy efficiency and developing regional electricity market and trade. The nexus assessment also recommended improvement of water efficiency to reduce dependency of water, which would be particularly effective in the lower reaches.

** THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW**
PART 2 - OPERATIONALISING

CHAPTER V: Objectives of Water Management & Related Principles of International Law to Guide Transboundary Water Allocation

SUMMARY:
This chapter begins by discussing cross-cutting objectives of integrated water resources management, and their related legal principles, to be considered when initially developing transboundary water allocation processes and outcomes. Core principles of international water law, both substantive and procedural, which should guide transboundary allocation of surface and groundwater resources are then examined, with particular attention given to provisions of the Water Convention and Watercourses Convention. Additional principles of international law which are applicable to water allocation are further described. Finally, emerging legal principles relevant to water allocation in a transboundary context are outlined.

1) Cross-cutting Objectives of Water Management (and Related Principles) Relevant to Allocation

A) Reconciliation of Different Water Uses and Needs

Transboundary waters have many uses for the riparian States, including freshwater supply, flood control, irrigation, navigation, recreation and tourism and hydropower production. States may differ greatly in their characteristics, interests and relations with one another. Hence, water cannot be allocated for a single purpose; whereby different water uses and needs of co-riparian States need to be reconciled. In relation to transboundary allocation, the principle of equitable and reasonable utilization provides guidance on how to balance different water uses and needs when considered in conjunction with related principles such as no harm and cooperation. From a more technical point of view, the broader approaches such as the nexus approach and basin-wide planning, discussed in Chapter IV, can also serve the objective of reconciliation of uses.

Priority of uses as an allocation approach
Reducing conflicts between and ensuring water for competing water uses are the collective central aims of the principles of equitable and reasonable utilization and no significant harm. Once the overall availability of the shared water resources and the different uses and needs of the co-riparian States have been identified, it is possible to define water use priorities and formulate transboundary water allocation rules (see also Chapter III sub-section 3d). The prioritization of uses of transboundary waters is guided by the principles of international water law and may be specified in an agreement among co-riparians or through a custom. The parties to the agreement may determine, for instance, that vital household needs are to be met first, followed by the needs of the environment, subsistence farmers, agriculture, hydropower and industry. The agreement may define which water uses are to be prioritized within the basin, which are allowed to continue as usual and which limitations need to be put in place. A transboundary water agreement may also prescribe precise...
Determining the prioritization of uses is thus an established allocation approach and can be adaptable to the available water flows and to changing water demands. In practice, transboundary agreements have examples on prioritization, but specific water uses have been prioritized only occasionally.

South Africa, Eswatini, and Mozambique have agreed to proportionally divide the waters of the Incomati and Maputo watercourses to fulfil - in order of priority - domestic, livestock, and industrial water needs. The complex allocation mechanism specified in this agreement takes into account the physical characteristics of the two basins to proportionally divide and give priority based on current and historical uses.

**Relationship between different water uses in the UN global water conventions**

The UN global water conventions provide guidelines on how to determine the relationship between different water uses in water allocation. The Watercourses Convention indicates that, in the absence of an agreement or a custom to the contrary, no use enjoys inherent priority. However, “special regard” must be given to “vital human needs” (Art. 10). The concept of vital human needs has been defined in the preparatory works of the Convention to refer to “sufficient water to sustain human life, including both drinking water and water required for the production of food in order to prevent starvation”. Also, factors to be considered when determining what constitutes equitable and reasonable utilization include the population dependent on the watercourse in each State. The Water Convention follows a similar approach whereby the Guide to Implementing the Water Convention specifically makes references to and follows the approach of the Watercourses Convention on this issue. Under the Water Convention, the Protocol on Water and Health also aims to provide access to drinking water for everyone within a framework of integrated water-management systems (Art. 6). The UN global water conventions additionally highlight the importance of ecosystems, discussed in further detail in the sub-section below. The Water Convention requires the parties to take all appropriate measures to ensure conservation and, where necessary, restoration of ecosystems (Art. 3), while the Watercourses Convention States that the ecosystems of international watercourses must be protected and preserved (Art. 20).

**Existing and potential uses**

Water allocation methods and discussions on the priority of uses under transboundary water agreements are often based on historical and existing water uses. There is continuous debate on the relationship between existing and potential uses in transboundary water allocation, and on the principle of the equality of rights among riparian States. Changing the status quo of water allocation is often very difficult even though transboundary water resources and water use needs may have changed. Moreover, the potential uses and their
impacts can be difficult to predict. Existing and potential water uses may be consumptive and non-consumptive (see Chapter III. Sub-section 3.b). The former means that water is removed from a water body or its quality is changed, while in the latter water is not withdrawn from or it is returned to the same water body and may be reused or recycled. Especially, that kind of existing and potential uses are relevant for transboundary water allocation that affect quantity, quality or timing of water at the border between two or more States.

While the UN global water conventions ascribe no specific priority to existing versus potential future uses of transboundary surface and groundwaters, the Watercourses Convention refers to “existing and potential uses of the watercourse” as one of the factors relevant to equitable and reasonable utilization (Art. 6.1.e). According to the Watercourses Convention, States need to use and develop international waters “with a view to attaining optimal and sustainable utilization thereof and benefits therefrom, taking into account the interests of the watercourse States concerned, consistent with adequate protection of the watercourse”.

**B) Water Quality and Good Status**

Water quantity and quality and water use timing are the main elements of water allocation arrangements that operationalize the principles and objectives of international water law. Water quantity is most commonly specified as an average volume of water (per year, month or other period). It may also be defined as a minimum volume, as a percentage of available supplies (a share of flow or of the volume in storage), or by a particular access rule (e.g. right to abstract a certain volume under particular circumstances). The quantity of available water in a transboundary basin is affected by consumptive uses such as irrigation that reduces the absolute quantity of water as well as by non-consumptive uses such as hydropower that can change the timing of water flow if it is not run of the river.

The allocation elements of transboundary water agreements often focus on the availability of water in terms of quantity. However, water allocation mechanisms also affect the quality of international waters. The clearest link between water quality and allocation in a transboundary context actualizes when poor quality reduces the quantity of water resources available for allocation. When the water allocation arrangement provides for a certain volume and distribution of flow it also impacts indirectly on water quality, in particular where those flows are important for diluting concentrations of substances. Quality problems are often caused by pollution, but may also be the result of water allocation affecting, for example, water flow and sedimentation. Sometimes transboundary water agreements require a minimum quality of water linked to specific uses such as the production of drinking water. Timing of water allocation is linked to seasonal variabilities of water and floods and droughts as well as to non-consumptive uses such as hydropower production. Changing the timing of water allocation according to flow variabilities and needs of co-basin States may solve some allocation challenges in a setting where the water flows are irregular.

The Water Convention requires each Party to define water-quality objectives and adopt water-quality criteria (Art 3.3). Joint bodies’ task is to elaborate joint water-quality objectives and criteria and to propose measures for maintaining and improving the existing water quality of transboundary waters (Art. 9.2). Annex III to the

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168 See McIntyre 2017 p. 239.
172 Speed et al. 2013.
Convention set guidelines for developing water-quality objectives and criteria. Each Party and joint bodies need to establish programmes for monitoring and joint monitoring the conditions and water quality of transboundary waters (Arts. 4, 9.2, 11). According to the Watercourses Convention, States may set joint water quality objectives and criteria to prevent, reduce and control pollution (Art. 21.1).

In addition, the Water Convention includes provisions on the exchange of information related to water quality. First, the Parties have a general obligation to provide for the widest exchange of information (Art. 6). Second, the riparian countries must exchange reasonably available data on environmental conditions of transboundary waters (Art. 13.1). The Watercourses Convention similarly requires that riparian States regularly exchange readily available data and information on the conditions of shared waters (Art. 9). From a pan-European regional perspective, the UNECE Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (Aarhus Convention) requires that the public has access to environmental information (Art. 4) some of which may be relevant to water allocation.

In relation to water quality, the Water Convention stipulates the setting of emission limits for discharges from point and diffuse sources at the national level. Point source emission limits must be based on respective Best Available Techniques (BAT), authorizations for wastewater discharges and the application of at least biological or equivalent processes to treat municipal wastewater. Best Environmental Practices (BEP) are called for to reduce the input of nutrients and hazardous substances from agriculture and other diffuse sources (Art. 3.1). Moreover, the Protocol on Water and Health to the Water Convention aims at water quality which does not endanger human health (Art. 4). For this purpose, the Parties need to establish targets, for example, for the quality of discharges from wastewater treatment installations and waters used as sources for drinking water or for bathing, aquaculture or the production of harvesting of shellfish (Art. 6.2.h, j). The Watercourses Convention stipulates that States need to prevent, reduce and control pollution that may cause significant harm to other watercourse States or their environment, uses of the waters or living resources of the watercourse. Accordingly, the pollution may mean any detrimental alteration in the composition or quality of the waters of an international watercourse which results directly or indirectly from human conduct (Art. 21).


175 See UNECE Implementation Guide 2013, pp. 82-84.


180 See Kinna 2015, pp. 221-222.


182 See McIntyre 2019, 129.
Concerning transboundary groundwaters, Annex III of the Water Convention stipulates that the water-quality objectives and criteria must take into account specific requirements regarding sensitive and specially protected waters and their dependence on groundwater resources. According to the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers, States need to take all appropriate measures linked to water quality to protect and preserve ecosystems within, or dependent upon, transboundary aquifers or aquifer systems (Art. 10).183

What constitutes a good status of waters may vary from a region to another. The EU Water Framework Directive (2000/60/EC) requires the member States to achieve good qualitative and quantitative status of all water bodies including international waters (see also Chapter III sub-section 4c and Chapter V sub-section 2c). It provides an example of strict water quality requirements. The overall environmental objectives of the Directive are to achieve a good (or higher) status of water bodies and prevent its deterioration (Art. 4). The status of water bodies is classified through specific parameters including ecological, hydro-morphological and physico-chemical quality elements (Annex V). Water allocation infrastructure can impact on the hydromorphological assessment of a water body. The requirements of the Directive for the achievement of the environmental objectives of transboundary river basins must be coordinated between the Member States and they must also endeavor to coordinate them with the relevant non-Member States (Art. 3). In general, the Directive focuses more on water quality than water quantity management and transboundary water allocation.184

C) Protection of Ecosystems

In general, international water law is based on the idea that ecosystems are an integral part of sustainable transboundary water resources.185 The UN global water conventions recognize the need to protect, conserve and, where appropriate, restore ecosystems. The Water Convention requires Parties to take all appropriate measures to ensure conservation and, when necessary, restoration of ecosystems (Art. 2.2). When the ecosystem so requires, the Parties need to apply strict requirements to prevent transboundary impacts, even leading to prohibition in individual cases (Art. 3.1). Also, the application of the ecosystems approach needs to be promoted as a part of sustainable water resources management (Art. 3.1). The Watercourses Convention requires States, individually and jointly, protect and preserve the ecosystems of international watercourses (Art. 20). The protection of ecosystems is also addressed in the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers. Accordingly, States must take all appropriate measures to protect and preserve ecosystems within, or dependent upon, their transboundary aquifers or aquifer systems. These measures need to ensure, for example, that the quality and quantity of water retained in an aquifer and water released through its discharge zones are sufficient for the protection and preservation (Art. 10).186

Concerning transboundary water allocation, water quantity is an important element in securing the integrity of ecosystems. Measures on water quantity also impact on the quality of transboundary waters.187 The concept of environmental flow is not used in the UN global water conventions, but it is helpful in understanding the ecosystem requirements in transboundary water allocation. As outlined in Chapter II, environmental flows can be defined as the quantity, timing, and quality of freshwater flows and levels necessary to sustain aquatic ecosystems.188 Maintaining minimum environmental flows can be seen as an

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183 See UN 2008, pp. 33-34.
186 UN 2008, pp. 33-34.
emerging legal requirement that enhances the implementation of an ecosystem approach in transboundary basins.189

**D) Indigenous Water Allocation and Cultural Flows**

Increasing attention is being given to the importance of water allocation for use by Indigenous peoples, including for cultural flows.190 Many water management regimes, including in a transboundary context, have and continue to ignore Indigenous values, connections, knowledge and rights.191 Indigenous peoples have often faced inequitable allocation rules. To enhance the situation, States should consider the participatory rights of Indigenous peoples and their ownership and custodianship of water resources when allocating water resources at the transboundary level and within a country. States may find the concept of cultural flows useful in that regard.192 The cultural flows refer to specific cultural water allocations for Indigenous peoples. These water allocations meet their development aspirations as well as spiritual, cultural, social, economic and environmental management responsibilities.193 The key is that the Indigenous peoples can decide where and when water is delivered on the basis of their traditional knowledge and aspirations.194

The UNDRIP discussed earlier recognizes Indigenous peoples’ ownership over their cultural expression, including water. Accordingly, Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used waters and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard (Art. 25). The centerpiece of the UNDRIP is the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right Indigenous peoples can freely pursue economic, social and cultural development. The right to self-determination is regarded as a *jus cogens* peremptory norm of general international law, meaning that it is accepted as a fundamental legal principle to the international community that cannot be set aside (as by treaty).195

The UN global water conventions do not explicitly mention Indigenous peoples water uses and interests. Nevertheless, in the Watercourses Convention, the population dependent on an international watercourse is one of the factors relevant to equitable and reasonable utilization. Considering the human right to water, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights highlights that States should give special attention to e.g. Indigenous peoples who have traditionally faced difficulties in exercising this right.196 The developments in the field of the human right to water and sanitation and Indigenous rights may also increase the weight to

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189 McIntyre 2019, pp. 142-144.
194 Native Title Report 2008, 184.
196 CESCR General Comment No. 15 (2002), 7.
be given to vital human needs (Art. 10 of the Watercourses Convention) when assessing the equitable and reasonable utilization of transboundary waters.

**CASE STUDY PLACEHOLDER: Indigenous water allocation & cultural flows in the Murray-Darling River Basin**

**E) Water Stewardship**

Water stewardship has emerged in the past decade as a dominant concept in water management, capturing private sector engagement on water in public interest. \(^{197}\) It is defined by the Alliance for Water Stewardship as a “use of water that is socially and culturally equitable, environmentally sustainable and economically beneficial, achieved through a stakeholder-inclusive process that involves site-and catchment-based actions.” \(^{198}\) Its logic and business case is built on: the major water use and the impacts of water use in the operations and value chains of companies; the resulting water risks and the disruptions to business the companies face with the growing water challenges; and the responsibility and opportunities that working for water security brings for companies and their stakeholders alike. \(^{199}\) Water stewardship starts at the site, from the time water is accessed, extracted, used and processed, and extends to the time it is discharged back to the environment. Good water stewards understand and commit to improve not only their own water use but address also shared basin-level concerns in terms of water governance, water balance, water quality, important water related areas and ecosystems and water, sanitation and hygiene. They may also voluntarily choose to re-allocate their own water use quotas for other uses. \(^{200}\) The approach emphasizes stakeholder collaboration as water risks to business cannot be addressed with merely internal measures. The public sector is an important collaborator since sustainable water use and governance is ultimately under its mandate.

**Water stewardship in transboundary water cooperation and allocation**

When allocating water for private sector projects and operations, including those with transboundary reach and impacts, the water stewardship framework and criteria can be used to support implementation of national and international water related targets, such as the EU Water Framework Directive and the SDGs. Water stewardship aims and efforts are aligned with those of SDG 6.5 according to which IWRM should be implemented at all levels, including through transboundary cooperation. The water stewardship and IWRM frameworks are mutually complementary: stewardship provides a clear incentive and structure for corporate engagement in water management and governance beyond the company fence lines, while IWRM has the potential to scale up and integrate corporate efforts to public policy processes. \(^{201}\) Examples may include large scale infrastructure, plantations and industrial sites, but also cover partnerships of various sizes and types addressing shared water challenges (see also SDG 17 on the global partnerships for sustainable development).

Water stewardship principles, policies and practices are therefore important to consider in conjunction with questions regarding sustainable and equitable water allocation, including in a transboundary context. \(^{202}\) While to date there has been very limited research on water stewardship’s direct application to water allocation, especially in a transboundary context, recent studies have noted this as an area for further

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199 UN Global Compact CEO Water Mandate ceowatermandate.org; Morgan. A. 2018. Water Stewardship Revisited. Shifting the narrative from risk to value creation. WWF-Germany.


201 https://www.gwp.org/contentassets/72da952c7b0144b392e50e5fda4f0b/pse_gwp.pdf

assessment and application. A key message to subsequently emerge is that “water allocation - a crucial issue in water resources management – tends to be side-lined in the discussion on water stewardship.” Consequently, discussions within the water stewardship approach as a whole “would benefit from re-focusing on water withdrawals and water allocation across the geographies where companies operate, and on their interactions with other water users in those catchment and basins.” One example of how stewardship could be better applied taking into account these considerations is “In planning for allocation of water resources to agriculture, what is grown where (the choice of crops, taking into account water availability) is as important as how it is grown (water-use efficiency).”

F) Valuing Water

The value(s) assigned to water resources within the context of a transboundary allocation framework will shape its processes and outcomes. Often in the context of allocation, this is specifically related to economic valuations of water resources. Moreover, value in economic terms can be tied to water pricing regimes, water markets and water trading schemes which are all intended, primarily, to allocate water in order to maximize efficiency. However, water markets as allocating institutions and water trading practices have traditionally only been applied and studied within national or sub-national jurisdictions rather than in transboundary contexts. Notable examples of water markets in federal countries are the Murray-Darling Basin in Australia, the Colorado-Big Thompson Project and the transfers between the Palo Verde and Metropolitan Water Districts in the USA and in Spain. Such approaches may be applicable in other

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204 Peter Newborne and James Dalton, September 2019, Review of the International Water Stewardship Programme - for lesson-learning: Opportunities and challenges of promoting water stewardship, for practitioners, policy-makers and donors. REPORT to DFID, p.17

205 Peter Newborne and James Dalton, September 2019, Review of the International Water Stewardship Programme - for lesson-learning: Opportunities and challenges of promoting water stewardship, for practitioners, policy-makers and donors. REPORT to DFID, p.65

206 Peter Newborne and James Dalton, November 2019, Corporate water management and stewardship: Signs of evolution towards sustainability. ODI Briefing Note, p. 1


national water allocation contexts, but they remain largely untested at the transboundary scale between co-


- Recognize and Embrace Water’s Multiple Values
- Principle 1. Identify and take into account the multiple and diverse values of water to different groups and interests in all decisions affecting water.
- Reconcile Values and Build Trust
- Principle 2. Conduct all processes to reconcile values in ways that are equitable, transparent, and inclusive.
- Protect the Sources
- Principle 3. Value, manage, and protect all sources of water, including watersheds, rivers, aquifers, associated ecosystems, and used water flows for current and future generations.
- Educate to Empower
- Principle 4. Promote education and public awareness about the intrinsic value of water and its essential role in all aspects of life.
- Invest and Innovate
- Principle 5. Ensure adequate investment in institutions, infrastructure, information, and innovation to realize the many different benefits derived from water and reduce risks.
When accounting for transboundary water resources, each riparian country’s portion of surface and groundwater resources should be identified and recognized in any allocation framework. The volumetric share of freshwater inflows from, and outflows to, neighboring countries should also be identified to assist with ascribing values within any allocation framework. If there are any agreements or other arrangements on water allocation quotas, these can be recorded alongside the actual flows.215

The UNECE supports the implementation of the System of Environmental-Economic Accounting (SEEA) as the global standard. SEEA can be an important tool to inform environmental-economic policies and measure sustainable development, also SDG 6 on water and sanitation.216 SEEA-Water includes managing water supply and demand as one of its quadrants of water policy objectives. The aim is to improve water allocation to satisfy societal needs as well as the needs of future generations and the environment. To achieve this aim it is important to monitor the amounts of water allocated for different uses, such as agriculture, energy production, water supply and industries, and measure the trade-offs in the allocation in economic terms.217

A legal approach to valuing water can be found in the EU Water Framework Directive. The Directive introduces the principle of recovery of the costs of water services in accordance in particular with the polluter pays principle. The costs to be covered include environmental and resource costs. According to the Directive, water-pricing policies need to provide adequate incentives for users to use water resources efficiently and different water uses, disaggregated into at least industry, households and agriculture, have to adequately contribute to the recovery of the costs based on the economic analysis (Art. 9).

2) Core Principles of International Water Law to Guide Transboundary Water Allocation

Certain principles of international law should guide the decision-making and implementation processes and outcomes for water allocation in a transboundary context. Principles of international law have a distinct legal character that is normative in nature, meaning that each one sets a generally-accepted basic rule or standard which States must adhere to, but without necessarily defining the specific elements comprised within that rule or standard.218 Principles are thus frequently general in nature to allow for their elaboration and contextualized expression within treaties and other agreements between States.219 Courts and tribunals, through their judgements, often also give further detail to the content and application of such principles.220

217 UN World Water Assessment Programme (WWAP) and UN Statistics Division (UNSD) (2011) Briefing Note: Monitoring Framework for Water.
For example, aspects of the substantive and procedural content of the equitable and reasonable utilization and no significant harm principles, including their inter-relationship and their close relationship to procedural duties of prior notification, consultation and negotiation, and exchange of information, were outlined by the International Court of Justice in the *Gabčikovo–Nagymaros and Pulp Mills* judgements, respectively.\(^{221}\)

There are recognized core principles of international water law that pertain to allocation, namely equitable and reasonable utilization, no significant harm and the principle of cooperation, as codified in the Water Convention and Watercourses Convention, respectively. There are principles in other areas of international law which can also relate to allocation, such as principles of international environmental law and international human rights law detailed below. Sections 2 and 3 of this Chapter outline the basic principles which are applicable to water allocation in a transboundary context and should thus guide related decision-making and implementation processes and outcomes.

**A) No Significant Harm (Preventing, Controlling and Reducing Transboundary Impacts)**

The requirement to prevent, control and reduce transboundary impacts is an expression of the no-harm principle. The no-harm principle is a customary international principle and one of the normative cornerstones of the Water Convention along with the principles of cooperation and equitable and reasonable utilization.\(^ {222}\)

The Water Convention requires the Parties to take all appropriate measures to prevent, control and reduce any transboundary impact (Art. 2.1). Transboundary impact is a significant adverse effect on the environment within an area of another Party resulting from a change in the conditions of transboundary waters (Art. 1.2). Transboundary waters include both surface and groundwaters, which mark, cross or are located on boundaries between two or more States (Art. 1.1).\(^ {223}\) Changes in the conditions of transboundary waters may occur as changes in water storage, quality or timing and amount of flows, which in-turn, affects transboundary water allocation. The Water Convention further specifies the no-harm rule and measures needed for its implementation. First, when taking appropriate measures the Parties have to be guided by the principles of precaution (action not to be postponed on the ground that scientific research has not fully proved causal links), polluter-pays (costs of measures to be borne by the polluter) and sustainability (ability of future generations to meet their needs) (Art. 2.5).\(^ {224}\) Second, the Parties need to take specific legal, administrative, economic, financial and technical measures such as the application of low-waste technology, best available technology and best environmental practice and the prior licensing of waste-water discharges (Art. 3.1).\(^ {225}\)

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\(^{225}\) See UNECE Implementation Guide 2013, p. 41-44.
The no-harm principle is also included in the Watercourses Convention and the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers. The Watercourses Convention stipulates that Watercourse States shall, in utilizing an international watercourse in their territories, take all appropriate measures to prevent the causing of significant harm to other watercourse States (Art. 7). In the same way, the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers State that Aquifer States shall, in utilizing transboundary aquifers or aquifer systems in their territories, take all appropriate measures to prevent the causing of significant harm to other aquifer States or other States in whose territory a discharge zone is located (Art. 6).

The no-harm principle provides a due diligence obligation, i.e. an obligation of conduct, rather than an obligation of result. It means, on the one hand, that the origin State of a transboundary impact must take all appropriate measures to control and reduce such impact. On the other hand, the origin State does not directly become internationally responsible for breach of an international obligation if transboundary impact occurs, provided that it can show that it has taken all appropriate measures. Under the Water Convention, all appropriate measures to control and reduce transboundary impact include the exchange of information and consultations between the origin and affected States (Arts. 6, 9-10, 13). In the Watercourses Convention, States are required to do their best to stop or mitigate the harm through consultations with the affected State over the extent to which the harming use is equitable and reasonable. In addition, where appropriate, the States need to discuss the question of compensation (Arts 6(2) and 7 of the Watercourses Convention). States also need to tolerate some transboundary impacts, where all appropriate measures have been taken to prevent, control and reduce them and impacts can be established to be equitable and reasonable.

CASE STUDY: Vuoksi River water allocation & compensation for loss due to transboundary harm

In the two main agreements governing the Vuoksi River between Finland and Russia there are provisions for compensating for loss regarding possible damages caused by adjustments in flow rates and reduced hydropower generating capacity.

To maintain downstream flows at an optimum rate for the operation of the Russian ‘Svetogorsk’ hydropower station, the streamflow is regulated whereby there is a loss of generating capacity incurred by the upstream ‘Imatra’ hydropower station in Finland. Under the 1972 Vuoksi Hydropower Agreement, the Parties declare that ongoing flow maintenance for the Svetogorsk hydropower station causes the permanent annual loss of electric energy of 19,900 MWh per year at the Imatra hydroelectric station. Compensation of that amount of electric energy shall be made annually on a retroactive basis by the supply of electric power from Russia. The supply of compensatory electricity is verified, and possible differences in this regard settled by the relevant ministries.

The 1989 Vuoksi Discharge Rule governs water that is released from Lake Saimaa with the help of the upstream Finnish ‘Imatra’ hydropower station. Under this agreement, a water release program is approved by the Parties every year which aims to achieve the most advantageous result for both Parties. The report details any estimated adjustments made to the natural flow and any possible damage and benefit resulting from them. After deviations from the natural flow rate, a final balance sheet must be drawn up of the damage or benefit. On the basis of the balance sheet, measures to compensate possible damages are considered. The Joint Finnish-Russian Commission on the Utilization of Frontier Watercourses monitors the implementation of the 1989 Vuoksi Discharge Rule. The Commission also settles any differences concerning the interpretation or application of the Vuoksi Discharge Rule. If no agreement can be reached, including on compensation, the differences are settled through diplomatic channels.

B) Equitable and Reasonable Utilization

**Principle of equitable and reasonable utilization**

The principle of equitable and reasonable utilization is a main pillar of international water law and transboundary water allocation. It is regarded as part of customary international law, i.e. obligating even those States that are not parties to any agreement where the principle is enshrined. The principle implies the equal rights and limited territorial sovereignty of States over transboundary water resources. In the case concerning the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Project (Hungary v. Slovakia) on the Danube River, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) made a reference to a State’s “basic right to an equitable and reasonable sharing of the resources of an international watercourse” (paras 78, 85) in 1997.

The Water Convention prescribes that Parties are to take all appropriate measures “to ensure that transboundary waters are used in a reasonable and equitable way, taking into particular account their transboundary character, in the case of activities which cause or are likely to cause transboundary impact” (Art. 2.2). The Watercourses Convention lays the foundation for the reasonable and equitable utilization of shared watercourses. The Convention dictates that “Watercourse States shall in their respective territories utilize an international watercourse in an equitable and reasonable manner. In particular, an international watercourse shall be used and developed by watercourse States with a view to attaining optimal and sustainable utilization thereof and benefits therefrom, taking into account the interests of the watercourse States concerned, consistent with adequate protection of the watercourse.” (Art. 5)

Regarding transboundary groundwater, the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers stipulate that States shall utilize transboundary aquifers or aquifer systems according to the principle of equitable and reasonable utilization (Art. 4). The UNECE Model Provisions on Transboundary Groundwaters also underline that “the Parties shall use transboundary groundwaters in an equitable and reasonable manner, taking into account all relevant factors, including under agreements applicable between them.”

**Relevant factors and circumstances**

To determine what equitable and reasonable utilization means in a particular case, all relevant factors and circumstances must be taken into account. Article 6 of the Watercourses Convention provides a non-exhaustive list of these factors (noting that no factor enjoys any inherent priority over another):

a. geographic, hydrographic, hydrological, climatic, ecological and other factors of a natural character;

b. the social and economic needs of the watercourse States concerned;

c. the population dependent on the watercourse in each State;

d. the effects of the use or uses of the watercourses in one watercourse State on other watercourse States;

e. existing and potential uses of the watercourse;

f. conservation, protection, development and economy of use of the water resources of the watercourse and the costs of measures taken to that effect; and

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231 ICJ Reports 1997, pp. 54-56.
234 See UN 2008, p. 28-29.
The list can be divided into three broad categories: (1) factors of a natural character; (2) economic and social factors; and (3) environmental factors. While economic and social factors are a common determinant of water use, addressing the environmental factors is often a prerequisite for sustainable water allocation, as discussed in Chapter II.236 Similar to the Watercourses Convention, the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers define factors relevant to the principle of equitable and reasonable utilization (Art. 5).237

Reconciliation of State needs and interests

The principle of equitable and reasonable utilization entitles each riparian State to an equitable and reasonable use of the transboundary waters situated in its territory. Furthermore, the principle creates the correlative obligation not to deprive other States of their respective rights. It highlights benefit-sharing in the uses and allocation of shared water resources and the corresponding rights and obligations of the riparian States.238 In this regard, the principle represents a compromise between the principles of absolute territorial sovereignty and absolute territorial integrity over water resources. Absolute territorial sovereignty would mean that a State had an unlimited right to utilize water resources within its territory. Conversely, absolute territorial integrity would imply that a State had the right to the natural flow of the water from the upstream.239 The principle of equitable and reasonable utilization therefore describes the community of interests of riparian States.240 However, this principle does not provide riparian States with the right to equal allocation of water shares in a shared basin. Instead, all relevant factors and circumstances must be considered when allocating water resources. These above-listed factors cover legitimate needs and interests of all co-riparians and help in their balancing and weighting as would be needed in the context of water allocation.241

In determining what constitutes equitable and reasonable utilization, the Watercourses Convention stipulates that each factor is to be accorded a weight in comparison to the other factors (Art. 6.3). After this weighing, all factors are considered together to determine what is equitable and reasonable in the specific circumstances.242 Much in the same way, the UN Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers State that the weight to be given to each factor is to be determined by its importance with regard to a specific transboundary aquifer or aquifer system in comparison with that of other relevant factors (Art. 5.2).243 In sum, co-riparian countries determine the content of equitable and reasonable utilization in their bi- or multilateral cooperation negotiation frameworks. On this basis, they may then enter into agreements or other arrangements on water allocation that account for all relevant factors in the context of their cooperation.244 To implement these arrangements at the transboundary scale, national level measures are then typically needed to be within each co-riparian State.

C. Principles of Cooperation and Good Neighborliness

Cooperation and good neighborliness are collectively needed at every stage of the process of establishing and maintaining effective transboundary water allocation arrangements. Such cooperation may often prevail

237 See UN 2018, pp. 28-30.
despite otherwise challenging relations between countries. A State’s general duty to cooperate is one of the main tenets of international law. It is regarded as a part of customary international law, implying an obligation on States even in the absence of an explicit agreement. In international water law, the principle of cooperation is a response to the interdependence of States and to the coordination requirements in the management and development of transboundary water resources. In the Lake Lanioux arbitral award (Spain v. France) of 1957, concerning works for the utilization of transboundary waters, the Tribunal declared that international practice obliges “States to seek, by preliminary negotiations, terms for an agreement”.

Under the Water Convention, the riparian parties must cooperate on the basis of equality and reciprocity. The aim for the cooperation is the prevention, control and reduction of transboundary impacts and the protection of the environment of transboundary waters and the environment influenced by such waters (Art. 2.6). The equality and reciprocity of cooperation implies that States should cooperate in good faith and not to limit cooperation to purely formal procedures. The Watercourses Convention highlights the principles of cooperation whereby watercourse States shall cooperate on the basis of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, mutual benefit and good faith. The objective is to attain optimal utilization and adequate protection of an international watercourse (Art. 8). Much in the same way, the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers stipulate that Aquifer States shall cooperate on the basis of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, sustainable development, mutual benefit and good faith in order to attain equitable and reasonable utilization and appropriate protection of their transboundary aquifers or aquifer systems (Art. 7).

CASE STUDY: Temporary cooperation arrangements bridging broader allocation disputes – the example of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Project

In 1977, Hungary and the now former Czechoslovakia signed a Treaty for the construction and joint operation of dams and other related projects along the section of the Danube River that borders both nations. The project was especially aimed at preventing catastrophic floods, improving river navigability, producing clean electricity and other

uses of water. Both Czechoslovakia and Hungary began construction works in their territories. Due to the environmental concerns Hungary suspended the implementation of the project. Negotiation could not resolve the concerns and finally Hungary unilaterally terminated the Treaty. Hungary based its action on the fact that the damming of the river had been agreed to only on the ground of a joint operation and sharing of benefits associated with the project, and asserted that Slovakia had unilaterally assumed control of a shared resource. Slovakia in October 1992 chose to divert the Danube into Slovak territory and kept the development entirely within its borders. The construction of the Čuňovo dam was completed to mitigate economic damage, improve flood protection and water transport within this 43 km section of the Danube. Slovakia started to operate the Gabčíkovo dam for production of hydroelectricity. This action reduced the amount of water flowing into the present border river (20% of the original flow) which had a significant impact on the water supply and environment of the Hungarian area of Szigetköz on their side of the border.

The case was submitted to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 1993. Both States requested the ICJ make a determination on: “(a) whether the Republic of Hungary was entitled to suspend and subsequently abandon, in 1989, the works on the Nagymaros project and on that part of the Gabčíkovo project for which the Treaty attributed responsibility to the Republic of Hungary ; (b) whether the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic was entitled to proceed, in November 1991, to the “provisional solution” and to put into operation from October 1992 this system (the damming up of the Danube at river kilometre 1,851.7 on Czechoslovak territory and the resulting consequences for the water and navigation course) ; and (c) what were the legal effects of the notification, on 19 May 1992, of the termination of the Treaty by the Republic of Hungary. The Court was also requested to determine the legal consequences, including the rights and obligations for the Parties, arising from its Judgment on the above-mentioned questions”. The ICJ’s decision in 1997 stipulated that Hungary and Slovakia must negotiate in good faith in light of the prevailing situation. The Court also Stated that both States must take all necessary measures to ensure the achievement of the objectives of the said Treaty, in accordance with such modalities as they might agree upon. Negotiations are still in progress.

While negotiations have been ongoing, a water allocation scheme had been developed after the diversion of the Danube River took place as the adjoining river branches were drained due to the dramatic changes of the water levels in the River. A technical group was established to develop a proposal. Experts represented relevant ministries, water management directorates from both States. After a long negotiation Hungary accepted Slovakia’s proposal, but only on a temporarily basis to assure a continuous flow into the original river bed. Hungary is claiming the right for a greater share of water flow.

As a result, the “Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Hungary concerning Certain Temporary Technical Measures and Discharges into the Danube and Mosoni branch of the Danube” was signed in 1995. Due to the 1992 diversion of the Danube River, on average 400 m³/s was accepted on a temporary basis to provide water for the original Danube River and the adjoining inland delta branch system (Szigetköz). For the water supply of the Szigetköz area, pumps were used that proved to be ineffective. Later an underwater weir was constructed to divert the necessary minimum quantity of water to the side arms. It is important to highlight that it is not a traditional hydraulic weir structure, but rather, it is a stone construction which raises the water level to be able to flow in a gravitational way. Allocation is monitored jointly, and jointly evaluated on annual basis, with a quantity based on the average flow (floods are excluded from the calculation). Hence, despite the ongoing lack of clarity and contested nature of the Gabčíkovo and Nagymaros Project, both countries have been able to move past the overarching dispute and cooperate in good faith to reach a temporary technical cooperation arrangement concerning transboundary water allocation. The two States continue their mutual water management cooperation at bilateral (Transboundary Commission), and multilateral (European Union, International Commission for the Protection of the Danube River and EU Strategy for the Danube Region) levels as well.

To be effective, cooperation must be based on mutual trust. Trust building requires extensive dialogue between the riparian States and may take many years or even decades. However, many transboundary river and lake basins are not entirely covered by them and the majority of transboundary aquifers totally lack a

251 https://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/92
cooperative arrangement. The global status of transboundary water cooperation is assessed through the Sustainable Development Goal indicator 6.5.2 that measures the proportion of transboundary basin area within a country covered by an operational arrangement for water cooperation. The SDG 6.5 sets a target to implement integrated water resources management at all levels by 2030, including through transboundary cooperation.

**Principle of good neighborliness**

The principle of good neighborliness is another general principle of international law. It reflects the theory of limited territorial sovereignty by implying that a State’s sovereignty over a territory not only entails rights, but also duties. States must exercise their rights in a way that does not prejudice the rights of others. In addition, each State has to tolerate some level of inevitable interference in their territorial space by neighboring States. Limited territorial sovereignty is thus a central approach to any water allocation framework in a transboundary context. The principles of cooperation and good neighborliness are closely linked to the principle of equitable and reasonable utilization and the no harm rule discussed below in subsection 2b.

The UN global water conventions include two references to good neighbourliness. The Water Convention stipulates that consultations between the Riparian Parties must be based on reciprocity, good faith and good-neighborliness (Art. 10), while the preamble of the Watercourses Convention affirms the importance of international cooperation and good-neighbourliness. In the context of transboundary waters, the principle of good neighbourliness means, for example, that a State needs to enter into consultations with the other riparian Parties (Water Convention, Art. 10) and notify other States that might be adversely affected by planned measures or emergencies occurring in its territory - which could impact shared water resources (Watercourses Convention, Art. 12).

**CASE STUDY: Transboundary river basin legal regime for the Senegal River based on good neighbourliness**

The creation of Senegal River Development Authority (Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du fleuve Sénégal - OMVS) as the ultimate institutional instrument for the promotion of cooperation between its member States, the control and rational exploitation of the water resources of the Senegal river basin took place on March 11th, 1972. OMVS Member States are Mali, Senegal and Mauritania with Guinea as an Observer. Together with a number of additional legal instruments all listed below, these agreements have collectively created the OMVS and subsequently enabled OMVS to resolve all issues related to its functioning (institutional establishment, general operation and ongoing sustainability):

- The Convention of March 11th, 1972 on the legal Status of the River;
- The Convention of March 11th, 1972 relating to the establishment of the OMVS;
- The Convention of December 21, 1978 on the legal status of the Jointly Owned Structures;
- The Convention of May 12th, 1982 on the financing modalities of the Jointly Owned Structures;
- The Charter of the Senegal River Waters of May 28th, 2002;
- The International Code of Navigation and Transport under ratification.

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255 See Rieu-Clarke et al. (2012) p. 120.

256 Since 2006, the Guinea is now a full member of OMVS but not an Observer.
According to Mbengue, the following analysis can be gleaned from the OMVS experience on good neighborliness and its application to other basins: “One of the main aspects to ensure that cooperation over the Senegal River would be based on an ‘inclusive framework’ – that is, all riparian States must be involved in the development of the river. For that purpose, it was essential that Guinea – as the upstream State – would become an OMVS member State after 30 years of absence. The 2002 Water Charter explicitly insists on the necessity to consolidate the relations of good neighborliness between the ‘riparian States’ of the Senegal River and on the need to take into account the interests of the Guinean part of the basin in the elaboration of development policies and programs within the basin. The 2002 Charter in its Preamble also makes explicit reference to the general principles and customary principles of international water law, including good neighborliness, as codified in the 1997 UN Convention on the Law of the Non-navigational Uses of International Watercourses and their applicability within the Senegal River basin. Other African river basin organizations have followed in the steps of the OMVS by adopting their own water charters. This is the case for the Niger Basin Authority, which adopted the Niger Basin Water Charter in 2008 and the Lake Chad Basin Commission, which adopted a water charter in 2012.”

3) Additional Principles in International Law Relevant to Transboundary Water Allocation

A) Public Participation & Stakeholder Engagement in Allocation Decision-making

Benefits and principles of public and stakeholder participation

Public participation and stakeholder engagement in transboundary water allocation are important for many reasons. First, they contribute towards securing stakeholder ‘buy-in’ and ownership of the water allocation decisions and practices and fair sharing of water. Second, they promote the idea of good governance, including transparency, democracy and accountability. Third, public participation and stakeholder engagement enhance the implementation of water allocation arrangements. Fourth, public participation and stakeholder engagement are important opportunities to promote social and cultural learning in water resources management. In practical terms, public participation and stakeholder engagement facilitate transfer of information, expertise and new ideas “from the field” to policy-makers and implementing authorities. Sometimes specific stakeholders may even be responsible for the practical implementation or monitoring of water allocation policies and related activities such as water quality monitoring.

In the context of transboundary water management and specifically allocation, public participation and stakeholder engagement can be realized by a variety of ways and means. Relevant questions to address include:

- Who are the stakeholders?
- Which stakeholders to involve?
- How to enable/facilitate/encourage participation? How to initiate the process?

257 Otherwise, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal were all members of the Office of the Riverine States of the Senegal River (OERS), the ancestor of the OMVS, which was created in 1968 in Labé (Guinea).
259 See, generally e.g. Uta Wehn et al 2018 Stakeholder engagement in water governance as social learning: lessons from practice, 43:1 Water International 34-59; Nicole Kranz and Erik Mostert 2010 Governance in transboundary basins - the roles of stakeholders; concepts and approaches in international river basins, in Anton Earle and Joakim Ojendal (eds) Transboundary Water Management: Principles and Practice, Taylor & Francis Group, 91-105.
260 See, generally e.g. Wehn et al 2018; Kranz and Mostert 2010.
262 A stakeholder is usually defined as someone having an interest in a particular situation, even if this interest is not recognized or acknowledged by others. Wehn et al 2018 p. 36. In the context of transboundary water allocation, stakeholders include state-actors such as ministries, officials, agencies, local governments, and non-state actors such as local communities, farmer organizations, industry organizations, international agencies, citizens and NGOs.
● Should the engagement take place on an ad hoc basis or be integrated into the planning and management processes?
● At what level (local, regional, national, river basin) to realize the participation?
● What methods of participation to use?
● Should the engagement be one-way communication (mainly realized through access to information) or be built on real possibilities for influencing policy-making?

Regarding the nature and methods of engaging the public and stakeholders in decision-making for transboundary water allocation, some general guidelines can be discerned. Participation may take place through formal observer-systems led by basin organizations or other management authorities,263 or through public hearings, consultations and group discussions that may be open or limited to specific groups of stakeholders or the public. Participation may also be realized through stakeholders’ active involvement in program or project planning and through actively facilitating public’s access to information.264 It is important to note that stakeholder engagement entails not only public participation but multi-stakeholder interaction, dialogue and learning.265

Stakeholder engagement entails some challenges in the transboundary context. For instance, the number of stakeholders may be high. Furthermore, stakeholders may represent different cultural backgrounds, associations and political systems.266 Nevertheless, the involvement of a diverse range of stakeholders is important in the transboundary water management context. The participatory process requires careful planning and implementation with sufficient resources.267 The process including stakeholder analysis and engagement methods are discussed in detail in Chapter VIII.

263 These are basin-specific, initiated from an application typically by an NGO, and include a right to participate in the governance meetings, make initiatives, make statements etc.
264 See e.g. Schulze 2012 p. 63-64; Kranz & Mostert 2010 p. 96.
265 Wehn et al 2018 p. 35.
266 Kranz & Mostert 2010 p. 91.
267 See also ibid.
International principles in decision-making processes

International principles regarding decision-making processes in water allocation revolve around internationally recognized civil and political rights of groups and individuals. Procedural rights recognized in international human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights include the freedom of expression, freedom of association and the right of peaceful assembly. These rights enable citizens to participate in democratic processes within their respective countries.\(^{268}\)

Within international environmental law, the procedural rights have been formulated as the right of the public to access environmental information, to participate in decision-making processes that concern the environment and the right of access to justice in environmental matters. These rights were codified in the Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (Aarhus Convention). The Convention is built on these three pillars that seek to secure public engagement in environmental decision-making. In the context of transboundary water allocation, the provisions of the Aarhus Convention apply to those riparian States that are parties to the Convention. The

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CASE STUDY: Public participation in overseeing allocation arrangements for the Zarumilla River

Ecuador and Peru have been successful in reaching a long-lasting agreement for the allocation of the Zarumilla River waters in significant part due to the cooperation between local water users. This has been a vital factor that has enabled successful implementation of the treaty. In this regard, it is evident that the countries are supporting the agreement in their responsibility to clean and maintain the channel, but the local associations have been empowered to enforce the allocation without major problems to date. This is an important governance characteristic in the Zarumilla case, because local stakeholders have organized in a cooperative form, with regular meetings and well organized distribution of tasks, to the extent that the involvement of the governments is marginal with regards to the administration of the channel. At the same time, the local governments are important allies in the channel cleaning activities as they contribute with heavy machinery to conduct the cleaning activities, in coordination with the water agencies of Ecuador and Peru. This proves that decentralized water management schemes in transboundary basins is a positive and desirable approach to sustain agreements in the long term.

In 2009, the countries agreed to establish the Binational Commission for the Integrated Water Resource Management of the Zarumilla River Basin. To date, the water allocation scheme has worked without major problems; the distribution of water is coordinated at the basin level with the local user associations who have developed a cooperative relation to secure an equitable use of the channel under the agreements signed by both countries. At the same time, governments have complied with their agreed responsibilities to clean and maintain the infrastructure alternating between states each year. Given the success of the allocation arrangements, the Zarumilla Binational Commission has been the model used to create a new umbrella commission for the management of the nine shared basins between Ecuador and Peru in 2018. The new Binational Commission will absorb the Zarumilla Commission and the roles performed by them will be replaced by the basin level committee of the Zarumilla, under the framework of the new Commission.

A challenge ahead is to legalize water allocations, up to the moment the use of the waters in the channel have been allocated in an informal way, i.e. without legal licenses for use on both sides of the border. However the new water laws in Ecuador and Peru demand that every water user should have a user license as a means to control and improve water allocation in river basins.

** THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW **
Convention requires the Parties to promote its principles in international decision-making processes and within the framework of international organizations (Art. 3.7).\textsuperscript{269}

\textit{International water law approach to participation}

The possibilities for and modalities of public and stakeholder engagement in transboundary water allocation depend partly on the applicable allocation strategy and method. For instance, a fixed allocation rule may include fewer public participation opportunities than allocation based on a priority of different uses (on transboundary water allocation strategies and methods, see Chapter I sub-section 2). Many transboundary water agreements address public participation. While the level of detail of the provisions varies, access to information produced by the basin governance bodies appears the most commonly secured participatory right under the agreements.

The Water Convention addresses “public information” in Article 16. Accordingly, the Riparian Parties are to ensure that “information on the conditions of transboundary waters, measures taken or planned to be taken to prevent, control and reduce transboundary impact, and the effectiveness of those measures, is made available to the public.” The Watercourses Convention includes the equitable participation principle (Art. 5.2) but it concerns the watercourse States and is not a public participation provision as such. No definition of the ‘public’ is given in the UN global water conventions. It has been established, though, that the relevant provisions of the Water Convention are to be applied in light of concepts and principles of the Aarhus Convention.\textsuperscript{270} The Aarhus Convention has adopted a broad definition of “the public concerned”, the term denoting “the public affected or likely to be affected by, or having an interest in, the environmental decision-making”. In addition, the role of non-governmental organizations is given special recognition in the Convention (Art. 2.5).

\textit{Specific stakeholder groups to incorporate in transboundary water allocation}

Transboundary water allocation decision-making should identify and explicitly recognize marginalized stakeholder groups that are easily disregarded in the relevant policy-making and implementation. While no group should be unfoundedly favored over others, special measures are often needed to empower marginalized groups. These groups typically include Indigenous people, women and youth and they often rely on transboundary water resources directly or through an intergenerational perspective.

\textbf{Indigenous people:} According to the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (No. 169) of the International Labour Organization (ILO), people in independent countries are regarded as Indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present State boundaries. Indigenous people retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions (Art. 1). The ILO Convention stipulates that governments must consult Indigenous people whenever consideration is being given to legislative or administrative measures which may affect them directly (Art. 6). In addition, the governments need to establish means by which Indigenous peoples can participate at all levels of decision-making in administrative and other bodies responsible for policies and programmes which concern them and means for the full development of Indigenous peoples' own institutions and initiatives (Art. 6).

\textsuperscript{269} On the application of the Aarhus Convention in transboundary water management and the UNECE Water Convention, see UNECE (2011) p. 109-113.

\textsuperscript{270} “with respect to public participation in transboundary water management, as well as water management at national level, respective provisions of the UNECE environmental Conventions are mutually complementary and should be considered and applied as a single regulatory regime for participatory decision-making.” UNECE 2011, Strengthening water management and transboundary water cooperation in Central Asia: the role of UNECE Environmental Conventions, p. 109.
The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) States that Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights (Art. 18). UNDRIP requires States to consult and cooperate in good faith with the Indigenous peoples concerned in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of e.g. water resources (Art. 32). Indigenous peoples’ participation may take place through representatives or representative institutions chosen by themselves (Arts 18, 19). In practice, however, Indigenous people are some of the most disenfranchised and under-represented people at the water negotiation table. Indigenous people should be included in transboundary water allocation processes since allocation may affect their use of water resources, including traditional cultural practices. Additionally, Indigenous people’s traditional lands often overlap State boundaries. Recognizing Indigenous water and land claims and rights is one of the key issues for ensuring sustainability and equity of transboundary water allocation arrangements (see below sub-section 5c).

Women: It has been argued that most of the international transboundary water management processes are based on a masculinized discourse. Targets and formal policies are needed for gender equality and equity in transboundary water management and allocation to ensure genuine participation of women. While there are no specific international legal rules on promoting women’s participation in transboundary water management, the issue has received increasing attention in recent years whereby gender-balanced participation is vital for effective, fair and sustainable transboundary allocation processes and outcomes.

Youth: When discussing sustainable natural resources management, youth always have a special interest. They represent the future generations to which these resources should be safeguarded. However, youth, especially young women and those in marginalized groups, often face challenges to fully participate in natural resource use decisions, including for water. Youth participation in transboundary water management and allocation can be enhanced through information, consultation and active engagement of youth in water processes. It also requires education on water challenges, communication to provide access to relevant information and platforms to engage with water professionals and support for new and innovative ideas.

B) Human Rights and Humanitarian Law Principles Relevant to Water Allocation Frameworks

As noted earlier in this Handbook (Chapter IV, sub-section 3c), the UN has declared safe and clean drinking water and sanitation as a human right. It is the right of all people to access sufficient, safe, acceptable,
physically accessible and affordable water for personal and domestic use. In addition to the human right to water, other human rights law principles are relevant in transboundary water allocation. Human rights arguments are increasingly used in the context of international water law and transboundary water cooperation. Public participation rights are an important element through which a human rights approach can be realized in a transboundary setting, including in the context of allocation frameworks. When affected people are able to influence the transboundary water allocation arrangements, not only are their participatory rights being fulfilled, but also the more substantive water-related human rights such as the right to an adequate standard of living and the right to health (ICESCR, Arts 11-12) are likely to get fuller attention and implementation.

**Domestic uses in human rights law and SDGs**

The UN General Assembly declared safe and clean drinking water and sanitation a human right through Resolution A/RES/64/292 in 2010. The right to water “entitles everyone, without discrimination, to have access to sufficient, safe, acceptable, physically accessible and affordable water for personal and domestic use”. The definition underlines the adequate quantity and quality of water, reliable access to it (including timing) and affordability. The human right to water has received increasing attention and recognition since the 1990s and it is linked to many other human rights (such as the right to an adequate standard of living, health, life, housing etc.). The SDG 6 on ‘Clean water and sanitation for all’ involves a commitment to “ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all”. The sub-goals include several references to domestic water uses including drinking water, sanitation and hygiene and wastewater (Goals 6.1-6.3). These goals reaffirm the increasingly recognized human right to water at the international level and the priority of vital human water needs in the realization of the SDGs.

Human rights apply primarily in the relationship between an individual and the State. Therefore, human rights are mainly a matter of domestic implementation. However, the transboundary context is particularly relevant for the human right to water because of the hydrological interdependence between States and transboundary impacts on shared freshwater resources. In this regard, the human right to water receives protection through the application of the equitable and reasonable utilization principle and no-harm rule at transboundary scale. According to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, States have to respect the enjoyment of the right to water also in other countries and not interfere with that directly or indirectly. Any activities undertaken within one State’s jurisdiction should not deprive another State of the ability to realize the right to water in its jurisdiction. In this regard, the Committee refers to the social and human needs as a factor of the equitable and reasonable utilization, the no-harm rule and special regard being

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281 See, for example, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Peasants which contains references to water [https://www.geneva-academy.ch/joomlatools-files/docman-files/UN%20Declaration%20on%20the%20rights%20of%20peasants.pdf](https://www.geneva-academy.ch/joomlatools-files/docman-files/UN%20Declaration%20on%20the%20rights%20of%20peasants.pdf)
285 For more, see e.g. Winkler 2019.
286 Ibid.
given to vital human needs in the Watercourses Convention. The SDGs are strongly interlinked and their implementation requires an integrated approach with close involvement of multiple sectors. The transboundary element of water management and cooperation has been recognized as having an important effect on the realization of SDGs.

**Humanitarian Law Principles**

General humanitarian law principles are foundational principles applicable in armed conflict, specific elements of which are relevant to water allocation. Two of the most central are the principle of humanity and the principle of military necessity. In addition, international humanitarian law recognizes e.g. the principle of distinction between civilians and combatants, and between civil objects and military objectives; and the principle of proportionality. These principles are applicable to shared freshwater resources during situations of armed conflict. For example, attacks against water infrastructure in armed conflicts may lead to severe consequences on transboundary water resources with serious impacts on human lives. The Geneva Principles on the Protection of Water Infrastructure were launched in December 2019 as a legally non-binding guideline for States and non-State actors for enhancing the protection of water infrastructure during and after armed conflicts.

**C) Sustainable Development**

Sustainable Development is a normative concept, or sometimes alternatively referred to as a principle, of international law which can be defined as “development in accordance with customary international environmental law.” The sustainable use of transboundary waters is closely linked to this norm in international law. It requires, firstly, that economic, social and environmental values are balanced in water uses. Second, sustainable use needs to be based on long-term carrying capacity of transboundary waters. On a procedural level, as noted by the arbitral tribunal in the Indus Waters Kishenganga Arbitration (Pakistan v. India), sustainable development as a principle of international law translates into “the duties to conduct an EIA and, more generally, to prevent environmental harm” by taking all appropriate measures. In transboundary water allocation, the sustainable management or use of water resources is regulated in more detail by individual transboundary water agreements and their specific allocation rules and arrangements. For example, an agreement may contain an abstraction limit (a ‘cap’) to ensure that water will not be

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287 CESCR (2003) p. 11. See also Report to the 74th session of the UN General Assembly by the UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights to water and sanitation Mr. Léo Heller, A/74/197, The Impact of Mega-Projects on the Human Rights to Water and Sanitation.

288 See e.g. UN and UNESCO 2018 Progress on Transboundary Water Cooperation. Global baseline for SDG indicator 6.5.2 p. 14.


293 https://pca-cpa.org/en/cases/20/

abstracted in excess volumes. In addition, transboundary water agreements often include rules on water quality and sometimes on ecological flows (See Chapter II, sub-section 3).

The UN global water conventions address the sustainable use or management of water resources in a general manner. The Water Convention mentions it in the context of Parties’ obligation to prevent, control and reduce transboundary impacts. Accordingly, Parties need to take measures to ensure that “sustainable water-resources management, including the application of the ecosystems approach” is promoted (Art. 3.1.i). The Convention also stipulates that “water resources shall be managed so that the needs of the present generation are met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Art. 2.5.c). According to the Watercourses Convention, “an international watercourse shall be used and developed by watercourse States with a view to attaining optimal and sustainable utilization thereof…” (Art. 5.1).

Concerning transboundary groundwaters, the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers stipulate that States shall not utilize a recharging transboundary aquifer or aquifer system at a level that would prevent continuance of its effective functioning (Art. 4). Much in the same manner, the UNECE Model Provisions on Transboundary Groundwaters stipulate that the Parties shall use transboundary groundwater in a sustainable manner, with a view to maximize the long-term benefits accruing therefrom and preserving groundwater-dependent ecosystems. To that end, the Parties must take into due account the functions of groundwater resources, the amount and the quality of groundwater in reserve and the rate of its replenishment, making their best efforts to prevent the diminution of the groundwater reserve from reaching a critical level (Provision 2).

4) Emerging Legal Principles Relevant to Transboundary Water Allocation

A) Community of Interests Approach

A community of interest approach (COIA) to international water law is seen as a potential legal framework for the common management of international watercourses. It can be very useful when established and applied in a transboundary water allocation setting. In essence, the approach denotes that the riparian States shift their attention away from individual entitlements towards common interest and benefits of cooperation in water allocation. In practice, the COIA functions as follows: “Whenever watercourse States decide to establish a community of interest in the management of a shared watercourse, they agree on certain principles and norms that create the basis for the cooperation. These norms and principles become the framework within which explicit State consent to every decision is not required. The involved States have already agreed explicitly to the process of management.” Joint infrastructure regimes, such as shared hydropower projects along a border, are commonly seen as an expression of the COIA in practice.

When used for transboundary allocation, COIA requires that co-riparian States share a common understanding of the applicable rules and principles for the governance and allocation of the shared water resource. The Parties recognize their joint interests and benefits that can be gained from the cooperation, and,

296 See UN (2008), p. 28.
ideally, the maintenance of the cooperation is fairly effortless. The COIA presents challenges to traditional State sovereignty by committing the Parties to cooperation with focus on common interests rather than sovereign entitlements (see Figure 10 below). Within a COIA regime, the Parties not only share interests/benefits but also the associated risks, expenses and environmental responsibility.

**FIGURE 10: Theories of allocation and a Community of Interests Approach in International Water Law**

![Diagram of theories of allocation](image)


**B) Rights of the River and Ecosystems**

There has been a gradual progression of certain rivers around the world being granted distinct legal rights, which in-turn can have an impact on allocation frameworks. A rights of rivers approach is a part of a wider idea of rights of nature according to which nature has fundamental rights. Its roots arise from Indigenous traditions that regard humans as part of nature, not distinct from it. The rights of nature are sometimes also connected to human rights such as the right to a healthy environment or Indigenous rights but the basic idea

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299 Gjørtz Howden 2015 56.
301 Gjørtz Howden 2015 56.
is to make a shift from an anthropogenic to eco-centric approach. The rights of nature discussion can be seen as a response to modern environmental law that has not been able to adequately halt the ecological challenges. The rights of nature approach can be distilled in three central elements:

1. Nature possesses fundamental rights. It is not only human property. These rights may contain, for example, the right to exist and thrive and the right to restoration.
2. The rights of nature can be defended in a court of law. Nature has a legal standing.
3. Humans have duties to act as guardians or stewards of the rights of nature. Nature often needs guardianship bodies to uphold its rights and interest.

Rivers have a central role in the right of nature discussion and have been the subject of many domestic cases in different continents. They have been linked to constitutions, treaties, legislation and case law. Nevertheless, the rights of rivers approach is novel and its practical impacts remain to be seen, including in the context of water allocation frameworks.

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304 Ibid.
CHAPTER VI: Cooperative Frameworks for Transboundary Water Allocation

SUMMARY:
This chapter discusses the cooperative frameworks that form the basis for transboundary water allocation. It highlights the role of the UN global water conventions (1992 Water Convention and 1997 Watercourses Convention), regional and multi or bilateral legal agreements and institutional arrangements that form the foundations to enable cooperative allocation. The aim and function of joint bodies in transboundary water allocation is analyzed. The role and relevance of informal arrangements is also addressed. Finally, national law coherence with transboundary arrangements is highlighted as being important for coordination and implementation.

1) Transboundary Water Agreements

A) Framework from the UN global water conventions

The UN global water conventions can be seen as manifestations of the duty to cooperate and of the principle of good neighbourliness. The Water Convention obliges the Parties to conclude bilateral or multilateral agreements and to establish joint bodies for the prevention, control and reduction of transboundary impacts (Art. 9). The Watercourses Convention stipulates that States may enter into, or consider harmonising existing watercourse agreements with the basic principles of the Convention and may consider the establishment or joint mechanisms or commissions (Arts. 3, 8).

B) Bi- and multilateral agreements

Numerous transboundary water agreements have been established to govern transboundary surface and groundwaters, and to foster cooperation among the riparian States. It is estimated that more than 450 transboundary water agreements have been signed worldwide since 1820. The scope of these agreements covers a wide spectrum of issues, including rules for energy production, irrigation, fishing, and water quantity and quality. Transboundary agreements generally stipulate the common principles and rules for the protection and use of the shared waters by the co-riparian States.306 They offer many benefits to inter-State relations and to the management of transboundary water resources. These agreements create stability and predictability to the relations of the riparian States; facilitate monitoring and information exchange; and generally promote cooperative arrangements for the management and allocation of water resources.307

The Revised Protocol on Shared Watercourses in the Southern African Development Community (SADC Revised Protocol) which entered into force in 2000 is an example of a regional multilateral agreement for

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transboundary water cooperation. While the SADC Revised Protocol does not explicitly mention allocation, it establishes institutional frameworks for its implementation which includes SADC secretariat water sector organs whose functions include developing subsidiary regional water instruments and policies among SADC State parties (Art. 5). The SADC secretariat subsidiary instruments for transboundary water cooperation include “the Regional Water Policy, adopted in 2005; the Regional Water Strategy adopted in 2006 and Regional Strategic Action Plan on Integrated Water Resources and Development Management which was first approved by SADC Summit in August 1998 to run in five-year phases”.

Notably, both the Regional Water Policy and the Regional Water Strategy feature numerous mentions of water allocation, particularly equitable and sustainable/reasonable allocation, for implementing the region’s water resources development and management.

2) Water allocation in transboundary water agreements

Many transboundary water agreements include specific arrangements for allocating water among the parties. These may appear, inter alia, as treaty provisions on elements such as priorities of uses and guidance regarding equitable and reasonable utilization within the basin in question, or as more specific decisions or guidance on the concrete realization of water allocation such as designated volumetric quotas. It is important to note that there are also numerous agreements which do not address the issue of allocation at all. Often this is simply because allocation is not the main water use challenge in the basin. Transboundary water agreements can promote effective cooperation and facilitate joint water management among riparian States even without addressing allocation of the shared waters.

Transboundary water agreements are generally based on basin level cooperation. This means that the territorial scope of the cooperation covers the whole basin. Activities by one riparian affect the opportunities for the use and the protection of the basin and its resources by others. Similarly, treating the basin as one unit, including surface water and groundwater, may prevent harm to some riparians and distribute benefits more equally among all of them. Under bilateral and regional water treaties, different types of legal and policy arrangements on water allocation can be agreed. These may include specific protocols and other legal arrangements between the Parties, and policy instruments such as flood management and water allocation plans. These instruments may also be developed in the absence of formal State-to-State agreements. Basin-level cooperation may be realized by a variety of actors through a variety of instruments and timelines.

CASE STUDY PLACE-HOLDER: Transboundary Water Allocation Incorporated in a Broader Bilateral Cooperation Treaty between Israel and Jordan

A) Global trends in water allocation agreements

This section presents an overview of research into the global trends in the types of allocation mechanisms found in international freshwater agreements. The International Freshwater Treaties Database contains 599

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309 See, for example, SADC Regional Water Strategy, 2006, 4.1(b) Strategy: Promote equitable and sustainable allocation of water resources between competing and conflicting demands; SADC Regional Water Policy 2005, 9.f.(iv) River Basin Approach: Water resources allocation and utilisation will be based on equitable and reasonable mechanisms through negotiations between watercourse States


311 Nurit Kliot et al. 2001, Institutions for management of transboundary water resources: their nature, characteristics and shortcomings, 3 Water Policy 229-255 at 252.
agreements on international transboundary waters. Using a methodology described in general terms below in relation to the research outcomes from McCracken et al. (forthcoming) [a summary of which will be contained in the Annex to be attached to this Handbook], the database has coded these agreements in relation to specific criteria regarding allocation. As of 2017, 30% of these international freshwater agreements – or 180 - contain a mention of at least one allocation mechanism for either surface- and/or groundwater. Nine agreements have at least one mechanism for both surface and groundwater.

The research results presented in this chapter are part of an analysis done via the International Freshwater Treaties Database regarding global trends in transboundary water allocation mechanisms over time and status at present. Information about the methodology for analyzing each agreement, the coding for all three-steps and a summary of the allocation mechanisms is available in the Annex [to be attached to this Handbook]. Please note the specific categories of allocation under the method in the text are signified via inverted commas e.g. ‘agriculture/irrigation’. For more details about the individual agreements coded for surface- and groundwater allocation, as well as hydropower benefit division, see the detailed tables included below. Additional information can also be found on the Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database’s website: https://transboundarywaters.science.oregonstate.edu/.

The 180 agreements which mention one or more allocation mechanisms were further analyzed using a method cataloguing and analyzing allocation mechanisms in international water agreements that identifies two components of an allocation mechanism. The explanatory clause identifies how water is physically divided, while the context clause identifies why water is allocated or its purpose [A summary of the explanatory and context components will be available in the Annex to be added to this Handbook]. As demonstrated in Figure 4 (Chapter I), there has been an increase in the number of agreements that include a mechanism for allocation over the past century and a half, with peaks in the 1950s and the 1990s. Since in the 1970s, there has been a small but steady increase in the number of agreements with provisions for allocating groundwater, either in conjunction with surface water or solely focusing on groundwater.

Table 6 breaks down the number of agreements that contain a particular explanatory clause for both surface and groundwater allocation mechanisms. An allocation mechanism can fulfil multiple categories; for example, a treaty might specify a set volume of water that changes depending on the month. This explanatory clause would be categorized as both ‘fixed quantity’ and ‘variable according to time of the year’. As shown in Table 6, nearly all the allocation mechanisms address surface water, with the most common explanatory clause being ‘fixed quantity’. In more recently signed agreements, there is an increase in the diversity of explanatory clauses with mechanisms including provisions based on: ‘variable by water availability’, ‘percentage of flow’, ‘consultation and/or prior approval’, ‘fixed quantities’, and ‘RBO, commission, and/or committee’. This recent trend in the diversification of the type of explanatory clauses could aid in increasing the adaptive capacity and flexibility of allocation mechanisms, making water allocation more resilient in the face of uncertainties in water availability brought on by climate change.

**TABLE 6: Frequency of explanatory clauses in surface- and groundwater allocation mechanisms in international water agreements**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Frequency of Explanatory Clauses in Surface-Water Allocation</th>
<th>Frequency of Explanatory Clauses in Groundwater Allocation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variable by water availability</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of flow</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultation and/or prior approval</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed quantities</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBO, commission, and/or committee</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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312 https://transboundarywaters.science.oregonstate.edu/content/international-freshwater-treaties-database
313 Dinar et al. 2015; 2019; Wolf, Yoffe, and Giordano 2003; Wolf, Stahl, and Macomber 2003; Odom and Wolf 2011
314 Note: Percentages are based on the number of agreements that contain the explanatory clause of the mechanism listed in the first column. For surface water allocation mechanisms, this percentage would be calculated based on a
Table 7 shows the trends in the number of agreements that contain a particular context clause for allocation mechanisms. Slightly more than half of the agreements with an allocation mechanism have an ‘undefined’ purpose. The most commonly defined purpose for allocation is ‘agriculture/irrigation’, ‘hydropower’, and ‘domestic use’. Allocations for environmental purposes, such as to maintain in-stream flow or maintain water quality, are found in less than 20 percent of agreements with surface- and groundwater allocation mechanisms. However, it is important to note that these have become more common in recent years, with 75 percent of the agreements with these types of context clauses signed since 1980.

**TABLE 7: Breakdown of Allocation Context Clauses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context Clause</th>
<th>% of Agreements with an Allocation Mechanism (n=180)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Explanatory Clause</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of treaties with at least one allocation mechanism</td>
<td>175 (29.2% of 599) 14 (2.3% of 599) 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed quantity</td>
<td>47 (26.9%) 2 (14.3%) 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed quantity to a subset of riparians</td>
<td>17 (9.7%) 0 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of flow</td>
<td>17 (9.7%) 0 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal division</td>
<td>24 (13.7%) 0 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable by water availability</td>
<td>30 (17.1%) 1 (7.1%) 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable according to time of the year</td>
<td>15 (8.6%) 0 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water loans</td>
<td>13 (7.4%) 0 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allocation of entire or partial rivers/aquifers</td>
<td>15 (8.6%) 1 (7.1%) 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prioritization of uses</td>
<td>10 (5.7%) 1 (7.1%) 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allocation of time</td>
<td>1 (0.6%) 0 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits sharing</td>
<td>2 (1.1%) 0 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical or existing uses</td>
<td>13 (7.4%) 0 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equitable use</td>
<td>13 (7.4%) 0 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable use</td>
<td>6 (3.4%) 4 (28.6%) 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultation and/or prior approval</td>
<td>15 (8.5%) 3 (21.4%) 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBO, commission, and/or committee</td>
<td>23 (13.1%) 1 (7.1%) 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap, limit, or no allocation allowed</td>
<td>28 (16.0%) 7 (50.0%) 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market-based</td>
<td>0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>30 (17.1%) 4 (28.6%) 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pumping rates</td>
<td>N/A 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water table impact</td>
<td>N/A 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring outflow</td>
<td>N/A 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquifer</td>
<td>N/A 1 (7.1%) 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: Percentages are calculated based on the number of agreements containing an allocation mechanism (n=180). The percentages do not add up to 100% as the agreements are double-counted if they contain more than one context clause.
Minimum flow: not specified/undefined purpose | 5.56%
---|---
Minimum flow: navigation | 1.11%
Minimum flow: environmental needs | 5.00%
Minimum flow: hydropower | 2.78%
Minimum flow: tourism/recreation | 0.56%
Environmental/In-stream/recreation | 6.67%
Aesthetic/tourism/recreation | 1.11%
Intrinsic/cultural/spiritual | 5.06%
Hydropower | 20.00%
Agriculture/irrigation | 22.22%
Navigation | 3.33%
Support of fish habitat and stocks/fishing rights | 1.67%
Domestic Uses | 18.89%
Border/territory maintenance | 0.00%
Water quality, such as a specific volume for dilution purposes | 5.00%
Undefined purpose | 56.67%
Other | 6.67%

Source: McCracken et al., (forthcoming)

**B) Hydropower**

The third step in the method of classification is Hydropower Benefit Division. As noted above, one of the predominant purposes for allocation is hydropower (20 percent of agreements with an allocation mechanism). Yet, rather than allocating the water itself, States often allocate the benefits from hydropower. See Chapters III, sub-section 3b and IV, sub-section 2c for a discussion of hydropower as an example of a shared benefit and how the method used categorizes these benefits. Table 8 presents a breakdown of how frequently the different hydropower benefits division mechanisms are included in transboundary water agreements.

**TABLE 8: Frequency of different mechanisms for Hydropower Benefits Division**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hydropower Benefits Division</th>
<th># of Agreements with a Mechanism for Hydropower Benefits Division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixed quantities of power</td>
<td>9 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable quantities of power</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of assessed value of electricity generated</td>
<td>3 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of power generated</td>
<td>10 (37.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed value of electricity</td>
<td>2 (7.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultations</td>
<td>1 (3.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2 (7.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: McCracken et al., (forthcoming)

Hydropower benefits are most frequently allocated by a percentage of the power generated. For example, a 1987 agreement between Syria and Jordan on the construction of the Wahdah dam and power-generating station allocates 75% of the generated power to Syria and 25% to Jordan. Similar to water, hydropower can also be allocated as a ‘fixed quantity’ or through ‘consultations’. While ‘market-based mechanisms’ are not used to allocate water resources between countries, hydropower benefits allocations via ‘market-based mechanisms’ occur in five agreements overall. These ‘market-based mechanisms’ included allocations through the ‘fixed value of the electricity produced’ (two agreements) and as ‘a percentage of the assessed value of electricity generated’ (three agreements). For example, Argentina and Uruguay agreed to allocate the electricity generated in the Salto Grande area of the Uruguay River through a cost-price mechanism. This
difference between the use of ‘market-based mechanisms’ for water compared to electricity may be due to the fact that it is easier to assign a price to electricity produced via hydropower than to water.316

CASE STUDY: Developing an adaptable allocation treaty regime via a multi-phased project for Lesotho & South Africa

The Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) is a regional water resources management scheme and partnership between the governments of Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa. The LHWP is “a multi-phased project to provide water to the Gauteng region of South Africa and to generate hydro-electricity for Lesotho. It was established by the 1986 Treaty signed by the governments of the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa. The project entails harnessing the waters of the Senqu/Orange River in the Lesotho highlands through the construction of a series of dams for the mutual benefit of the two countries. Phase I of the project was completed in 2003 and inaugurated in 2004, and Phase II is currently underway”317.

Based on the relative water abundance in Lesotho and enormous projected water demands in South Africa, initial feasibility studies were conducted in the 1950s and 1960s into diverting large quantities of water. Negotiation and further feasibility studies took place in the late 1970s and 1980s. Ultimately, both countries agreed in 1986 to proceed with the LHWP. Its Stated purpose is ‘to enhance the use of the water of the Senqu/Orange River by storing, regulating, diverting and controlling the flow of the Senqu/Orange River and its affluents in order to effect the delivery of specified quantities of water to the Designated Outlet Point in the Republic of South Africa and by utilizing such delivery system to generate hydro-electric power in the Kingdom of Lesotho.’318 Under the Project, the region of Gauteng in South Africa was guaranteed to receive quantities of vital water and Lesotho would have hydropower infrastructure built to generate crucial electricity supply while also receiving royalties from the water transfer. Additional skills transfer and capacity-building for to enable Lesotho to manage and maintain the infrastructure within the country and the development of future LHWP phases was also a key consideration.319

Legal basis for the LHWP and its sequential phases are established under the “Treaty on the Lesotho Highlands Water Project between the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Government of the Republic of South Africa” which was signed into law on October 24, 1986. It codifies the rights and obligations of each of the State Parties including: the water quantities to be delivered; cost-sharing provisions; scope and calculation of the payments for water delivered; and principles for financing, constructing, operating and maintaining the system.320 Notably, the Treaty committed the two countries to Phase I of the LHWP, noting that Phase I would be completed in two sub-phases (IA and IB), while providing for the potential construction of additional Phases: II-IV. The Treaty also establishes national and bi-national institutions to support the project’s development, including the Lesotho Highlands Water Commission (known as the Joint Permanent Technical Commission prior to 1999) which comprises representatives of both governments. The Commission is responsible for overall monitoring and advisory functions of the Project and serves as a conflict resolution mechanism between the two State Parties.321

Under the Treaty terms, different costs are borne by the two countries. South Africa funds all aspects of the water transfer component of the project, including infrastructure construction, operation and maintenance, as well as any social and environmental mitigation measures and all costs will be met regardless of the project’s performance.

316 Dinar, A. Rosengrand, and M. Meizen-Dick, 1997
317 See http://www.lhda.org.ls/ldaweb/
319 See https://www.waterpowermagazine.com/features/featurethe-second-phase-6846629/
Lesotho funds the hydropower component of the project, including infrastructure construction, operation and maintenance and all associated environment and social costs. Both countries are separately liable for any ancillary developments within their respective countries. The Parties also agreed to take all reasonable measures during implementation, operation and maintenance of the project to ensure protection of the existing quality of the environment and to give due regard to maintaining the welfare of persons and communities immediately affected by the Project.  

Two specific elements of the Project should be highlighted for transboundary water allocation: flexible minimum annual water quantity to be delivered to South Africa; and cost-benefit analysis for royalties paid to Lesotho for delivering water. The Treaty commits Lesotho to deliver an initial 38 m³/s of water, rather than the full 70 m³/s which was estimated to be achieved after development of all phases of the Project. However, after implementation of sub-phase IA, South Africa would be guaranteed an increasing minimum annual water quantity from 1995 to 2020 and after 2020 as listed in Annexure II, subject to adjustment based on certain conditions should there be a shortfall or surplus.  

Regarding royalty payments, under Article 12 of the Treaty, South Africa undertakes to share with Lesotho royalty payments based on the net benefit (56% for Lesotho and 44% for South Africa) of the Project. Notable here is that “the royalties were not for the water explicitly, as the water would flow into RSA [Republic of South Africa] regardless, but rather the cost savings for undertaking LHWP”. This is because two alternative projects were considered to deliver South Africa a fixed amount of water, one based within South Africa and the other the LHWP. The LHWP was analyzed as more cost effective and thus the royalties represent this net benefit differential.

The LHWP provides lessons in the importance of an integrated approach to negotiating not only water allocation, but water within a broader "basket" of resources. In this regard, “South Africa receives cost-effective water for its continued growth, while Lesotho receives revenue and hydropower for its own development. The 1986 Treaty spells out an elaborate arrangement of technical, economic, and political intricacy. The elaborate technical and financial arrangements that led to construction of the LHWP provide a good example of the possible gains of an integrative arrangement including a diverse "basket" of benefits. It is testimony to the resilience of these arrangements that no significant changes were made despite the dramatic political shifts in South Africa at the end of the 1980s until 1990”.

The LHWP Treaty exemplifies the importance of providing for possible renegotiation of allocation project terms over time. The Treaty only committed the Parties to Phase I of the Project. “The hydropower and development components were undertaken by Lesotho, which received international aid from a variety of donor agencies, particularly the World Bank. Phase IA of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project was completed in 1998, at a cost of USD2.4 billion. Phase IB of the project was completed in early 2004, as a cost of approximately USD1.5 billion”. The Phase II Agreement was subsequently signed in 2011 and ratified in mid-2013, whereby its implementation is currently in progress.

322 Art. 15, Treaty on the Lesotho Highlands Water Project between the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1986

323 Art 7(2) Treaty on the Lesotho Highlands Water Project between the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1986


325 Aaron T. Wolf & Joshua T. Newton, 2007, Case Study Transboundary Dispute Resolution: the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, p. 3-4, Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database

326 Aaron T. Wolf & Joshua T. Newton, 2007, Case Study Transboundary Dispute Resolution: the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, p. 4, Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database

327 Aaron T. Wolf & Joshua T. Newton, 2007, Case Study Transboundary Dispute Resolution: the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, p. 3-4
Envisaged as a multi-phased project, the phases described in the Treaty may be modified by agreement between the two countries. This novel approach to the development of the LHWP has allowed the project planners to adapt and renegotiate allocation plans over time. In the absence of such a provision, the additional phases of the project might have been implemented without adequate consideration of their feasibility. In particular, changes in the projection of water demand in South Africa and climate change impacts on water supply in Lesotho, along with concerns over negative social and environmental impacts of the project, have led to negotiations on the future phases.

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### C) Groundwater

The methodology used as part of this research also allows for a distinction between allocation mechanisms for groundwater and surface water. This distinction is important, as historically the focus of allocation mechanisms has been on sharing surface water. The same trends in surface water allocation mechanisms manifest in the smaller population of documents which allocate groundwater. Until recently, only one agreement available for the analysis included a groundwater allocation mechanism, the 1905 Constitution of the Joint Authority for the Study and Development of the Nubian Sandstone Aquifer Waters; although, this allocation mechanism was vague and unclear. No other available agreements addressed groundwater allocations until the 1970s when the agreement on the Genevese aquifer was concluded (see the case box below). Following this decade, new groundwater allocation mechanisms appear, albeit only in small counts, with a maximum of four agreements containing groundwater allocation in the 2010s decade. ‘Cap, limit, or no allocation allowed’ was the most commonly used explanatory clause for groundwater allocations overall, particularly in the 2000s and 2010s. ‘Minimum flow: environmental needs’, ‘environmental/in-stream flow’, ‘agriculture/irrigation’, and ‘domestic uses’ were the only context clauses in these groundwater allocating agreements, with water most commonly allocated for an ‘undefined’ or ‘domestic purpose’.

While groundwater resources are starting to receive more attention, the frequency of ‘undefined’ allocation mechanisms shows that this focus remains limited and may still be underdeveloped for groundwater. One example of this is the 1992 agreement between Egypt and Libya attempting to manage their shared Nubian Sandstone Aquifer. In this agreement, a Joint Authority is in charge of this resource and its allocation; however, both the specific explanatory and context clauses for structuring the allocation mechanism are ‘unclear’ and ‘undefined’, respectively.

### CASE STUDY: Genevese Aquifer Agreement of 1978: capping groundwater abstraction and managing aquifer recharge

A collaborative effort between Swiss and French authorities to establish and fund a joint water management system based on the Genevese aquifer was initially triggered when over-pumping lowered the groundwater level in the 1960s and 1970s. After the option of simply reducing withdrawal, a decision was taken to set up an artificial aquifer recharge plant, operated since 1980 by the canton of Geneva, replenishing the aquifer with water from the Arve River, the aquifer’s main natural recharge source. A committee is mandated to propose the yearly management programme of the Genevese aquifer, taking into account the needs of all the users, and to formulate proposals for protection of the resource. Pumping is limited to a certain volume to obtain a satisfactory average groundwater level. The French

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328 Aaron T. Wolf & Joshua T. Newton, 2007, Case Study Transboundary Dispute Resolution: the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, p. 4, Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database

329 Aaron T. Wolf & Joshua T. Newton, 2007, Case Study Transboundary Dispute Resolution: the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, p. 4, Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database
authorities and communities undertook to ensure that total abstraction by users on their territory would not exceed five million cubic meters per year. In 2008, the agreement was replaced by a new one (see Case Study below in subsection 4c).

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Several overarching conclusions can be drawn from the analysis done on the almost 600 treaties coded for allocation mechanisms within the International Freshwater Treaties Database. First, there is a generally positive trend, with some fluctuations, in the number of agreements that are including allocation mechanisms for surface and groundwater. This is beneficial as they are likely contributing to the institutional capacity governing these shared resources, as well as potentially adding to the adaptive capacity that will help in overcoming uncertainties due to climate change. Second, there has been a change in the type of mechanisms that States include in their agreements, moving towards indirect and principle-based explanatory clauses and away from direct mechanisms. Third, there is an increasing trend in the number of groundwater specific allocation mechanisms since the 1970s; however, more work is needed to develop groundwater specific mechanisms that consider the unique characteristics of international transboundary groundwater. Lastly, most allocation mechanisms do not define a purpose for their allocation (context clause). For those that do, ‘agriculture/irrigation’, ‘hydropower’, and ‘domestic use’ are the most common; however, ‘environmental needs’ and ‘water quality’ are becoming more common since the 1970s.

3) Joint Bodies and Cooperation Arrangements

A) Tasks of joint bodies

Joint bodies are an essential part of the governance structures of transboundary basins, interacting with the different actors, norms and measures that form the governing regime. The specific themes of the work of joint bodies are contained in the underlying transboundary water agreements or other arrangements that set out the operation of the bodies. The orientation, underlying principles and relevant issues addressed by joint bodies may be shaped by the characteristics of the Parties and of the shared basin, as well as by the more general operating environment of the institution. Joint bodies have an important role to play in transboundary water allocation processes and outcomes.

CASE STUDY: Dniester River basin - A joint body preventing and resolving disputes

During the Soviet time in the 1980s, a decision was made to construct the Dniester Hydropower Hub to inter alia enhance flood protection and increase water availability during low-water periods for Moldova and the Odessa oblast of Ukraine. In 2012, a Treaty between Moldova and Ukraine was signed on cooperation in the field of protection and sustainable development of the Dniester river basin. The Dniester Commission has been created that is currently finalizing the operation rules of the Dniester Hydropower Hub to establish schemes for water allocation under different water availability conditions. The Commission serves also as a platform to study disputes arising from the use and protection of water and other natural resources and ecosystems of the basin and seek a settlement.

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The Water Convention defines a ‘joint body’ as any bilateral or multilateral commission or other appropriate institutional arrangements for cooperation between the riparian parties. Article 9(2) of the Convention specifies a non-exhaustive list of the basic functions (10 categories) to be entrusted to the joint bodies to perform, several of which can be relevant to water allocation:

a) Collecting, compiling and evaluating data to identify pollution sources that generate a cross-border impact;
b) Developing joint monitoring programmes on the quality and quantity of the resource;
c) Developing inventories and exchange of information on pollution sources that generate a cross-border impact;
d) Establishing emission limits for waste water and evaluating the effectiveness of control programmes;
e) Jointly defining quality criteria and objectives and the proposed measures to maintain and, if necessary, improve water quality;
f) Developing joint action plans to reduce polluting loads from accidental pollution and diffuse pollution;
g) Establishing alert procedures;
h) Providing a forum for information exchange on existing and planned uses of the resource and related facilities, which generate a cross-border impact;
i) Promoting cooperation and information exchange on best available technologies and fostering cooperation in scientific research programmes;
j) Participating in the environmental impact assessment of transboundary waters, in accordance with the relevant international rules.

CASE STUDY: River basin authority charter & technical body to advise ongoing allocations for the Senegal River

In the Senegal River basin, many activities, uses and environments (agriculture, fishing, drinking water, production of hydroelectricity, river transport, environment, etc.) need the regular and permanent availability of water resources for their development and protection. The water resources allocation is used to meet the various demands of these often-antagonistic socio-economic and environmental sectors, in order to allow OMVS Member States to better manage the distribution of water between sectors of activity and uses, depending on the demands and availability of water resources.

In 2002, aware of the need to take into account the needs, the demanding activities, the uses but also the impacts and consequences resulting from the use of water resources on their available and usable volume, on their quantity and quality necessary for each type of use, the OMVS member States developed the Senegal River Basin Water Charter. It sets the conditions and specifies the terms of water use to which all the Member States must adhere.

“The Charter embodies all key emerging principles on equity, IWRM and on the need to protect the environment. For example, there are provisions on water allocations in the Charters that require the dams in the basins to be managed so as to guarantee what we could consider an ‘environmental flow’ whenever the annual hydro-climatic condition permit. For example, the Charter requires the Manantali Dam to generate releases to create an annual flood to respond to needs of recession agricultural and of the ecology of the floodplain”.

“Based on the 2002 Water Charter, ‘an innovative body within the OMVS organisational set up is the Permanent Commission for Water (Commission Permanente des Eaux —CPE) which was established. CPE is an advisory body composed of representatives of member States (generally government senior experts). CPE is in charge of defining the principles and modalities of water allocation between the various sectors”. The CPE constitutes a space for dialogue, consultation and exchange on the distribution of water between the different demanding sectors, according to the objectives to be achieved and the volume of water available. The members of the CPE meet five times a year to discuss the distribution of water. The OMVS High Commission provides its Secretariat.

331 Niasse, Madiodio ‘Integrated management of the Senegal River’ IUCN Water Programme SHARE Toolkit: Case Studies
332 Niasse, Madiodio ‘Integrated management of the Senegal River’ IUCN Water Programme SHARE Toolkit: Case Studies
B) Joint bodies and transboundary water allocation

Joint bodies have an important role in water allocation in a transboundary context as they provide a forum and institutional framework for negotiating and planning water allocations within a shared basin. Joint bodies are permanent institutions with equal representation of parties and they are established to promote cooperation and coordination among the riparian States. The joint bodies should be neutral actors, safeguarding the interests of the shared basin and the riparians as a whole, not of any individual basin State. In addition, joint bodies often form centers of information for monitoring and assessing transboundary water allocation. In practice, many joint bodies have water quantity issues included in their mandate. That mandate, however, may refer to a number of different things and specific cooperative actions vary in this regard. Joint bodies may, for example, be engaged in the management of flows, floods and droughts, navigation and hydropower as well as specific economic sectors, the overall sustainability of water uses and the implementation of international water law principles.

Examples of joint body tasks that may be relevant to transboundary water allocation

- In the past years, one of the key tasks of the Okavango Permanent Water commission (OKACOM) has been to manage flows by developing environmental flow requirements, especially with a view to protecting the Okavango Delta.
- The Tripartite Permanent Technical Committee on the Incomati has been tasked to alleviate problems stemming from drought and floods.
- The Mekong River Commission (MRC) and the Zambezi Water Commission (ZAMCOM) both have mechanisms in place to assess planned measures with regards to them potentially harming the no significant harm rule.
- Some joint bodies are mandated, among other things, to flow regulation in order to ensure minimum flows for navigation (e.g. the Commission Internationale du Bassins Congo-Oubangu-Sangha (CICOS); and the Finnish-Russian Commission on the Utilization of Frontier Waters).
- The International Commission on International Rivers between Portugal and Spain is charged with organizing the equitable partition of the hydropower generation potential among both countries.
- The Orange Senqu River Commission (ORASECOM) is tasked to deal with water quantity concerning the sustainable water use by all countries; recently this has included the management of the development of a transfer scheme extension from Lesotho and South Africa to Botswana.

Examples of specific transboundary water allocation mandates in joint bodies

- The International Water and Boundary Commission between the US and Mexico is in charge of distributing water between the two country and regulating the waters of the Rio Grande and other shared rivers, which is done through regular inter-governmental meetings and minutes of those that become binding to both parties.

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333 Out of the 121 joint bodies captured in the TFDD, 38 feature water quantity in their functional scope.

Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database (TFDD) “RBO Database”,
https://transboundarywaters.science.oregonstate.edu/content/international-river-basin-organization-rbo-database
Concerning transboundary water allocation, where joint bodies are operational, they can sometimes be mandated to advise/be the technical advisor/provide guidance to member States with regard to water allocation. Implementation of agreed measures rests with riparian States. Only a few joint bodies globally are specifically mandated to water allocation. Their concrete role in water allocation varies considerably from technical advice to concrete allocation proposals. Also, the success of joint bodies in water allocation varies.\textsuperscript{335} Many joint bodies that have been tasked with water allocation have found it challenging to deal with water allocation over time. Nonetheless, empirical evidence demonstrates that those basins that have joint bodies in place do better in addressing contested issues around water quantity because they have a platform for regular exchange.

\begin{itemize}
\item The Joint Water Committee between Israel and Jordan is tasked to work on water allocation and sharing between the parties
\item The Chu Talas Commission between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in Central Asia is mandated to work, among other issues on “water allocation among States”.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{CASE STUDY: Important role of a joint body ICWC in transboundary water allocation in the Amu Darya Basin}\textsuperscript{336}

The Amu Darya river basin extends into the area of five States: Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The majority of water is used for irrigated agriculture and hydropower production.

Water is allocated among Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan according to the 1992 Almaty Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Joint Management on Utilization and Protection of Water Resources from Interstate Sources, essentially validating continuation of the Soviet-era water allocation regime. Estimated water use by Afghanistan is deducted from water available for allocation. The agreement established the Interstate Commission for Water Coordination in Central Asia (ICWC).

Functioning under the broader regional structure, the International Fund for saving the Aral Sea (IFAS), the tasks of ICWC are to determine, approve, implement and monitor annual and seasonal water allocation along the Amu Darya. ICWC plays a prominent role in ensuring peace and stability in water allocation even during extremely high and extremely low water years. It also provides a forum for information exchange, building capacity, elaborating new agreements, conducting research and joint projects, and in facilitating mutual learning between the riparian countries. ICWC has indeed demonstrated good results in annual and seasonal water allocation planning to adjust to variability and extremes.

However, Afghanistan is not a party to ICWC and Kyrgyzstan suspended its participation in 2016, claiming lack of reform. For ICWC to deliver further, legal and institutional frameworks in the basin need to be improved also to better respond to changes in the countries’ water use priorities and hydrological conditions due to climate change. Additionally, comprehensive assessment of future demands and its impacts has to overtake the current water allocation that is driven primarily by current needs.

** THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW **


\textsuperscript{336} Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database (TFDD) “RBO Database”,

https://transboundarywaters.science.oregonstate.edu/content/international-river-basin-organization-rbo-database

\textsuperscript{336} For comprehensive overview on water allocation practices in Central Asia and neighbouring countries, see 2020 report by IWAC "Water allocation in a transboundary context to strengthen water cooperation of the Eurasian countries" (https://www.iwac.kz/index.php/en/publications)
4) Adaptive Capacity of Water Allocation Arrangements

A) Climate and Development Outlook

Transboundary water resources are under multiple growing pressures as detailed in Chapters I and II of this Handbook. Thus, many transboundary water allocation arrangements are subject to stress due to the changing circumstances. Water allocation schemes may no longer reasonably be based on a stationary setting with fixed rules and permanent quotas of water. The adaptive capacity of transboundary water agreements and other arrangements for water allocation has become increasingly important. The type and rate of change may be such that were not envisaged when past transboundary water treaties were created and related joint governing bodies established.

CASE STUDY: Adaptive Capacity of Water Allocation Arrangements: the Portuguese-Spanish Albufeira Convention

The 1998 Albufeira Convention on Portuguese-Spanish Transboundary River Basins conditions the uses of the water in both countries to a flow regime that is accepted by the two parties, having in mind downstream water needs in Portugal and environmental flows. Minimum annual, seasonal and weekly flows have been agreed at the entrance into Portugal (conditioning up to a certain amount of water use in Spain) and to the estuaries (conditioning water uses in Portugal).

In the Guadiana river basin, the flow regime at the border of the two countries is defined in accordance with the rainfall and water stored in the main reservoirs in the Spanish part of the basin. The more rainfall and water in the reservoirs the more substantial water flows. The two countries agreed in the Convention that the set of hydrometric and pluviometric stations and reservoirs provide data for the flow regime.

The minimum flows regime has been evolving in time. It started with minimum yearly flows (1998) and later on (2008) a minimum seasonal and weekly flows regime was agreed. In 2020, the two Parties were negotiating an update of the minimum flows to address flows that are needed in the Lower Guadiana and minimum daily flows. Modifications to the minimum flows are needed also to adapt to the impacts of climate change.

** THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW **

B) Adaptive management

Flexibility of water allocation arrangements

In terms of specific measures within agreements and arrangements, water allocation has historically been approached in terms of fixed volumes or quantities. Of the 180 treaties with allocation mechanism(s) in the International Freshwater Treaties Database, just over 35% of agreements with surface water allocation mechanisms and just under 15% of the agreements with groundwater allocation mechanism designate a ‘fixed quantity’ of water to at least one party to the agreement, under the categorization applied. However, there is an increase in the number of allocation mechanisms that can contribute to adaptive management, such as those that address variability. For example, just under 20% of the surface water-allocating agreements include a provision for allocating water based on the variability in flow, such as using a mechanism that establishes allocation based on the percentage of flow or temporal variability. One example is an agreement where South Africa and Swaziland allocated different amounts of water from the Komati river basin during periods of high flow and periods of low flow, with additional shares set aside to compensate for water lost through evaporation.

337 Dinar et al. 2012
338 See https://transboundarywaters.science.oregonstate.edu/content/international-freshwater-treaties-database
At a broader systems-scale, the application of adaptive management in transboundary water allocation requires institutional and normative flexibility. Water allocation arrangements should be able to respond and adapt to changes and manage uncertainty. Transboundary water agreements and their governing bodies should be responsive to new information and different kinds of uncertainties. At the same time, they must be capable of reflecting the vulnerabilities, capacities, needs and priorities of the State parties and of the river basin ecosystems. This flexibility of transboundary water allocation arrangements needs to be carefully balanced with the needs of stability and legal certainty. Transboundary water allocation arrangements can have either a proactive or reactive approach to changing circumstances, or a mix of them. A proactive approach is based on anticipating the changes on the basis of historical data and future projections of water flows, and studies on the expected changes in the relevant circumstances and uses of water. A reactive approach is focused on managing the changes as they come e.g. through emergency response measures. With either of the approaches to adaptivity, the aim is that water allocation satisfies the needs of the riparian States. Increasing the adaptive capacity of transboundary water allocation typically means the introduction of more complex arrangements between riparian States. The allocations can no longer be simple fixed amounts from year to year, based on a once agreed scheme and historical uses and patterns. The existing arrangements may be difficult to change, but the introduction of enhanced adaptive capacity into the allocation regime may be necessary. Strengthening of adaptive capacity usually requires significant institutional capacity and e.g. robust water monitoring systems to be implemented.

### An adaptive management process is included within the Great Lakes Orders of Approval for transboundary water allocation between the United States and Canada.

The International Joint Commission (ICJ) created the Great Lakes-St Lawrence River Adaptive Management Committee (GLAM) which is responsible to assist the two Control Boards in assessing how well the rule curves and operating criteria are working and if modifications are needed. To assist the GLAM Committee, the IJC recently created a public Advisory Group for the Lake Ontario Order of Approval to address more frequent extreme events of floods and droughts, increases in nutrient pollution and other unforeseen challenges. GLAM Committee and the Public Advisory Group is thus able to support the ICJ in developing and implementing adaptive management strategies on Great Lakes water levels and outflow for addressing a changing climate.

### Adaptive capacity in transboundary water allocation agreements and other arrangements

At present, many transboundary water agreements and allocation arrangements do not include strong mechanisms for addressing changing environmental, climatic, social or economic conditions. Notwithstanding, of the surface water treaties with an allocation mechanism in the International Freshwater Treaties Database that were analyzed, 85% allow for some flexibility to react to changes in the available supply, changing demand, or an institutional change. 100% of the treaties with allocation mechanisms for groundwater included a flexible mechanism (‘variable by water availability’, ‘sustainable use’, ‘consultation and/or prior approval’). However, not all allocation mechanisms are equivalent in increasing the adaptive capacity.

Using a methodology for categorizing allocation mechanisms as described in McCracken et al., (forthcoming) [and a summary of which will be included in the Annex to the Handbook] we can further identify different components of allocation mechanisms that are not as flexible compared to others (Please note that specific

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341 McCracken et al., (forthcoming)
The methodology identifies the following components of allocation mechanisms as having some flexibility: ‘variable by water availability’, ‘variable according to time of the year’, ‘equitable use, sustainable use’, ‘equal division’, ‘percentage of flow’, ‘consultation and/or prior approval’, and ‘water loans’. Some mechanisms allow for greater flexibility than others. The degree of flexibility and the increase in the adaptive capacity it provides depends on the context of the basin or aquifer, including the physical and political characteristics of the resource. An example of this differing degree of flexibility according to the categorization would be ‘fixed quantities’ vs. ‘percentage of flow’. Allocating water by a ‘percentage of flow’ allows water divisions to vary according to the seasonal or annual variability in the river's total flow rate while still maintaining a proportional division. Allocating water through ‘fixed quantities’, on the other hand, does not account for variability in flow, such as droughts, since it still mandates a set volume of water. The flexibility of a ‘fixed quantity’ allocation mechanism can be increased by including other components, such as ‘variable by water availability or time’. With climate change, as well as increases in water demand, it is crucial for States to consider the degree of flexibility of allocation mechanisms to increase both their institutional and adaptive capacities.

Under international law, the UN global water conventions do not directly address the adaptive capacity of transboundary water management. However, soft law tools under the Water Convention such as the ‘Guidance on Water and Adaptation to Climate Change’ 342, adopted by the Meeting of the Parties and published in 2009, can provide step-by-step advice on how to adapt to climate change, with a special focus on transboundary basins. A collection of lessons learned and good practices on climate change adaptation in transboundary basins was subsequently developed in 2013-2015 as a complement to the Guidance document which supports practical implementation. 343 Related issues are also covered under the principles of equitable and reasonable utilization and the no-harm rule as well as by provisions on monitoring and joint bodies. 344 Broader systems-scale approaches can provide effective methods to enhance the adaptive capacity of transboundary water allocation arrangements. Such measures can include: monitoring and communication; information-gathering and management; financial and technical support; planned measures for emergency situations and droughts and floods; and amendment and review of the provisions of agreements in accordance with the agreed procedures and relevant principles of international law. 345

CASE STUDY: Amu Darya Basin: Short- and long-term adaptability in water allocation

The Amu Darya river basin extends into the area of five States: Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan. The majority of water is used for irrigated agriculture and hydropower production.

Water is allocated among Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan according to the 1992 Almaty Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Joint Management on Utilization and Protection of Water Resources from Interstate Sources. The agreement established the Interstate Commission for Water Coordination in Central Asia.

344 According to the Water Convention, for example, the Riparian Parties shall, at regular intervals, carry out joint or coordinated assessments of the conditions of transboundary waters and the effectiveness of measures taken for the prevention, control and reduction of transboundary impact (Art. 11.3). The Watercourses Convention includes climatic and hydrologic conditions as factors to be considered in the assessment of equitable and reasonable utilization (Art. 6).
345 See e.g. UNECE: Guidance on Water and Adaptation to Climate Change (2009); Heather Cooley and Peter H. Gleick 2011, Climate-proofing transboundary water agreements, 56:4 Hydrological Sciences Journal; Juan Carlos Sanchez and Joshua Roberts (eds) 2014, Transboundary Water Governance. Adaptation to Climate Change, IUCN; UNECE and INBO 2015, Water and Climate Change Adaptation in Transboundary Basins: Lessons Learned and Good Practices.
In the Soviet time, a framework for water allocation was set in “The Revised Schemes for Integrated Use and Conservation of Water Resources in the Amudarya” (1987). The Schemes’ allocation planning focused on irrigated agriculture expansion, the development of infrastructure and possible inter-basin transfer.

In the period of independence, the Soviet principles of water allocation were retained but the basin planning process changed. ICWC has demonstrated good results in annual and seasonal water allocation planning to adjust to variability and extremes. But the achievements in medium and long-term basin planning are less encouraging. Over the last decades, water allocation has been driven primarily by current needs, rather than a comprehensive assessment of future demands and its impacts.

In the future, given the increasing water demand and diminishing water supply due to climate change, a more integrated basin allocation planning is required. A framework for water allocation planning should be able to optimize the benefits from the available water supplies, manage demand and meet environmental needs.

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**Drought and flood management as adaptive allocation**

The management of droughts and floods is an essential element of adaptive transboundary water allocation. Prolonged or extreme drought conditions or massive flooding always pose challenges to water allocation. The risks for and actualization of floods and droughts can be directly taken into account in transboundary water allocation arrangements. The arrangements should anticipate changes in hydrological cycles and respond to the increased water stress.

The UN global water conventions contain many provisions that are relevant for these purposes. The Watercourses Convention lays down an obligation to prevent and mitigate conditions resulting from, inter alia, drought or flood that may be harmful to other States, also in emergency situations (Arts 27-28). The Water Convention obliges Parties to prevent, control and reduce transboundary impacts (Art. 2) and develop contingency planning (Art. 3.1). The riparian countries have an obligation to inform each other without delay about any critical situation that may have transboundary impact and set up joint communication, warning and alarm systems (Art. 14), with the aim of obtaining and transmitting information. The Guidelines on Sustainable Flood Prevention, issued under the Water Convention in 2000, recommends that joint bodies develop long-term flood prevention and protection strategies and action plans. The Model Provisions on Transboundary Flood Management, adopted in 2006, provide assistance in the development of these strategies and other measures for transboundary river basins and thus provide guidance for allocation initiatives. In the European Union, the EU Floods Directive (2007) has significance in a transboundary context. According to the Directive, the Member States must coordinate their flood risk management practices in shared river basins, including with non-Member States, and not undertake measures that would increase the flood risk in neighboring countries. Competent authorities are required to engage in information exchange and coordination in transboundary river basin districts.

**CASE STUDY – Allocation of flood control and hydropower benefits through coordinated management of the Columbia River**

The Columbia River flowing between Canada and the United States of America (USA) is prone to flooding and inefficient hydropower generation. A major flood in 1948 gave urgency to the need for coordination of infrastructure development and management. The result is the Columbia River Treaty regime to which Canada and the USA are signatories. The treaty regime covers construction and operational management of three dams on the main stem in Canada and allocation of benefits from joint management. It also allowed the construction of Libby Dam in the
United States. The “Treaty regime” encapsulates the 1961 Treaty itself; the 1964 Treaty Protocol; and associated implementing arrangements for the Treaty that have been developed in the years since then.

Over the years, treaty implementation has been shaped by notes exchanged between the two governments, and through numerous operational and supplemental arrangements between the U.S. and Canadian implementing entities. This includes arrangements for shaping flow to meet ecosystem objectives in both countries. The treaty’s key contribution is how it defined and operationalized the allocation of shared benefits. The agreement focused on the shared benefits of four large mainstem dams to be managed cooperatively. “Benefits” were primarily conceived of as the economic value of decreased flooding and the increased hydropower generation resulting from management of four infrastructure projects. By estimating the tangible economic benefits of infrastructure for controlling floods and generating hydropower, the parties avoided the pitfalls of trying to allocate quantities of water across the border. It is noteworthy that the 1961 Treaty’s preamble recognized that other benefits would be made possible by securing cooperative measures for hydroelectric power generation and flood control.

What is allocated in the agreement is the economic value of increased flood control and the hydropower benefits generated by coordinated management. The US paid Canada USD 64.4 million for the first 60 years of storage of potential floodwaters within Canadian dams – half the value calculated at the time for the damage that would not happen over that period. The two countries also divide 50/50 the value of the additional hydropower generated through coordinated management of the three Canadian dams. Canada received USD 254 million for the first 30 years of hydropower benefits; its share of hydropower is currently delivered daily for use or resale. For the US Treaty dam, the countries agreed that the benefits which occurred in either country from the operation of the dam would accrue to that country.

The Treaty required each country to name Operating Entities for day-to-day operations and established a Permanent Engineering Board to report on Treaty Performance. The operating entities are BC Hydro (Canada) and the Administrator of the Bonneville Power Administration and Division Engineer of the NW Division of the US Army Corps of Engineers. The Treaty sets out goals for coordinated management, but no joint managing body. As such, it is a treaty of coordination rather than integration.

For that contribution, the Treaty deserves its reputation as one of the more creative of its kind. Nonetheless, the decision to focus on two criteria of benefits—flood control and hydropower—can constrain others of increasing importance, especially ecosystem health and water quality. Despite the treaty’s primary focus criteria, the operating entities have used its flexibilities to enter operating arrangements to provide ecosystem benefits on both sides of the border. Ongoing challenges are thus more in terms of determining binational focus areas and prioritization, rather than simply being restricted to considerations of hydropower and flood control. Consideration of major changes in values, representation, or governance became an object of increased focus around 2010, when each Operating Entity launched regional processes concerning these issues and the potential for treaty termination after 2024. Some operational arrangements for mutually beneficial operations to support fish in both countries have been implemented over the years, and non-treaty entities have filled some of the dialogue/governance gaps.

5) National Water Laws Coherence with Transboundary Arrangements

A) Implementation of transboundary water allocation arrangements at national level

Implementation of transboundary water allocation arrangements and agreements at national and sub-national levels are crucial to their overall effectiveness. Domestic regulation of riparian States must usually be put in place or harmonized to implement the allocation of transboundary water resources agreed in transboundary water treaties. National laws may either support or constrain the implementation of these treaties. The interaction between domestic and international levels of regulation may become evident when national basin plans or thematic (e.g. on navigation, flood management or infrastructure development and management) plans concerning a transboundary basin are prepared. Alignment and coordination at these two levels should be taken into consideration as early as possible in the transboundary allocation planning process and relevant
national water resources legislation should be harmonized where appropriate and to the extent possible. In addition, national bodies that manage a part of a transboundary basin may exist alongside a joint transnational treaty body. The need for coherence between transboundary and national water regulation becomes specifically apparent when different water allocation plans are being prepared and implemented. In addition to the transboundary context (cooperation between countries), these plans may focus on allocating water resources between basins or federated States in a country or at a regional level.

It should be in all Parties’ interest to ensure that no conflicts emerge between the entitlements granted at different governance levels and that the integrity of the allocation system as a whole can be maintained. In concrete terms, this can be achieved through joint efforts to ensure consistency and equity between transboundary and national laws, policies and plans concerning a given basin (which may require revising them) and in sharing of costs and benefits from the different uses of the shared water resources (e.g. the maintenance costs of jointly used basin infrastructure). Furthermore, institutional and technical capacity of all States’ agencies relevant to water management should also be taken into consideration in transboundary water allocation implementation plans.

CASE STUDY: Developing national allocation plans aligned at transboundary scale in the Mara River Basin

The Mara River Basin is shared between Kenya and Tanzania in East Africa. Both governments are faced with the challenge of reconciling competing demands on the Mara while keeping the river flowing and maintaining the health of the wider Mara-Serengeti ecosystem. A specific opportunity to establish water allocation and sharing arrangements at national and transboundary scales is currently being addressed before the river becomes over-abstracted.

Both countries have put substantial effort into developing national policies and laws which support sustainable water management. Although there are some differences in approach, there are many important similarities. Kenya’s Water Act 2016 and Tanzania’s Water Resources Management Act 2009 provide the legal frameworks for water allocation planning and designate the institutions responsible for developing and implementing Water Allocation Plans (WAPs). The two acts are consistent in their requirement that water resource management strategies (Kenya) and plans (Tanzania) be developed for major river basins and that water allocation planning be included in these strategies and plans. Numerous regulations, rules, and guidance manuals have been produced in each country to facilitate water resource management, including specific guidelines on water allocation planning. Kenya’s WAP Guidelines were approved in 2010, while Tanzania’s WAP Guidelines were developed in 2019 and are awaiting final approval. The two guideline documents are largely consistent in their methods and procedures.

The hydrological analysis that has underpinned national water allocation plans has been undertaken at the scale of the whole Mara River basin and a common database of water balance and availability data has been created. A common approach to Environmental Flow Assessment, supported by international experts and utilizing a holistic Building Block EFA method, has been an important element of the hydrological analysis and water balance calculations. Stakeholder engagement has also been central to the exercise. The spatial coverage of hydro-meteorological gauging stations is comparable on both sides of the border, but the condition of such stations means that, in practice, monitoring capacity might be uneven. Until recently, stations on the Kenyan side of the border were mostly in good working condition (their current status isn’t known), but there have been few, if any, functioning stations on the Tanzanian side. Unless addressed, this might hamper future implementation and adaptive management of any transboundary water sharing arrangements.

At the core of each of Kenya’s and Tanzania’s draft WAPs for the Mara is the construction of a water balance for designated planning units within the basin. Six planning units are designated on the Kenyan side of the basin and six on the Tanzanian side. The planning units correspond to sub-basins of the larger Mara River Basin, including major tributaries and sections of the main-stem Mara River between tributaries. As part of preparing each national

WAP for the Mara, this balance was quantified on annual, seasonal, and monthly timescales to account for the large variations in water availability and demand throughout the year. The balance was also quantified for the present day and three times in the future: 5, 10, and 20 years.

Draft WAPs for the Kenyan and Tanzanian portions of the Mara River Basin are awaiting final approval as of late 2020. They have been developed in strict compliance with respective national WAP guidelines. Relevant local and regional governments (e.g. county governments in Kenya) are being encouraged to ensure that their respective jurisdictional water master plans are aligned to the draft WAPs. The Kenyan and Tanzania plans are complementary in their approaches to allocating water, monitoring the status of water resources, regulating water use, and pursuing compliance and enforcement. Both countries prioritize the Reserve (for environmental and basic human needs) in allocations, followed by other uses. The remainder of the domestic water allocation is officially prioritized in Tanzania. The principles for determining whether a permit is to be issued is similar, and permit conditions can be altered if needed to protect the resource. The authorities responsible for permitting water use also have responsibility for monitoring the condition and status of the resource, acting to impose restrictions on water resource use if water levels drop below set thresholds.

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### B) Sub-national level

It is noteworthy that federal States, cantons and other sub-national entities can sometimes be parties to transboundary water agreements.³⁴⁷ This stems from the structure of the participating States (the constitution) but it also reflects the general decentralization development in water management.

#### CASE STUDY: Genevese Aquifer Agreement

The 2008 agreement on the use, recharge and monitoring of Franco-Swiss Genevese groundwater followed establishment of cross-border legal bases which provided for the French party to allow creating operational structures between local authorities and/or local public bodies with legal personality. The Karlsruhe agreement makes it possible to delegate the exercise of a mission to one of the communities, and in this case a cross-border agreement between the communities concerned provides for exploitation of artificial groundwater recharge. The signatories were, on the French side, the communes of the greater Annemasse region, and the commune of Viry and, on the Swiss side, the State Council of the Republic and the canton of Geneva and the Genevese communes.

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The situation may require specific solutions for cooperation: coordination must be ensured between different levels of domestic regulation and action(s) to avoid ambiguities of Parties’ responsibilities and the varying interests of States and provinces.

#### CASE STUDY: Agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Government of the Republic of Croatia

The 2015 Agreement between the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Government of the Republic of Croatia on the rights and obligations of using water from public water supply systems crossed by the State border provides a basis for preparing contracts between municipalities for existing technically unique water supply systems and for the water supply systems that could be built. One of the interested parties must seek the written approval of the bilateral Commission for Water Management for the contract to enter into force, and such a decision States the

maximum quantity of water that can be delivered. For example, Neum in Bosnia and Herzegovina supplies water to some local communities near Dubrovnik in Croatia.

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CHAPTER VII: Knowledge Base for Transboundary Water Allocation

SUMMARY:
This chapter discusses the need and importance of a shared knowledge base (e.g. available water resources, water uses and needs) at the basin or aquifer level in relation to transboundary water allocation. It also considers means to gather that knowledge, including water resources assessment, water uses and needs assessment and transboundary impact assessments. In addition, the chapter presents structured decision-making approaches and systems as tools for building management responses in transboundary context.

1) Information Needs for Water Allocation

   A) Elements and importance of shared information and data harmonization

Water policy planning and implementation and functional water resources management are dependent on access to adequate data and information. In transboundary context, the information should be shared by all riparians in a commensurate manner to support decision making and build trust. A robust shared knowledge base is a prerequisite for the implementation of the Water Convention and can greatly contribute to the sustainable and equitable allocation of transboundary waters. This chapter presents the basic means through which to gather that knowledge, including water resources assessment, assessment of environmental requirements, water uses and needs assessment and assessment of transboundary impacts. In addition, the last section discusses structured decision making and Decision Support Systems (DSS) and how the shared knowledge contributes to management responses in the transboundary context. Figure 11 provides a general overview of the relations of these different elements and their sequencing in this chapter.

**FIGURE 11: Sequencing of Chapter VII and the elements associated with a shared knowledge base in transboundary water allocation.**

![Diagram of knowledge sequence]

Source: UNECE 2021

This Chapter VII and the following Chapter VIII on operationalizing transboundary water allocation provide general ideal elements of the knowledge base for transboundary water allocation process. It should be emphasized that their actual application and sequencing is typically nonlinear and their feasibility ultimately context-specific and influenced by available resources and political priorities. On the other hand, selective information, knowledge and data sharing may be subject to advancement of unilateral interests, to the
This further highlights the importance of joint or coordinated assessment and monitoring systems as well as making data, information and indicators comparable in transboundary settings.

B) Joint monitoring and assessment of shared basins

A shared knowledge base at transboundary level requires harmonized and comparable monitoring and assessment methods and data management systems. These are best established in a form of systematic monitoring and assessment programs that provide information for planning, decision-making and water management at all levels to both guide and complement the existing national level practices. According to the Convention (Article 9) “the Riparian Parties shall establish and implement joint programmes for monitoring the conditions of transboundary waters, including floods and ice drifts, as well as transboundary impact”. Transboundary monitoring and assessment ideally follows the monitoring cycle presented in Figure 12. Each step provides inputs for the following ones and at the end of the cycle the information needed is provided e.g. in the form of a report or a database. As more or different information needs emerge, when for example policies and targets change, the cycle starts again.348

FIGURE 12: The monitoring cycle in transboundary water management


As a first step in the monitoring cycle, the key information needs related to water allocation cover water availability, different water uses and functions, and the allocation needs. The information needs may be further defined using relevant frameworks, such as the Driving Forces–Pressures–State–Impact–Responses (DPSIR) framework349 (Figure 13) and/or identified water management issues. The transboundary context and scale of the allocation affects the detail and level of information needed. Monitoring programs typically consist of selection of parameters, locations, sampling frequencies, field measurements and laboratory analyses. The parameters, type of samples, sampling frequency and station location should reflect the information needs.

The next step on the monitoring cycle, information strategy, defines the best practical way to gather the data from different sources (e.g. from national monitoring systems, surveys, experts and statistics). The strategy guides the following steps related to monitoring/data collection; data management and assessment, as well as reporting and information use. The information strategy has to adapt with each cycle when targets or policies change. However, continuity in time series is important, and monitoring programs should always aim to be long-term.  

**FIGURE 13: DPSIR / assessment framework**

![DPSIR Framework](image)


When it comes to the following steps, the composition of the knowledge base for transboundary water allocation can vary depending on the allocation needs, but certain data elements are usually present (e.g. environmental requirements, water availability and water use). National monitoring systems usually gather the information used in transboundary basins. However, the key organizations harmonizing and distributing the information in the transboundary context are the joint bodies or other similar institutions: they should thus be involved in defining the information needs and can provide a framework for detailing various information and data related issues. To allow data harmonization and support water allocation, the riparian States should agree on comparable monitoring and reporting methodologies or follow international standards. UNECE provides guidelines about the monitoring and assessment of transboundary lakes, groundwaters and rivers. The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) has developed a series of hydro-meteorological guidelines and regulations and, for example, the World Hydrological Cycle Observing

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354 UNECE 2000. Guidelines on Monitoring and Assessment of Transboundary Rivers

355 A compilation can be found in: Outlook for developing monitoring cooperation and exchange of data and information across borders: Background paper to the Global workshop on exchange of data and information and to the fifteenth meeting of the Working Group on Monitoring and Assessment under the Water Convention (Geneva, 4–6 December 2019).
System (WHYCOS) project\textsuperscript{356} implemented by WMO provides international guidelines on how data could be shared. Timely and effective data exchange is particularly crucial for flood management and application of international standards and relevant regional guidelines helps to ensure harmonization (see Sava River Basin case study below). Remote sensing is also an increasingly useful method of providing harmonized data for many parameters across borders.\textsuperscript{357}

**CASE STUDY: Exchange of hydrological data in the Sava River Basin: diverse providers and users unified by a common policy and standards**

The Framework Agreement on the Sava River Basin (FASRB; in force since 2004), with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia as Parties, integrates different aspects of water management. The FASRB contains an obligation to exchange information on the water regime of the basin on a regular basis. Additionally, the Protocol on Flood Protection to the FASRB states that the Parties shall ensure timely exchange of meteorological and hydrological data, analyses and information important for flood protection, in line with the agreed procedure. The International Sava River Basin Commission (ISRBC; the implementing body of the FASRB) has established, in phases, an advanced data exchange system (operational since 2015) through the Sava GIS Geoportal (www.savagis.org), which by design is compliant with WMO regulations and standards as well as relevant EU Directives. The Sava GIS Geoportal is scalable and flexible tool for data visualization and management, it supports multilingual usage (English and 6 official languages of the Parties) and implements open source technologies. Web application for editing, loading and retrieving data and metadata allows the registered users to view, visualize, share and retrieve geographic information and datasets. Sava GIS database enables collection of data from the 13 governmental data provider institutions, their upload using tools and processes to harmonize the data, storing in a central database.

As integral part of Sava GIS, ISRBC has also established the Hydrological Information System for the Sava River Basin - Sava HIS (www.savahis.org) taking into account the Policy on the Exchange of Hydrological and Meteorological Data and Information, prepared in close cooperation with the WMO and signed in 2014 by relevant organizations of the Parties and Montenegro (a fifth basin State). As a WMO exchange standard is implemented, the Sava HIS system enables storage of water observations time-series data and spatial information in a standard format and their sharing and publication via web service for further use. Sava HIS is currently collecting observed data from 310 hydrological and 220 meteorological gauges, and the number is increasing with recognition of efficiency and benefits of the system.

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\textbf{C) Integration of different forms of knowledge}

Transboundary water resources management builds on a variety of knowledge forms, calling for active knowledge exchange between different actors, including the riparian governments, scientists, and other key actors in the society.\textsuperscript{358} The knowledge base for transboundary water allocation ideally builds on the joint monitoring and assessment systems as described above. The system design and data gathered are best built on various forms of knowledge available about the characteristics of the water resources and management issues, including best available scientific knowledge, but also relevant local and Indigenous knowledge.

\textsuperscript{356} WMO 2005, WHYCOS guidelines on sharing of information and data.
Local and Indigenous knowledge on water can provide invaluable inputs to both science and policy processes. Besides knowledge on water resources, Indigenous approaches to water allocation and conflict management may provide useful methods to international negotiation settings as well.\(^{359}\) For further details on public and Indigenous participation in transboundary water allocation, see Chapter V subsections 4a and 5c.

Bringing such different sources and even contradictory forms of knowledge together is not easy, especially in a transboundary allocation context. It therefore requires well-structured facilitation. Key conditions for effective science-policy interaction in transboundary water governance include, after Armitage et al (2015):

1. recognizing that science is a crucial but bounded input into water resource decision-making processes;
2. establishing conditions for collaboration and shared commitment among actors;
3. understanding the role that social learning between scientists, policy-makers and non-State actors can have to address complex water issues;
4. accepting that the collaborative production of knowledge about hydrological issues and associated socio-economic changes and institutional responses is essential to build legitimate decision-making processes; and
5. engaging boundary organizations and informal networks of scientists, policy makers, and civil society when appropriate.\(^{360}\)

The Shared Vision Model of the International Joint Commission between the United States and Canada exemplifies bringing together different forms of knowledge for water allocation decision making. It involves key water managers, knowledgeable scientists and leaders and key stakeholders in each country to create a system model that connects science, public preferences, and decision-making criteria in a transparent manner. For further details, see the case study box below.\(^{361}\)

\underline{D) Scenarios and transboundary water allocation}

Scenarios help planners and decision makers to understand how the future may unfold and what kind of changes and uncertainties affect it. Scenarios are not forecasts or predictions, but rather a set of images or stories about possible futures. Scenarios should be coherent, internally consistent and plausible descriptions of the future State of the world, and—in the context of transboundary waters—they should preferably be shared by all riparian States. Climate change scenarios\(^{362}\) are among the most important scenarios for planning transboundary water allocation (see Chapter III, sub-section 2c). Yet, other types of scenarios may also play a central role in its development, including scenarios about water demand, economic development or demography.\(^{363}\)


\(^{361}\) Source?

\(^{362}\) IPCC 2018. Special report: Global Warming of 1.5 °C https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/

Several different scenario approaches have been used in transboundary water contexts to date. They typically exemplify two types: exploratory or anticipatory. Exploratory scenarios view the future based on known processes of change as well as extrapolations from the past, building on trend analyses (see Figure 14 below). This makes exploratory scenarios relatively easy to use, but less sensitive to potential major transitions. Anticipatory scenarios, on the other hand, build on different visions for the future, establishing first the desired future state and then recognizing the steps that are needed to reach it from the present situation. Anticipatory scenarios are therefore often more strategic but also subjective, making them particularly suitable for broader policy-making and shared visioning. Overall, negotiations can benefit from an assessment of present and future water needs in the riparian States, including a detailed diagnosis of potential water allocation scenarios.

**FIGURE 14: Example of climate change, irrigation and hydropower modeling in the Mekong as part of a scenario process**

![Diagram of climate change, irrigation, and hydropower modeling in the Mekong](source: Long et al. 2019)

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E) Assessing Available Water Resources

Assessing the quantity, quality and regime of available water resources for allocation

The riparian States and parties to a shared waterbody need a common understanding of the quantity, quality and regime of the available water resources for the purposes of allocation. Detailed guidelines about the monitoring and assessments of transboundary lakes\(^{367}\), groundwaters\(^{368}\) and rivers\(^{369}\) are available by UNECE. However, generally the available water resources can be assessed with the following three main steps (as also presented in Chapter III):

1. **Delineating and agreeing on the basin and/or aquifer boundaries**, considering the biophysical and hydrological characteristics and administrative boundaries.

   Topographic data are essential for determining the surface drainage area and its boundaries as well as in understanding the direction of flow. It is useful to build a complete and harmonized GIS base map of the shared waterbody. Satellite data may be further used for defining the basin characteristics. If appropriate, additional layers of data (e.g. Lidar data) may be added to define floodway, floodplain and other relevant watercourse or aquifer information. For characterization of transboundary aquifer systems, including its boundaries, information about the geology and hydrogeology is necessary. While this can entail dealing with significant challenges and uncertainties, there is continuous progress in terms of mapping transboundary aquifers, from local to global levels, which can ultimately assist the data baselines for allocation.\(^{308}\)

2. **Assessing the surface and groundwater availability and quality, taking into account inter- and intra-annual variability, with hydrological and geohydrological analyses utilizing commensurate methods and data.**

   For water resources assessment, that is, the determination of the sources, extent, dependability and quality of water resources for their utilization and control, WMO provides helpful technical material in this regard.\(^{370}\) Frequent or continuous water level and river discharge measurements lay the foundation for river basin management and water resources assessments.\(^{371}\) Long-term, time-series observations from stream gauges and piezometer levels can provide a sound basis for assessing variability and change in the inter-connected surface water and groundwater resources over time. Water quality and sediment quality assessments and surveys give insight into the functioning of the aquatic ecosystem, and the point and non-point pollution sources and toxicity of pollutants in water bodies, which might affect the quality of the water available for allocation.

3. **Indicators for water quality**

   There are several universally applicable parameters for water quality. The indicators for SDG target 6.3.2. on the quality of inland waters includes core physico-chemical water-quality parameters of dissolved oxygen, electrical conductivity, total oxidized nitrogen, nitrate, orthophosphate and pH, with their associated target values. The SDG indicator 6.3.2 is also directly linked to indicator 6.3.1 on wastewater treatment and to

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\(^{369}\) UNECE 2000. Guidelines on Monitoring and Assessment of Transboundary Rivers


\(^{371}\) UNECE 2000. Guidelines on Monitoring and Assessment of Transboundary Rivers
targets 6.1 on access to safe drinking water and target 6.6 on water-related ecosystems.\textsuperscript{372} Other key parameters of water quality include, among others, physical characteristics of water system, salinity and other mineral composition, suspended solids and presence of specific pollutants, preferably reflecting the influence of anthropogenic pressures and impacts.\textsuperscript{373} A water quality classification system for waters is provided for example by the European Water Framework Directive (2000/60/EC). European surface waters are classified based on their ecological status to five classes from low to high quality, and groundwater by their quantitative status. In addition, both surface and groundwaters are classified by their chemical status.

Remote sensing is an increasingly applicable means by which to gather near real-time data on certain aspects of water resources and their quality. It can complement costly in-situ measurements. Advances in cloud storage and computing, connectivity and cheaper satellites make this data source all the time more competitive.\textsuperscript{374}

When assessing the available volume of water, existing and potential augmentation of water resources is important to incorporate into the overall estimates. The augmentation can be achieved by e.g. desalination, reuse of water, or managed aquifer recharge to augment groundwater resources. Such options entail trade-offs, which need to be carefully assessed: For example, recharging an aquifer from a surface watercourse respectively reduces flow in that watercourse. Consequences of unintended allocation are equally important to consider: besides the formal processes of allocation, water shares, even large volumes, may be gained via indirect action or inaction as well e.g. as a result of land use changes.\textsuperscript{375} The role of timing has been under-explored and under-utilized in most water allocation plans and arrangements to date. However, available water resources are not fixed in time, but vary inter-annually and seasonally. Understanding of flow regimes, interannual and seasonal variability and exceptional situations, i.e. floods and droughts are therefore important to take into account in water resources assessments. Failures in understanding or allocating water for the interannual variability often cause basin water management disagreements (see also Chapter III, Section 2).\textsuperscript{376}

\textbf{Estimating allocable water in different seasons and in different scenarios}, based on the previous steps.

Relevant trend analysis may be calculated for both water quality and flow data as well as relevant statistical parameters (averages, medium, percentiles, etc). The historical flow data can be utilized to extend the period of record and climate change projections allow.

\textbf{Addressing diverging understandings}

Common definitions as well as exchanging data available help to establish a shared understanding of the situation. Establishing a joint monitoring and assessment system with a representation of officials, water experts and key stakeholders from the different States as previously described helps to ameliorate potential disagreements and diverging understandings on the status and availability of allocable water resources. If disagreements threaten cooperation on the shared waterbody, joint bodies have a key role to play in dispute resolution. For further details on dispute prevention and resolution, see Chapter VIII, Section 11.

\textsuperscript{372} UNEP 2018 Progress on Ambient Water Quality, Piloting the monitoring methodology and initial findings for SDG indicator 6.3.2, 2018
\textsuperscript{374} World Bank 2019. New Avenues for Remote Sensing Applications for Water Management: A Range of Applications and the Lessons Learned from Implementation
Modelling of water resources

Allocable water may be estimated based on hydrological observations as described above. However, the observations can be complemented or estimated with hydrological models, i.e. rainfall-runoff models and more detailed three-dimensional integrated dynamic hydrological models considering both surface water and groundwater. Hydrological modelling may enable spatially or temporally more extended hydrological data compared to observations and estimating also the future State of water resources. Models are also used with flood forecasting and travel-time calculations regarding industrial accidents and other flow spillages.

Hydrological models can be classified as empirical models, conceptual models and physically based models. The models need several inputs, the two most important ones being rainfall data and drainage area. Usually hydrological data is needed for calibration, and poor or lacking observations set restrictions on the model choice and usefulness of the models. The models can incorporate different scenarios and are a vital part of impact assessments and decision support systems, as described later on in this chapter. Models do, however, have uncertainties and these should be always presented with the result. A basic understanding of the model being used helps to understand and cope with particular uncertainty. Global hydrological models can also help assess water resources and water use scenarios. The Inter-Sectoral Impact Model Intercomparison Project (ISIMIP) provides climate-impact simulations, based on scientifically and politically-relevant historical and future scenarios. Climate change impact assessments should always be based on several models and climate forcing data, which ISIMIP can provide.

Understanding long-term trends

Monitoring programs should aim to be long-term, even when the issue at hand might not require it. Long-term time series data points are essential when trying to detect possible long-term trends in water levels, discharges and pollutant concentrations. All significant trends should be taken into consideration when agreeing on the water allocations. Models also require long-term data series for calibration. Climate change impacts are also more evident and more accurate to predict with long-term time series. The riparian countries or joint bodies may develop common scenarios and models to have a joint understanding of the effects of climate change on the shared basin, as also discussed in section 1.4 above. WMO provides a tool (Dynamic Water Resources Assessment Tool) for water resources managers and policy makers to assist with long-term planning and water resources assessment. The tool helps, for example, to assess land-use changes and the impacts on water availability with different scenarios, including climate change.

2) Assessing Environmental Requirements

A) Understanding water-related ecosystems and their contribution to livelihoods, development and economy

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379 UNECE 2000. Guidelines on Monitoring and Assessment of Transboundary Rivers
381 The Inter-Sectoral Impact Model Intercomparison Project. https://www.isimip.org/
Sustainable water allocation should be based on knowledge about the river basin and aquifer flows and their interconnections to sustain ecosystem health. Environmental flow assessments are needed to build the scientific evidence for the choice of flow regimes required to meet ecological objectives. Flow assessments should evaluate how ecology, economic costs and benefits across sectors and social equity respond to alternate flow scenarios. They should include assessment of the contribution of biodiversity and ecosystem goods and services to livelihoods and poverty reduction. As presented in Chapter III Section 3, a widely accepted definition of environmental flows comes from The Brisbane Declaration and Global Action Agenda on Environmental Flows (2018), which defines environmental flows as “The quantity, timing, and quality of water flows required to sustain freshwater and estuarine ecosystems and the human livelihoods and well-being that depend on these ecosystems.”

**B) Different approaches to assessing environmental flows**

There are over 200 methods that have been applied in assessing environmental flows to date. The simplest hydrology-based methodology (setting minimum flow levels) can be complemented with variability needs (flows mimicking seasonal natural flow variability) or in the most holistic approaches the aim is to take care of all aspects, including social and developmental. Properly implemented, environmental flows can help sustain and generate livelihoods, create economic value, preserve rivers, share benefits of basin development more equitably, and in general contribute to the sustainable management of rivers. Existing methods differ in input information requirements, types of ecosystems they are designed for, time which is needed for their application, and the level of confidence in the final estimates. No single environmental flow assessment technique suits all social, economic, hydrological, and ecological contexts within a country. A comparison of different e-flow assessment methods is presented below in Table 9.

**TABLE 9. Comparison of the three general categories of E-flows estimation methodologies**

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C) Assessing and incorporating environmental flows into SDG indicator 6.4.2, including groundwater

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and partners provide guidance on assessing and incorporating environmental flows into SDG indicator 6.4.2 on Water Scarcity. The guidance, accompanied with an interactive online tool, helps member States to set goals for environmental flows and for reporting on required SDGs. Importantly in the context of conjunctive surface water-groundwater allocation, the tool specifically assesses limits to groundwater abstraction in perennial river systems in order not to affect critical base flows for environmental flows.

D) E-flows in transboundary context: challenges in scope and effectiveness

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388 See: http://eflows.iwmi.org/

Seven key challenges that can constrain the scope and effectiveness of environmental flows assessments and allocations in international river basins have been identified by Dharmadhikary (2017).390

1. Stakeholder participation: In the case of international rivers, negotiations or discussions are mainly between governments and therefore can prevent or eliminate the role of local communities in environmental flows assessments.
2. Deliberations have to contend with the diversity of cultures, languages and governance systems across boundaries, and need to reconcile differences in national priorities and in national situations.
3. E-flows objectives are a societal and therefore a political choice. They often end up being reduced to a governmental choice even in purely domestic river basins; in transboundary rivers, this risk is much higher.
4. The sharing and verification of data is more difficult, especially for riparian communities.
5. In transboundary rivers, considerations of sovereign control can create difficulty for managing the river basin as a unit, creating problems in environmental flows assessments and implementation.
6. Often, the required multilateral legal and institutional frameworks are absent, and are not easy to create and sustain.
7. Ensuring that the downstream States use environmental flows only for the environmental purposes for which they were released is a big challenge.

Notably, this view is primarily from a surface water/river perspective and does not include considerations of the role groundwater resources. As highlighted above, there is a critical need for increased conjunctive management of transboundary surface water and groundwater resources.391

CASE STUDY: E-flows knowledge base & capacity-building via stakeholder engagement in the Pungwe, Buzi and Save River Basins

The transboundary Pungwe, Buzi and Save River basins are shared between Zimbabwe and Mozambique in Southern Africa. Mozambique and Zimbabwe signed the Pungwe Basin Water Sharing Agreement in 2016 to institutionalize transboundary water management in the Pungwe Basin. Draft Agreements in place for the Buzi and Save Basin are similar to that of the Pungwe Basin. Article 9 of the Pungwe Water Sharing Agreement concerns ‘Protection, Preservation and Conservation of the Environment’. It includes interim environmental flow recommendations pending detailed studies. In the absence of a bilateral institution that will be responsible for the Agreement’s implementation, IUCN and Waternet developed a pilot project that aimed to increase stakeholder engagement, build-capacity and a knowledge base utilizing innovative communication technology methods for environmental flow recommendations.

Three phases were adopted. The first phase involved developing the awareness of policy makers and water resources managers about socioeconomic and ecological benefits from, and principles of integrating environmental flows in transboundary water resources management (Nov/Dec 2015). The second phase involved demonstrating procedures for environmental flow assessment in a selected pilot river basin (July 2016). Finally, a learning by doing process was implemented – facilitating and guiding stakeholders and multidisciplinary Country Teams to jointly develop recommendations on environmental flows (Aug 2017 – Apr 2018).

For the ‘Learning by Doing’ phase, firstly, the Revue sub-basin of the Buzi Basin was selected to pilot the capacity building approach. Formation of multidisciplinary Country Teams each in Mozambique and Zimbabwe followed along with the identification of key stakeholders to participate throughout the process. Country level and transboundary stakeholder participation in River Basin Situation Analysis (identification of river-related ecosystems services and potential effects of river flow modifications on these services). Country Teams jointly selected indicators

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for determining biophysical and socioeconomic responses to potential river flow modifications. Each Country Team collected data for selected indicators, and potential flow modifications. Country Teams jointly evaluated biophysical and socioeconomic responses to potential river basin developments. Country Teams finally jointly recommend environmental flows for achieving agreed desirable levels of the provision of ecosystem services. The outcome was that the Country Teams jointly submitted environmental flow recommendations to policy makers responsible for transboundary management of the sub-basin of the Buzi River basin. The Country Teams jointly presented policy recommendations for implementation of environmental flows.

A further idea to come out of the process was the possibility of developing an Interactive Mobile Phone/Web based application for participatory Environmental Flow assessment. This would involve uploading data and information sharing by Country Teams in Mozambique & Zimbabwe.

The pilot project in this context was initiated by IUCN and WaterNet based on an assessment of clear opportunities and favorable conditions for transboundary cooperation in implementing environmental flows by Mozambique & Zimbabwe. Most importantly, there was a long history of excellent bilateral collaboration in all the sectors between both States. There was also explicit commitment from both States to: improve bilateral cooperation through implementation of transboundary water sharing agreements; and specifically to determine and implement environmental flow provisions of the bilateral agreements. Additional favorable conditions involved States’ demand for developing capacity for planning and managing environmental flows and a shared commitment to stakeholder participation in integrated water resources management.

** THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW **

3) Assessing Uses and Needs

A) Determining sectoral water uses and needs

Changes in different water uses and needs are usually the main driver for water allocation and re-allocation. The water uses are typically divided into domestic, agricultural and industrial water uses, and water used for energy production, hydropower generation having the most central role in altering and regulating transboundary flows. Assessments of water requirements for environmental flows are discussed in detail in section 3 above. In addition, in-stream water uses like navigation can set boundary conditions for water abstraction and altering flows (for further details, see Chapter III, section 2).

Besides the quantity of water needed for different uses, its quality and timing of use or release are important to consider. Quality is especially critical for domestic and certain industrial uses that typically require purification before abstraction whereby purification costs rise with decreasing quality of the source water. In addition to alterations in flows, ecosystems are sensitive to alterations in nutrients, sedimentation and pollutant concentrations (for further details, see Chapter III, sub-section 4c). When it comes to timing, irrigation needs have major variations between seasons, and ecosystems may be especially sensitive to flow alterations from hydropower in certain times of the year, for example.

Possibilities for improved efficiency and productivity in different sectors and water uses are an additional factor to consider when determining water needs and allocations. Especially in water scarce contexts, allocations in a national context should be informed by the relative efficiency of different water uses which in-turn has ramifications for transboundary allocation.\footnote{R. Speed, Li Y., T. Le Quesne, G. Pegram and Z. Zhiwei (2013) Basin Water Allocation Planning. Principles, procedures and approaches for basin allocation planning, UNESCO, Paris} Ultimately, as water resources available for allocation are becoming increasingly limited, balancing different water uses and needs and clarifying their priority is one of the key tasks in the allocation process. Different approaches and mechanisms are discussed in detail in Chapter II Section 3, Chapter III and Chapter VI Section 3.
**B) Methods for water use assessments**

There are a few general approaches on how to assess water use: 393

1. **Monitored observed use**, which is usually reliable for large urban, industrial or irrigation schemes. Mass balance modelling can also be utilized.
2. **Registered authorized use**, based on records via licensing, permitting or billing.
3. **Estimation** via proxies like irrigated area or number of households.

Water footprint assessments provide one option for the assessment of sectoral, basin-level or national water use. 394 Return flow estimation is especially important in transboundary context, when assessing how much water is allocable downstream. Return flows can be assessed with the same approaches as water use in general. The starting point for the assessment of water uses and needs is usually national data collection and management systems. They typically suffer from inconsistencies and gaps, however, making transboundary data sharing also challenging. Data on groundwater use is especially limited. In the absence of complete datasets, FAO Aquastat 395 and global hydrological models 396 can help to make initial estimates and developing harmonized water use assessment systems are important to prioritize in the transboundary cooperation. In addition to existing water uses and needs, it is important to assess also potential and future needs. Historical time series data sets can help to estimate future uses, but the analyses should be then set into the overall context of the regional development, taking into account socio-economic, environmental and climatic factors as described in Chapter III and sub-sections 1 and 2 above.

**C) Sharing information on sectoral water uses**

Common approaches between riparian countries on sharing information on sectoral water uses are essential for determining equitable and reasonable water allocation as well as avoiding significant harm, and help identifying possibilities for water-food-energy-ecosystem nexus solutions 397 and benefit sharing 398 (see also Chapter IV). Joint nexus assessments help to deal with complexities of analyzing several interconnected sectors with their associated stakeholders. The Transboundary Nexus Assessment Methodology (TBNA) developed by UNECE enables stakeholders to identify positive and negative linkages, benefits and trade-offs between relevant sectors in different climatic and socioeconomic scenarios (see Chapter IV, sub-section 2c). The nexus linkages are first identified and mapped qualitatively in a participatory process involving experts and officials. Then the linkages which have been deemed as “high priority” are quantified utilizing available data and tools including modelling. The nexus methodology further assists in identifying means for coherent integration of sectors and their needs. 399

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396 The Inter-Sectoral Impact Model Intercomparison Project. https://www.isimip.org/
4) Assessing Transboundary Impacts

A) How to assess transboundary impacts of water allocation

Impact assessment is an essential part of the planning and decision-making processes related to any large projects, programs or other initiatives, including those for transboundary water allocation or affecting it. The aim of an impact assessment is to understand the key effects (i.e. impacts) that the planned initiative is likely to have, as well as the possible measures to avoid or mitigate adverse effects and to enhance positive effects. To do this, an impact assessment typically considers a set of alternative options for the planned initiative. To ensure its effectiveness, the assessment should also be carried out at an early stage of planning. Several approaches exist for impact assessment, each with differing thematic and/or methodological emphasis. The most widely used approaches are the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA). While both of these approaches focus on the environment, their present-day use may also consider related societal impacts (e.g. health, economic, social, cultural and gender). Similarly, the EIA and SEA process may be complemented by other relevant impact assessment approaches, including those capturing also the broader impacts of the planned initiatives (e.g. Social Impact Assessment or Cultural Impact Assessment400) as well as approaches with a specific focus on e.g. water (e.g. Hydrological Impact Assessment, Cumulative Impact Assessment). Furthermore, assessment of benefits provides an important alternative angle for identifying synergies in transboundary contexts (for further details, see Chapter IV).

CASE STUDY: Assessments of cumulative transboundary impacts in the Lower Mekong River Basin

The Mekong River Commission considered the development of water infrastructure, especially large-scale hydropower and irrigation, on the transboundary Mekong River mainstream as one of the most important strategic issues facing the Lower Mekong River Basin (LMB). As a result, the MRC member states (Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam) commissioned a Strategic Environment Assessment (SEA) of planned mainstream dams to assist them in working together and make the best decisions for the basin. The SEA began in May 2009 and was completed 16 months later. The SEA complemented the 2010 MRC Basin Development Programme’s Scenario Assessment of the countries’ planned projects in hydropower and irrigation. The strategic decision at the time concerned whether and how best to construct hydropower dams across the Mekong River - a development which would have far reaching economic, social and environmental implications, both positive and potentially adverse.

Twelve hydropower schemes had been proposed on the lower reaches of the Mekong mainstream. The SEA sought to identify the potential opportunities and risks, as well as contribution of these proposed projects to regional development, and what are the most appropriate mainstream Mekong hydropower development strategies. In particular the SEA focuses on regional distribution of costs and benefits with respect to economic development, social equity and environmental protection. The SEA as well as the BDP Assessment provide the scientific basis for countries’ discussion on benefits and trade-offs of planned developments, and contributed to the preparation and agreement on the Basin Development Strategy for Mekong River Basin for 2016-2020.

To close more knowledge gaps and include more planned water and related development sectors, the MRC released the Study on the Sustainable Management and Development of the Mekong (the Council Study) in 2017. The findings from the Council Study have been used by countries in debating the impacts of planned projects on water level, flows, and quality, including fisheries and sediment, during the prior consultation process for mainstream dams. The strengthened knowledge of the MRC contributed to the preparation and agreement on latest Basin Development Strategy 2021-2030, which calls for more proactive regional planning to come up with new joint and basin-wide investment projects with multiple benefits including flood management, drought relief, energy, navigation and environmental protection.

While the EIA maintains typically a quite technical focus and focuses on the impacts of a single project, SEA has a more strategic view and focuses on the impacts of broader policies and programs - and the related set of projects (Figure 15). EIA is therefore particularly strong for detailed discussion on a clearly defined project(s), while SEA facilitates discussion about cumulative impacts and broader, more fundamental issues, such as what kind of projects (and where) would best achieve the desired development with minimal adverse effects.\textsuperscript{401} At best, development plans in a given transboundary context makes use of both approaches, with SEA focusing on broader aspects of development and EIA then providing a more detailed view on the impacts of the projects that are recognized based on the SEA process. Future plans with potential transboundary impacts should be shared as soon as reasonably possible in accordance with the principles of prior notification and consultation.

\textbf{FIGURE 15: A simplified visualization of the main emphasis for EIA and SEA (left) as well as a summary table of their key characteristics (right)}

![Diagram showing comparison between EIA and SEA](image)

Source: Modified from Keskinen & Kummu 2010.

As a general recommendation in transboundary contexts, it is important to define the methods and scale of the assessments together with the different parties, taking into account five key dimensions relevant for carrying out the assessment: (1) geographic scope; (2) sectoral mandate; (3) level of integration; (4) likelihood of compliance; and (5) capacity to implement.\textsuperscript{402}

\subsection*{B) Legal requirements regarding transboundary impacts of allocation}

International law has several different frameworks with related substantive and procedural requirements for EIA, SEA and the prevention, reduction and mitigation of transboundary impacts that may be applicable to water allocation depending on the context. According to the Water Convention, States need to ensure that


environmental impact assessment (EIA) and other means of assessment are applied to prevent, control and reduce transboundary impact (Art. 3.1h). For this purpose, one of the tasks of joint bodies is to participate in the implementation of an EIA relating to transboundary waters (Art. 9.2j). States must also carry out joint or coordinated assessments of the conditions of transboundary waters and the effectiveness of measures taken for the prevention, control and reduction of transboundary impact (Art. 11.3). A joint exercise at the regional level resulted in the Second Assessment of Transboundary Rivers, Lakes and Groundwaters which was published in 2011. In the Watercourses Convention, EIA is linked to notification concerning planned measures with possible adverse effects upon other riparian States. Accordingly, such notification must be accompanied by available technical data and information, including the results of any EIA (Art. 12). The Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers include a similar provision in relation to transboundary aquifer or aquifer system (Art. 15.2).

In addition to the UN global water conventions, the UNECE Convention on EIA in a Transboundary Context (Espoo Convention) requires transboundary EIA. Accordingly, a State under whose jurisdiction a proposed activity is envisaged to take place must ensure that EIA is undertaken prior to a decision to authorize or undertake a proposed activity listed in Appendix I that is likely to cause a significant adverse transboundary impact (Art. 2.3). Moreover, the International Court of Justice Stated in the Case Concerning Pulp Mills on the River Uruguay (Argentina vs. Uruguay, Judgment of 20 April 2010) that EIA “may be considered a requirement under general international law”. In this regard, States need to undertake EIA “where there is a risk that the proposed industrial activity may have a significant adverse impact in a transboundary context, in particular, on a shared resource”. Furthermore, the Court observed that “due diligence, and the duty of vigilance and prevention which it implies, would not be considered to have been exercised, if a party planning works liable to affect the regime of the river or the quality of its waters did not undertake EIA on the potential effects of such works” (para 204).

The activities listed in Appendix I of the Espoo Convention that require EIA include activities related to transboundary water allocation such as:

- large dams and reservoirs;
- groundwater abstraction activities or artificial groundwater recharge schemes (annual volume of water 10 million cubic metres or more);
- transfer of water resources between river basins (over 100 million cubic metres/year if the transfer aims at preventing water shortages; or over 5% of the 2 000 million cubic metres/year flow); and
- waste-water treatment plants (capacity exceeding 150 000 population equivalent).

According to the Espoo Convention, EIA needs to, as a minimum requirement, be undertaken at the project level. In addition, States have to endeavour to apply the principles of EIA to policies, plans and programmes (Art. 2.7). Under the Espoo Convention, the Protocol on Strategic Environmental Assessment specifically requires that States must ensure that SEA is carried out for certain plans and programmes, including water management plans and programmes, that set the framework for future development consent for projects that require EIA (Art. 4.2).

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In sum, transboundary water allocation may be subject to several substantive and procedural obligations related to EIA and SEA under a variety of frameworks in international law depending on the specific context. Customary international law requires EIA when a planned activity, such as industrial works or an infrastructure project, may have a significant adverse impact in a transboundary context. The UN global water conventions also contain certain EIA obligations for States Parties and the duty to take all appropriate measures to prevent transboundary harm which may be applicable to allocation processes and outcomes. Furthermore, the Espoo Convention and SEA Protocol require that assessments are extended across borders when a planned activity may cause significant adverse transboundary impacts or a plan or program sets the framework for such an activity. Therefore, States may need to consider carrying out transboundary EIA or SEA related to water allocation. Transboundary EIAs and SEAs can be relatively complex processes, as the riparian States may have differing institutional settings and differing views regarding the process. It is therefore strongly recommended to follow the guidelines that the Espoo Convention and UNECE documents provide on how to best carry them out.

5) Structured Decision Support and Management Responses for Water Allocation

A) Knowledge base, structured decision support and decision support systems (DSS)

The previous sections have introduced the key aspects needed to establish a knowledge base on water allocation for a specific transboundary context. It consists of assessment of water resources, environmental requirements, water uses and needs, and transboundary impacts. Such a knowledge base is required to make well-informed decisions regarding water resources management and related water allocation. Water allocation in transboundary context typically concerns a variety of actors, all with differing interests and needs. Different kinds of decision-support approaches and methods can be used to make the best possible use of the variety of views, as well as the different forms of information available along the decision cycle and structured decision-making processes (Figure 16). Two practical methods and tools which are increasingly applied for structured decision-making in a transboundary context are presented in this section:

- the Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA); and
- Decision Support Systems (DSS).

FIGURE 16: Decision cycle

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410 See https://www.unece.org/env/eia/guidance/intro.html
Multi-criteria decision analysis (MCDA) in transboundary water allocation

Multi-criteria decision analysis (MCDA) is a general term for systematic approaches that support the analysis of multiple alternatives in complex problems involving different objectives, intangible and incommensurable impacts and uncertainties. They are especially useful when evaluating trade-offs and selecting alternatives (Figure 17). MCDA methods aim at improving the quality of decisions by providing an overall view of the pros and cons of the different alternatives. The main phases of MCDA are: 1) identification of objectives; 2) structuring them into a form of hierarchy; 3) developing alternatives; 4) assessing their performances with regard to objectives; and 5) collecting preference information. The potential benefits of MCDA are presented in Figure 17. The MCDA process and its application are presented in Chapter VIII.

FIGURE 17: Potential benefits of MCDA

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MCDA can be applied to help stakeholder involvement by collecting, structuring, integrating, and analyzing information from different sources. A collaborative MCDA-based process applied optimally should result in all involved parties learning from each other. Consequently, this can open up assessment and allocation processes by highlighting the diversity of opinions, conflicting interests, ignored uncertainties, and new options. One of the strengths of MCDA is its ability to combine information from different sources and highlight the importance of values in decision making. The role of facts are often overemphasized compared to values. Typically, the ranking of alternatives depends very much on the value placed on different criteria. An exception is a case where one alternative outperforms other alternatives with respect to all or almost all criteria. The number and range of MCDA applications is very large, but there are relatively few cases related to transboundary waters. Table 10 summarizes six examples of applications of MCDA in a transboundary context.

**TABLE 10. Examples of the cases where MCDA has been applied in transboundary water systems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors and year</th>
<th>Countries/ water system</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Criteria and weights</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Country/Catchment</td>
<td>Method/Analysis</td>
<td>Scenarios/Options</td>
<td>Weighting Method/Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avarideh et al. 2017&lt;sup&gt;414&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Iraq and Iran, Sirwan-Diyala River</td>
<td>Determining water share allocation to riparian countries</td>
<td>Weighted sum, pairwise comparison</td>
<td>32 indicators used, three different weight scenarios for factors (main criteria)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dombrowsky et al. 2010&lt;sup&gt;415&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Israel, Palestinian Authority, Kidron/Wadi Nar basin</td>
<td>Comparison of wastewater management alternatives</td>
<td>Cost-benefit and multi-criteria analyses</td>
<td>6 selected physical-institutional management options. MCDA is not described in details in the paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorgoglione et al. 2019&lt;sup&gt;416&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Brazil-Uruguay, Cuareim/Quaraí catchment</td>
<td>Exploring policy options in a water-sharing conflict</td>
<td>MCDA (PROMETHEE), scenario analysis</td>
<td>10 criteria covering environmental and socio-economic aspects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapetas et al. 2019&lt;sup&gt;417&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Greece, Republic of North Macedonia, Axios delta</td>
<td>Sociotechnical evaluation of intervention options for improving water budget</td>
<td>DPSIR and multi-criteria analysis</td>
<td>3 criteria used: impact, cost, ease of implementation, 5 intervention options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quba’a et al. 2017&lt;sup&gt;418&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Turkey, Jordan River Basin</td>
<td>Comparative assessment of joint water development initiatives</td>
<td>MCDA (Simple Additive Weighting)</td>
<td>8 criteria, 8 weight scenarios, sensitivity analysis for criteria weight was performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srdjevic and Srdjevic 2014&lt;sup&gt;419&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Serbia, Romania, Djerdap I reservoir, Danube</td>
<td>Allocation of reservoir storage for main reservoir uses</td>
<td>Analytic Hierarchy Process</td>
<td>5 criteria used, 6 alternatives (main reservoir uses)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Finnish Environment Institute, 2021

**C) Decision support systems (DSS)**

Many types of the knowledge and data described in the previous sections of this chapter can be used as inputs in a Decision Support System (DSS). Usually a DSS refers to a computer-based system to support complex

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decision-making processes in a specific domain. DSS can combine databases, data and information management, simulation models, socioeconomic evaluation tools, decision analysis techniques, geographical information systems (GIS) and user interfaces in an informative way. DSSs in the water management sector are often tailored for a particular case and they can integrate different generic components, tools, methods and existing software packages, depending on the river basin characteristics and the decision-making process at hand.

A significant benefit of a DSS is that it can facilitate communication between stakeholders and riparian countries by providing an efficient platform for sharing information and supporting discussion about potential decisions and their implications. Hence, a DSS can provide greater transparency in the decision-making processes, which is a crucial component for transboundary water allocation. While DSSs can assist in decision-making, they do not replace well-trained, skilled managers and experts, and cooperative processes. A DSS can be intended to be used on different time horizons. It can be used in long-range strategic planning and decision-making as well as analyzing scenarios (e.g., hydro-climatic change, demand development, different policies and management plans). On the other hand, a DSS can also be used for operational purposes in day-to-day allocation decisions, as well as in data and information sharing. Moreover, models included in a DSS represent different temporal and spatial scales and provide input to each other.

To avoid an undesirable situation where an expensive system remains unused, an overall requirement is that the development of a DSS is based on a real need. A common feature of a successful DSS is that it is developed in close collaboration with end-users, to ensure that it meets the requirements and to foster trust and commitment in the system. If deployed as part of a transboundary water allocation framework, riparian States must therefore together acknowledge the validity of the DSS to inform the decision-making process.

CASE STUDY PLACEHOLDER: Suggestion - Cubango-Okavango Decision Support System

D) Management responses for water allocation

After the knowledge base has been built and different alternatives for transboundary water allocation have been evaluated, with the potential help of tools such as MCDA and DSS described above, the knowledge on the best options feeds forward to management and institutional-level responses. The management responses typically take their form in allocation arrangements, agreements and their national implementation, as described in detail in the following Chapter VIII on operationalizing transboundary allocation and other Chapters of this Handbook. As described in the decision cycle (Figure 16), management responses and their impact on the original allocation issue require continuous monitoring and evaluation. If the impact is not desired, the information needs and associated knowledge and data and the decisions should be adapted accordingly. The DPSIR framework (Figure 13) and management cycle (Figure 12) presented in the first section of this chapter help with iterating the information needs. Some impacts can be assessed through

monitoring the outcomes. Some decisions linked to e.g. projects, programs or policies can be assessed with impact evaluations.\textsuperscript{425}

CHAPTER VIII: Operationalizing Transboundary Water Allocation: Processes, Mechanisms and Examples

SUMMARY:
This chapter outlines a set of technical, legal, and institutional water allocation approaches, mechanisms and arrangements that can be adapted and applied to various transboundary contexts. A three-phase, ten-step modular process is presented which provides a variety of options for operationalizing water allocation. The chapter provides some guidance for measures to operationalize water allocation principles and objectives presented in previous chapters.

As discussed in the previous chapters, transboundary water allocation may be understood both as part of the water cooperation process and as an outcome of that process. This chapter focuses on the process characteristics of allocation. It covers the different steps and elements of transboundary water resources management and governance leading to joint agreements, bodies and other mechanisms determining how much water, of which quality, where and when is shared between two or more States or other jurisdictions.

The chapter presents ten steps along the transboundary water allocation process, grouped into three general phases, as illustrated in Figure 18. The first group of steps details the reasons/motivations and the knowledge base required for establishing a new or revising existing allocation arrangements, where appropriate. They help to define whether allocation is a solution to a given water issue in the first place, or whether the issue is better addressed with other means of transboundary cooperation or national measures. The second group tackles the foundations of transboundary negotiations for suitable arrangements or agreements including development of allocation mechanisms and plans. The third group focuses on implementation after an arrangement or agreement has been reached, including national implementation, monitoring and ensuring compliance, and dispute prevention and resolution mechanisms. Importantly, the ten steps are modular in that they: are not always operationalized chronologically; can be non-linear in their assessment and application; and not all steps may be necessary in every context. Given the evolving nature of both water resources management and transboundary water cooperation: there may be feedback loops necessary between the steps; the steps may be prioritized differently; and/or information on some aspects may initially be missing. Ultimately, this chapter seeks to provide a modular suite of options for co-riparian States to assess and adapt to their specific context in order to operationalize transboundary water allocation.

See for example y, where it states that “The water allocation system should be flexible, and should be reviewed and adapted as the iterative nature of the process identifies requisite improvements or additions. Adjustment to the system as a result of trial and error is a legitimate feature and the legal obstacles borne out by practice and experience should be removed through a process of reform.”
**FIGURE 18: The 10 general steps across 3 phases of transboundary water allocation**

1) **PHASE 1: Assessing Motivations and Knowledge Base for Transboundary Water Allocation**

   **A) STEP 1: Understanding the Setting and Identifying the Water Management Issues at Stake**

   The process for transboundary water allocation might be motivated by a variety of issues and changing policy priorities and requirements (for further details, see Chapter II and Chapter III). The target water-related issues to be addressed should be carefully considered from the perspective of: a) whether they are best addressed with allocation measures in consideration with their limitations and complementary approaches (for further details see Chapter IV; and, b) whether their management has transboundary impacts and interdependencies and should therefore be treated as a matter of transboundary concern and cooperation. The knowledge base required to tackle these two aspects may build on water resource and availability assessments, analyses of environmental requirements and use and impact assessments, preferably in different scenarios, as described in detail in Chapter VII and with Step 3 below. The ‘Shared Vision Model’ of the International Joint Commission between Canada and the United States demonstrates a participatory process helping to reach consensus on the transboundary water management issues at stake (Case Study below).

   **B) STEP 2: Identifying Key Stakeholders and Institutional Frameworks**

   **Stakeholder analysis and engagement methods**

   The primary actors in transboundary water allocation processes are typically the co-riparian States with their representative organizations. It may include sub-national entities (see Chapter VI sub-section 5b and case studies) sharing a surface or groundwater basin. To understand the differing views and forms of knowledge linked to water allocation, it is advisable to identify and engage also other key stakeholders relevant for the process and outcome, including the general public (see Figure 19 for an example conceptualization of actors and tools involved in water allocation processes).
As discussed in Chapter V, Section 4 and Chapter VII, Sub-Section 1c, public participation can bring several benefits to the allocation process, including improved knowledge base and enhanced equity and sustainability of the arrangements. While the UN global water conventions do not provide a definition for the ‘public’ to be engaged, the Aarhus Convention defines “the public concerned” as “the public affected or likely to be affected by, or having an interest in, the environmental decision-making”. One way to identify the relevant stakeholders is to categorize them at different scales (e.g. regional, national and local scales) and relevant sectors of the society (typically public, private, civil society and research institutes) (see also Figure 5 in Chapter II). At a regional level (i.e. transboundary basin), the key stakeholders include possible joint bodies and other regional organizations and networks. Such organizations and networks are usually public sector-driven, but may also include representatives from the private sector, civil society and/or academia. At a national or State level, key stakeholders typically consist of relevant public authorities (e.g. ministries and line agencies) but may also include e.g. companies responsible for the operation of hydropower or other large-scale infrastructure. Similarly, important may be the relevant civil society organizations and research institutes that have knowledge on e.g. water, energy and agriculture policies, as well as the environment.
At a local level, the key stakeholders may include different citizen organizations and networks (public and non-public) as well as relevant other organizations from different sectors of the society. Local communities, including Indigenous peoples, and individuals with water-using businesses, such as farmers, often represent the ultimate water end-users. Engaging these communities and individuals early on in the design phase of water allocation and re-allocation processes enhances participation and representation of their views and values. Due to the historical underrepresentation of especially Indigenous groups in water governance processes and power asymmetries between them and other parties, including in transboundary settings, room should be made for targeted stakeholder learning, capacity- and trust-building. Stakeholder analyses can be classified by their rationale and whether they aim at identifying, categorizing or investigating relationships between stakeholders, with associated methods (Figure 20). Stakeholder analysis and engagement methods that have especially been tailored for water resources management in transboundary context are provided e.g. by the Global Water Partnership IWRM toolbox and International Network of Basin Organizations.

CASE STUDY: Public participation & consensus-building in water management for the Great Lakes Basin

With over 44 million people living within the Great Lakes Basin shared between Canada and the United States, it is difficult to satisfy the need to preserve critical ecosystem functions, protect riparian landowners and business from flood damage and drought impacts, and provide appropriate flows and lake levels for navigation, hydropower

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production, recreation and fishing and the many other beneficial uses. Public engagement is critical as well as ensuring the decision-making process is consensus-based and transparent.

The International Joint Commission (IJC) was established by the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 between the United States and the United Kingdom relating to boundary waters between the United States and Canada. The Treaty requires uses, obstructions or diversions of boundary waters to be permitted by the authority of the United States and Canada within their respective jurisdictions and with the approval of the IJC. The IJC considers applications for projects such as dams which impact water levels on the other side of the boundary. Conditions for the operation and maintenance of projects affecting boundary waters are provided in ‘Orders of Approval’. In the Great Lakes, the IJC has issued orders of approval for works at Sault St. Marie, Ontario and Michigan, at the outlet of Lake Superior, on the Niagara River, and for the Moses-Saunders Dam at the outlet of Lake Ontario in Cornwall, Ontario and Massena, New York. Following multi-year binational studies, the IJC issued updated Orders of Approval for the regulation of water levels and outflows for Lake Superior and in 2016 for Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. The International Upper Great Lakes Study431 and the Lake Ontario St. Lawrence River study both used a ‘Shared Vision Model’ for reaching consensus-based decisions in developing recommendations for revisions to conditions in the applicable Orders of Approval.

The Shared Vision Model is the name of the computer model developed in the context of water level studies to integrate the results from each of the technical work groups in one place. With this Model, various regulation plans could be run through an evaluation process and the results compared between interests and locations. The IJC uses an adaptive management and climate change framework to periodically review its orders of approval to evaluate whether the models used in formulating the regulation plans responded as anticipated over time. Detailed information is available in the Great Lakes Adaptive Management Committee’s (GLAM) short and long term strategy documents.432 Studies relating to the impacts of a changing climate, extreme events of floods and droughts, degradation of ecosystem functions and impacts to the many changing beneficial uses within the Basin are considered in the adaptive management strategy. The GLAM Committee reports to the IJC Great Lakes boards, the International Lake Superior Board of Control, International Lake Ontario-St. Lawrence River Board and the International Niagara River Board of Control. The IJC consults with the United States and Canadian governments on recommended revisions to regulation plans. The Orders must be consistent with U.S. and Canadian laws.

Under the ‘Shared Vision Model’, the IJC brings together an equal number of experts, decision-makers and stakeholders from both countries to create a system model that connects science, public preferences and decision-making criteria. It consists of the following basic steps.

- First, establish binational working groups/committees. These working groups must be inclusive and balanced and include local interests and experts from within the basin areas:
  - A science group consisting of the best experts from the private sector, academia and governments to oversee the creation of the scientific foundation for negotiations, and
  - A citizen advisory group representing community leaders, public interest groups and businesses.
- Second, these groups would work together to define the issues and options to address in the negotiation process.
- Third, they would become comfortable with the technical information and methods used.
- Fourth, they would collect data and operate models to show the trade-offs between the various economic values for uses and important environmental indicators. They would work together to refine models, options and outcomes.
- Fifth, both groups would make sure the process and outcomes are transparent and open to the public for the duration of the negotiation process.

Lastly, final outcomes and reports will be submitted to the U.S. and Canadian governments for review and approval.

431 See http://www.iugls.org/
432 See https://www.ijc.org/en/glam/strategy
The success of the IJC’s ‘Shared Vision Model’ approach highlights the importance in transboundary allocation arrangements of obtaining public and political acceptance on the outcomes of these models that show the trade-offs between the various economic values for beneficial uses and important environmental indicators.

Institutional analysis

Besides the water issues at hand and the stakeholder views and needs, pre-existing agreements and institutional arrangements can often frame the development of transboundary water allocation plans between co-riparian States (see also Figure 1 in Chapter 1). The UN global water conventions and pre-existing transboundary agreements provide an overall framework for the arrangements and guide in defining the actual process for determining transboundary water allocation or re-allocation in the given context. Other international agreements and arrangements related to e.g. flood protection, energy production and hydropower development or environmental conservation and restoration are equally important to consider as they may set prerequisites for the quantity, quality and timing of shared water.

At a national level, domestic legislation, strategies and guidelines inform the priorities and procedures of the allocation mechanisms and their implementation. At a local level, water management plans and practices define the ultimate water end-use. Regardless of the level of stakeholder interaction of water governance, allocation processes require adequate institutional capacity to succeed. Transboundary water allocation arrangements and official agreements require significant effort to accomplish. A sufficient level of institutional, technical (including ability to do assessments and monitoring) and legal capacity are needed for

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all riparian States in order to carry out a functional transboundary water allocation process. In addition to capacity, political will from all riparian States is essential in ensuring commitment. The national water allocation “health check” provided by OECD provides several aspects applicable also in the transboundary context for the institutional review of the current or estimating the need for new allocation arrangements. Chapters II, V and VI and the following steps 3 and 4 present in detail the institutional elements of transboundary water allocation.

### The OECD “Health Check” for Water Resources Allocation

- **Check 1.** Are there accountability mechanisms in place for the management of water allocation that are effective at a catchment or basin scale?
- **Check 2.** Is there a clear legal status for all water resources (surface and ground water and alternative sources of supply)?
- **Check 3.** Is the availability of water resources (surface water, groundwater and alternative sources of supply) and possible scarcity well-understood?
- **Check 4.** Is there an abstraction limit (“cap”) that reflects in situ requirements and sustainable use?
- **Check 5.** Is there an effective approach to enable efficient and fair management of the risk of shortage that ensures water for essential uses?
- **Check 6.** Are adequate arrangements in place for dealing with exceptional circumstances (such as drought or severe pollution events)?
- **Check 7.** Is there a process for dealing with new entrants and for increasing or varying existing entitlements?
- **Check 8.** Are there effective mechanisms for monitoring and enforcement, with clear and legally robust sanctions?
- **Check 9.** Are water infrastructures in place to store, treat and deliver water in order for the allocation regime to function effectively?
- **Check 10.** Is there policy coherence across sectors that affect water resources allocation?
- **Check 11.** Is there a clear legal definition of water entitlements?
- **Check 12.** Are appropriate abstraction charges in place for all users that reflect the impact of the abstraction on resource availability for other users and the environment?
- **Check 13.** Are obligations related to return flows and discharges properly specified and enforced?
- **Check 14.** Does the system allow water users to reallocate water among themselves to improve the allocative efficiency of the regime?


### C) STEP 3: Shared Knowledge Base

A shared knowledge base building on joint monitoring and assessment systems and commensurate data is essential for sustainable and equitable transboundary water allocation decision-making. As discussed in Chapter VII, the knowledge base ideally includes reliable time-series assessments of available surface water and groundwater resources, environmental requirements (including e-flows), impact assessments and water uses and needs assessments. At the beginning of an allocation or re-allocation processes, a joint scientific foundation built by an international group of experts based on the latest available knowledge may help in building trust and enhance the robustness of arrangements (see case study on the IJC ‘Shared Vision Model’). Due to the constantly evolving circumstances, mechanisms and tools such as DSS allowing for

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evaluation of the sufficiency of and easy update of data can be helpful to put in place (see Chapter VII, Section 5). Technical tools and approaches for determining water needs of different sectors and users may range from national monitoring, mass balance modelling, estimation utilizing proxies to water footprint assessments (see Chapter VII, Subsection 3b). In assessing future development of demands, combined demographic, socioeconomic and climate scenarios help in identifying possible future trajectories. When current or future water availability and demands do not meet, to reach a sustainable balance, supply and demand management options, including any potential for efficiency gains in different sectors, need to be carefully investigated.

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**CASE STUDY: Jointly developed knowledge-based management of transboundary deep thermal groundwater body in the Lower-Bavarian-/Upper-Austrian Molasse-Basin**

Intensive uses of the thermal groundwater in the transboundary Lower-Bavarian-/Upper-Austrian Molasse-Basin led by 1990 to the situation that due to use for geothermal energy in Austria and use of thermal water for balneological purposes in Germany (Bavaria) decreasing water pressures were observed. A sustainable, harmonised management of the transboundary deep thermal groundwater body in close cooperation turned out to be needed to avoid an overexploitation and to guarantee a sustainable use of the thermal water. The Legal framework for the cooperation was provided by the Regensburg Treaty (1987) on Water Management Cooperation in the Danube River Basin, which is the basis for a Permanent Bilateral Water Commission between Austria and Germany. A bilateral Expert Group “Thermal Water” was established 1992, with representation of the key authorities from the German federated State (Land) of Bavaria and Austria. The Expert Group developed scientific knowledge, a combined and balanced monitoring programme with regular data exchange and appropriated tools, notably a numerical groundwater model, to support the transboundary management of the groundwater body. In order to maintain the natural pressure level as far as possible, the obligatory reinjection of geothermally used water into the groundwater body is an essential management principle. Guidelines for the use of thermal water were developed to provide management principles and technical harmonized regulations, including concerning harmonized exploitation and monitoring for sustainable use of the transboundary deep thermal groundwater body.

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**D) STEP 4: Identifying Alternatives and Addressing Diverging Understandings**

Multi-criteria decision analysis (MCDA) and decision support systems (DSS) are examples of two main methods and their accompanying technological systems which may assist in identifying transboundary allocation options, relevant broader approaches and related alternatives, and even more so helping to decide between those which is the most effective choice or combination of choices. MCDA can provide a transparent and systematic evaluation of possible alternatives from different perspectives. Carrying out the MCDA process in close collaboration with relevant stakeholders enhances social learning and enables inclusion of the public values and concerns in the process, increasing participants’ trust as well as the process quality. Various MCDA software tools and DSS technologies have been developed to support the application of MCDA methods in practice. Graphical user interfaces, for example, offer various possibilities to visualize

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the process and the results. There are several ways and supporting tools to gather information for the MCDA process as well. Stakeholders’ preferences can be collected with postal or online questionnaires, in a group meeting or in personal or small group interviews. In some cases, experts’ preferences can be used when they are judged to sufficiently represent different viewpoints. Joint bodies are best positioned to apply the MCDA methods and DSS in practice (see study in Chapter VII). In general, joint bodies have a central role in addressing diverging understanding between States, sectors and other stakeholders due to their commonly acknowledged mandate and as they provide a platform for continuous exchange and cooperation.439

Economics is a narrower basis of analysis for water allocation in a transboundary context, but one which can also support decision-making regarding potential options and alternatives. The FAO outlines that “Economics contributes towards improved allocations by informing decision-makers of the full social costs of water use and the full social benefits of the goods and services that water provides. The main approaches that form the methodological basis for strategic economic appraisal are cost-benefit analysis and cost-effectiveness analysis.”440 Cost-benefit analysis is the more common tool which “provides a rational and systematic framework for assessing alternative management and policy options. It entails identification and economic valuation of all positive and negative effects of alternative options. This involves the translation of all benefits and costs into monetary terms, including where possible, non-marketed environmental, social and other impacts. It is based on the underlying assumption that individual preferences should determine the allocation of resources among competing uses in society.”441 (see the case study on Lesotho Highlands Water Project for how this was implemented in allocation options decision-making). However, there are recognized constraints to this approach, particularly concerning intrinsic environmental and cultural values that perhaps cannot be quantified and monetized (see Chapter V, Sections 1 and 4). Hence, for cost-benefit analysis to be used effectively to support transboundary water allocation decision-making, its limitations should be factored into any assessments of options and any underlying assumptions appropriate to a specific situation should be explicitly acknowledged in order to ensure that the results are contextual, valid and reliable.442

*Dealing with limited data and uncertainty*

Lack of data is a common and critical problem in transboundary water resources management and allocation. Data accuracy, timeliness and completeness are often the issues. Notwithstanding, all data is not always required. Sharing information and co-producing knowledge may already help to unlock potential conflicts and provide understanding of shared benefits.443 When dealing with limited data, it is essential to build in mechanisms and capacity to deal with uncertainty in the allocation arrangements. Furthermore, regardless of the availability of data, some level of uncertainty is always present and robust decision-making is possible under uncertainty. To deal with uncertainty, allocation decisions should avoid limiting future options, but

allow for responding also to unprecedented events such as through uncertainty and sensitivity analyses, respectively.\textsuperscript{444} Further approaches for dealing with uncertainty may include:

- Precautionary and conservative approach in assessing available water resources and its allocation to different parties and users (see Chapter II, Section 4);
- Mechanism recognizing intra-annual and inter-annual variability in availability;
- Contingency allocations for exceptional and changing circumstances;
- Strengthen adaptability of allocation arrangements (or enable adaptability of allocation arrangements to changing circumstances) (See Chapter VI, Section 4);
- Ensuring environmental flows in different scenarios (see Chapter III, Sub-section 3a).\textsuperscript{445}

**Identifying and Assessing Alternatives for Water Allocation**

Establishing and implementing a transboundary water allocation arrangement is a major undertaking which should not be executed without proper consideration of the actual need for, and alternatives to, allocation. Identifying both the alternatives of transboundary water allocation, as described above, and the alternatives for water allocation should build on the knowledge base on shared waters and their use, and a structured process to recognize possibilities to address different needs and interests. The arrangements require and benefit from reconsideration or greater formalization, especially when water resources availability and uses, needs and their priority change or when conflicting views arise regarding their status. The strength of water allocation is its concrete, measurable and verifiable focus on water quantity, quality and timing. At the same time, successful use of shared waters does not necessarily require water allocation, but may take place also through other, alternative ways. In general, two main categories can be recognized as alternatives for water allocation: broader alternatives, and practical alternatives. Broader alternatives indicate the utilization of water resources management frameworks, river basin plans, water-energy-food security approach or similar broader approaches to address water use and allocation in the given context (see Chapter IV). Practical alternatives consist of more focused arrangements, such as demand management measures, sharing benefits from hydropower dams or joint water quality management (for further details, see Chapters III and IV).

2) **PHASE 2: Transboundary Water Allocation Agreements and Arrangements**

A) **STEP 5: Negotiating at Transboundary Level for Suitable Arrangements and Agreements**

The UN global water conventions set a framework for negotiating bilateral and multilateral transboundary arrangements or agreements. According to the Water Convention, the riparian countries must cooperate on the basis of equality and reciprocity and in particular through bilateral and multilateral agreements (Art. 2.6). They need to hold consultations on the basis of reciprocity, good faith and good-neighbourliness and these consultations must aim at transboundary cooperation (Art. 10). The Watercourses Convention requires that when adjustments and applications of the provisions of the Convention are needed, States need to consult with a view to negotiating in good faith for the purpose of concluding a watercourse agreement (Art. 3.5). In general, each riparian State has the right to participate equally in the negotiation of transboundary water allocation arrangements and agreements.\textsuperscript{446} The Watercourses Convention requires that every riparian country (“watercourse State”) is entitled to participate in the negotiation of and to become a party to any transboundary agreement that applies to the entire transboundary watercourse. If a water agreement applies only to a part of the watercourse or to a particular project, program or use, a State whose water use may be affected to a significant extent by the agreement is entitled to participate in consultations and negotiation in


\textsuperscript{446} See Rieu-Clarke et al. 2012, p. 89; UNECE Implementation Guide 2013, p. 33.
good faith with a view to becoming a party to the agreement (Art. 4). The good faith principle is fundamental to the negotiation process and refers to carrying them out with honest intent, fairness, sincerity, and no intention to deceit. Furthermore, as expressed by the International Court of Justice, States concerned “are under an obligation so to conduct themselves that the negotiations are meaningful”. According to the Water Convention, the bilateral and multilateral agreements or arrangements need to embrace relevant issues covered by the Water Convention (Art. 9). The provisions of the UN global water conventions can be applied in and tailored to the specific needs of different kinds of transboundary river basins. Additionally, some of the provisions of the

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**CASE STUDY: Regional recommendations on transboundary water allocation from Central Asia and the neighboring States**

Contributing to the preparation of the Handbook, the International Water Assessment Centre (IWAC) in Kazakhstan led with Kazakh partners a parallel regional project for Central Asia and neighboring States on transboundary water allocation. The process was initiated by the Government of Kazakhstan’s formal outreach to the countries with an invitation to engage, and led to development of two technical reports, on water allocation in a transboundary context and assessment of environmental flows. The conclusions and selected case studies were integrated into the global Handbook. The IWAC convened two online meetings for the States concerned to discuss the case studies and lessons learned.

The group of experts that was formed compiled and published a regional study on transboundary water allocation with inputs from Afghanistan, China, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

The broad range of conclusions included the following:

- When planning new bilateral or multilateral water allocation agreements, it is recommended to use well-established principles of international water law, such as equitable and reasonable use and the obligation not to cause significant harm. To this end, cooperation and membership in relevant international and regional conventions are recommended.
- To increase the chances of success, bilateral or multilateral water allocation agreements should not only be declarative, but should always include mechanisms for monitoring and control, as well as an effective enforcement mechanism.
- Guaranteeing of environmental flows shall feature in transboundary water allocation agreements, recognizing the need to harmonize the level of environmental flows by seasons and years, depending on weather conditions and water availability.
- Implementation of an approach to managing water, energy, land and ecosystem services based on a system of relationships (Nexus approach), aimed at the efficiency and sustainability of the use of these resources.
- For the Aral Sea basin, the existing water sharing cooperation structures, such as the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea (IFAS) and its regional commissions the Interstate Commission for Water Coordination (ICWC) and the Interstate Commission on Sustainable Development (ICSD) need reforms to make them fully effective and guarantee the unconditional participation of all countries sharing water resources. For any regional agreement, the key is to establish an open dialogue on water allocation and ensure participation of the energy sector.


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**THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW**

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448 Rieu-Clarke et al. 2012, p. 91.
449 Pulp Mills case, para 146.
Water Convention are quite precise and specific. While the riparian countries have a lot of discretion to consider how the principles of international water law and the provisions of the conventions are applied between them, under the Water Convention, a transboundary water agreement “would not preclude the inequitable therefore illegal, nature of a use that would be unsustainable, such as a use that would irreversibly affect the environment to the extent of impairing present or future vital human needs of the people living along the basin, or beyond.”

Negotiating for water allocation agreements and other arrangements should not be viewed as a non-recurring process, but rather as a part of ongoing transboundary water allocation cooperation. Cooperation is often a step-by-step process that may be possible to start only with simple steps by, for example, organizing regular joint meetings between the relevant agencies of the co-riparian States concerned. The Water Convention specifically refers to the possible revision of existing agreements (Art. 9) and the assessment of equitable water use and allocation may need to be revised at a later stage if the circumstances and other relevant factors related to water allocation change. States may also consider that they provide for public participation, including NGOs, in the negotiation of transboundary water allocation agreements. The public could be granted access to the draft agreements or other arrangements and the possibility to comment on them. Moreover, NGOs can be invited to observe and comment on intergovernmental allocation negotiations. Depending on the consent of the co-riparians involved, third parties may also be invited to play a facilitator, mediator or observer role during the negotiation transboundary allocation agreements, such as the example of the World Bank facilitating the Indus Waters Treaty between India and Pakistan (see case study below).

CASE STUDY PLACE-HOLDER: Role of third parties in negotiating the Indus Waters Treaty

**B) STEP 6: Establishing Water Allocation Agreements / Arrangements**

Joint arrangements, agreements and joint bodies established by riparian countries are key elements of well-functioning transboundary allocation systems granting certainty and legal weight in the long-term. As emphasized, there are no universally accepted criteria for allocating transboundary waters or establishing arrangements and agreements for this purpose. The principles and objectives of water allocation need to be interpreted in the context of each transboundary basin’s unique setting. However, some guidelines can be drawn from the principles, objectives and mechanisms of transboundary water allocation, as presented in Chapters II, V, VI and VII. For example, the role of transboundary water governance institutions is important for water allocation and should be strong. New transboundary water allocation agreements and other arrangements need to be designed to be adaptable in the medium and longer terms to changing hydrological, climatic and other related factors (socioeconomic, geographical, cultural etc.).

States may also consider revising existing water allocation agreements and other arrangements, or adopting subsidiary instruments (see the example of minutes in the United States and Mexico case study below), to make them more adaptable, in accordance with the general principles of treaty law. In doing so, it may be useful to jointly review pre-existing usage patterns and any transboundary allocation arrangements on which they are based in order to adapt to evolving conditions and demands. Such review should be based on equity and sustainability, especially as regards upstream and downstream water use allocations, including for the environment. In some cases, technical solutions, informal or temporary arrangements, may be instrumental in reaching a negotiated and acceptable short-term solution for allocation in a transboundary context.

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453 UNECE Implementation Guide 2013, p. 66.
The mandates of transboundary joint bodies should be broad and the governance have enough capacity to adapt to changing circumstances. Concerning the actual allocation, the riparian countries should be able to determine allocable waters and current allocation, establish clear allocation rules and take e.g. annual flow variation, flow forecasts, environmental flows and future water use needs into account. Water allocation mechanisms can be divided into three sub-categories: direct mechanisms, indirect mechanisms, and principle-based mechanisms as detailed in Table 12.454

Practical anecdotes worth noting when negotiating water allocation arrangements

- Terms of reference for the development of water allocation strategy for Cubango-Okavango River Basin (CORB): will guide the Commission and States in effective implementation of their national action plans. The main purposes are: (1) To define key principles that can facilitate effective regulation and control the use of water resources within the CORB. (2) To set up criteria that can assist the formulations of appropriate mechanisms to equitably allocate water for ecological, social and economic needs in line with the OKACOM mandate and objectives. (3) To set up the framework that encourages efficient and effective social, economic and environmental use of water resources within the basin. (4) To set procedures that facilitates the production of accurate data on water availability, use and demand for both surface and groundwater across different spatial and time scales.

- India and Bangladesh signed the Ganges Water Sharing Treaty in 1996 to govern the sharing of water in the lower Ganges in the dry season (January to May). The treaty stipulates that below a certain flow rate, India and Bangladesh will each share half of the water. Above a certain limit, Bangladesh will be guaranteed a certain minimum level, and if the water flow exceeds a given limit, India will withdraw a given amount, and the balance (which will be more than 50%) will be received by Bangladesh. The treaty is an arrangement for the allocation of river flow in the dry and rainy seasons between India and Bangladesh. The parties agreed upon volumes, percentages and availability of the water of Ganges: during low flows at Farakka Barrage (a dam), India and Bangladesh split the flow evenly; at midrange flows Bangladesh is entitled to a fixed volume while India gets the balance; and at high flows India is entitled to a fixed volume while Bangladesh gets the balance.455 The allocation arrangement has been described as resilient to drought because difficult times are shared equally between parties, and the scheme provides riparians with assurances of entitlements during average-flow and high-flow years.456 However, in the years following the agreement, India and Bangladesh disputed the flow level despite the fact that it is spelled out explicitly in the treaty.457

- The OMVS allocation method does not dictate volumes of water to be withdrawn, but uses such as agriculture, livestock raising, fishing, tree farming, fauna and flora, hydroelectric energy production, drinking water, industry etc.

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454 (Drieschova, Giordano, and Fischhendler 2008; Giordano et al. 2014).
456 Odom and Wolf 2011.
457 Odom and Wolf 2011.
C) **STEP 7: Development of Allocation Mechanisms and Plans**

Transboundary water allocation arrangements and agreements often need to be further specified through developing allocation mechanisms and plans. The arrangements and agreements may be more or less detailed and water allocation mechanisms, which have been discussed in the previous section, differ in how clear guidelines they provide for the allocation. The mechanisms and plans are needed at transboundary as well as at the national and local level management of transboundary waters.

Historically, the focus of allocation mechanisms has been on sharing surface water. With growing attention and interest in the shared management of groundwater, there is a need for groundwater allocation mechanisms that are based on the unique properties and physical characteristics of groundwater and that take into account the interactions with surface water. Therefore, in addition to separating allocation mechanisms for surface and groundwater, several groundwater specific explanatory clauses have been established in Table 12 for how groundwater is physically divided between States. These include using pumping rates, water table levels, and spring outflows to monitor or determine quantities for allocation; pumping restrictions close to transboundary rivers and international borders, as well as mechanisms that divide water based on the pore space or storage capacity of an aquifer rather than based on the volume of water itself. However, many of these have not been applied in existing agreements. In addition to the allocation mechanism, the purpose of water allocation can be specified in an arrangement or agreement (Table 11). For example, an agreement might divide water using a fixed volume or flow rate for the purpose of irrigation, or the riparian countries may identify a percentage of flow that needs to be maintained to meet a basin’s minimum environmental needs. Other potential contexts for allocation include minimum flows, hydropower and navigation.

**TABLE 11. Purpose or context of transboundary water allocation mechanisms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose of Water Allocation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minimum flow: not specified/undefined purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum flow: navigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum flow: environmental needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum flow: hydropower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum flow: tourism/recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental/In-stream Flow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic/Tourism/Recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic/Cultural/Spiritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydropower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Irrigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support of Fish Habitat and Stocks/Fishing Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and/or Municipal Uses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border/Territory Maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollution, such as a specific volume for dilution purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undefined Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, if other the purpose is described in detail in the Allocation Summary Code</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: McCracken et al, (forthcoming)

Transboundary agreements with water allocations should be able to accommodate and react to possible future changes in water availability. This can be done by including percentage allocations, escape clauses (i.e., special provisions for special situations such as extended droughts) or periodic reviews of usage and allocations. Arrangements and agreements should define procedures for negotiation or renegotiation of water
allocations. If such procedures are not in place when circumstances previously defined extreme and temporary become the new normal, the risk for implementation problems and disputes grows.458

**TABLE 12. Water allocation mechanisms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Water Allocation Mechanisms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct Mechanisms</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed quantities: A set volume of water to each riparian; could be once, annually, or at other defined intervals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed quantities to only a subset of the riparians: A set volume of water is allocated to only some of the riparians, and the undefined quantity of the remainder is allocated to other parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of flow: Percentages of flow are allocated to riparian States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal Division: Water is divided equally between the parties, equal division could be in fixed quantities, percentage, by time, etc. or undefined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable by water availability: The allocation is dependent on the availability of water, includes inter- and intra-annual variability, i.e., allocations for low or high flow, drought or flood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable according to time of the year: The allocation is dependent on the time of year, e.g., a monthly or seasonal schedule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water loans: This covers allocations that are recoupable in later periods if not met – such as when a riparian is unable to make a delivery, it can be delivered at a later period – and allocations that are able to be borrowed from another riparian and paid back at a later time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allocation of entire/partial aquifer/river: Allocation is based on sole use, e.g., States are allocated sole use of an aquifer/river or sole use of segments/portions of an aquifer/river within their territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allocating time: Flow is allocated to a riparian for a defined period of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap, limit, or no allocation allowed: Clearly defined cap or limit on the allocation allowed for the resource, and/or the text explicitly does not allow for any diversions from the resource.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect Mechanisms</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prioritization of uses: Allocation is divided based on the priority of use, e.g., domestic use first, hydropower second.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mechanisms Based on Principles</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultation and/or Prior Approval: Riparians consult or seek prior approval/consent of other riparians to determine allocations, make changes to allocations already defined, or for short notice/temporary changes to allocations, such as if one party requires a higher water use than usual because of the construction of an irrigation system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBO, Commission, and/or Committee: allocation mechanism is to be determined by a river basin organization, commission, and/or committee. This could include an existing body or a newly established body with a broad mandate, as well as an existing or newly established body for the specific purpose of establishing and managing allocations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits sharing: The benefits of the allocated water are shared between parties, e.g., hydropower, flood control, or other benefits that could be given a monetary value, which is shared. This is not an exchange of water with a non-water linkage (this is captured in a separate code: B.P. Non-Water Linkages).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical or existing uses: Allocation mechanism is based on the prior, historical, or existing uses of the riparian(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equitable use: Allocation mechanism is defined using the principle of equitable and reasonable use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable use: Allocation mechanism defines sustainable use for the aquifer/river, or allocates water based on the principles of sustainable use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market-based: Allocation mechanism uses a market instrument, such as a water market, to allocate water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not Defined</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear: Allocation mechanism exists, but it is not clearly defined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pumping rates: allocation mechanism specifies particular rates for abstraction from wells</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Groundwater Specific Mechanisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Water table impact: allocation mechanisms refer to or are limited by the groundwater table height. e.g., abstractions are prohibited if the water table falls below a certain level in monitoring wells.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spring outflow: allocation mechanism is related to the spring outflow, for example, the volume of allocation is dependent on the level of spring outflow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquifer: allocation mechanism is related to or addresses the pore space and/or storage capacity of the aquifer, not the groundwater itself</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: McCracken et al. (forthcoming)

The direct allocation mechanisms include both fixed and flexible allocation mechanisms. Fixed allocations set a volume of water to be delivered, for example, from a dam. Flexible allocations can be based on e.g. percentage shares of available flows and allow water allocation regimes to respond to changes in water availability. Flexible allocation requires flexible infrastructure, effective operating rules, and regular communication and data sharing. It is also possible to combine fixed allocations with percentage allocations to provide a predictable and flexible water allocation mechanism. Particular principles of water allocation, such as equity, rational use, no-harm and sustainability, may also be combined with this kind of arrangement. A pre-defined sequence of priority of uses as well as different kinds of cooperative arrangements between the riparian countries can be used as indirect allocation mechanisms. The prioritization of uses sets out the priority of access to water according to types of uses or users. It may guide the overall allocation of water entitlements or be applied only during exceptional hydrological circumstances. Arguably, the mechanisms based on principles may provide guidelines for allocating water while maintaining the spirit of the underlying agreement at the same time. However, using a mere principle instead of a clearly established allocation rule may not be the most feasible approach in the long run. Instead, a mechanism that prescribes both flexibility based on principles and specificity in the allocation of water seem to contribute positively to sustained cooperation among riparian States.

Existing frameworks for developing transboundary allocation mechanisms

Transboundary water allocation planning must follow the principles and objectives discussed in Chapters V-VI such as the equitable and reasonable utilization, no-harm and cooperation. The ADB handbook on Basin Water Allocation Planning published in 2013 provides ten ‘golden rules’ of basin water allocation planning based on international experience, all of which can generally be applied also in a transboundary setting:

1. “In basins where water is becoming stressed, it is important to link allocation planning to broader social, environmental and economic development planning. Where inter-basin transfers are proposed, allocation planning also needs to link to plans related to that development.

2. Successful basin allocation processes depend on the existence of adequate institutional capacity.

3. The degree of complexity in an allocation plan should reflect the complexity and challenges in the basin.

4. Considerable care is required in defining the amount of water available for allocation. Once water has been (over) allocated, it is economically, financially, socially and politically difficult to reduce allocations.

5. Environmental water needs provide a foundation on which basin allocation planning should be built.

6. The water needs of certain priority purposes should be met before water is allocated among other users. This can include social, environmental and strategic priorities.

7. In stressed basins, water efficiency assessments and objectives should be developed within or alongside the allocation plan. In water-scarce situations, allocations should be based on an understanding of the relative efficiency of different water users.

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459 Cooley and Gleick 2011 p. 715
460 UNECE and INBO 2015 p. 21.
461 Sanchez and Roberts 2014 p. 66.
462 Shlomi Dinar et al 2015, Climate change, conflict, and cooperation: Global analysis of the effectiveness of international river treaties in addressing water variability, 45 Political Geography 55-66 p. 23
8. Allocation plans need to have a clear and equitable approach for addressing variability between years and seasons.

9. Allocation plans need to incorporate flexibility in recognition of uncertainty over the medium to long term in respect of changing climate and economic and social circumstances.

10. A clear process is required for converting regional water shares into local and individual water entitlements, and for clearly defining annual allocations.

The 2015 OECD publication entitled ‘Water Resources Allocation Sharing Risks and Opportunities’ connects the need of water allocation planning with the management of system-wide allocation challenges. Accordingly, a river basin management plan can set out a clear framework for allocation. A clear and transparent process to facilitate stakeholder engagement to planning is also often needed. The required scale of planning depends on the particular water allocation challenges and may vary from the basin to sub-catchment and aquifer level.

The EU Water Framework Directive provides an example on river basin management planning which can be applied in a transboundary setting. The Directive requires that Member States aim at producing an international river basin management plan when a transboundary basin (international river basin district) is located entirely in the area of the EU. Member States must endeavour to produce such a plan also with non-member States when transboundary waters extend beyond the boundaries of the EU (Art. 13). Related to water allocation, the plan must include, for example, estimation of pressures on the quantitative status of water, a summary of the economic analysis of water use, a report on the practical steps and measures taken to apply the principle of recovery of the costs of water use, and a summary of the controls on abstraction and impoundment of water (ANNEX VII).

**CASE STUDY: Joint management of Doosti Dam by Iran and Turkmenistan**

Taking over after decades of planning still in Soviet time, Turkmenistan signed an agreement in 1999 with Iran to jointly construct a dam on the border river Harirud. Purpose of the dam and reservoir is to reduce the flood risks and provide regulated flow for development of irrigated agriculture in two countries. Construction of the 78 meters high earthen Doosti dam was financed by Iran and Turkmenistan jointly, countries have rights for equal share of the water available.

For joint management of the dam, the Doosti Dam Common Coordinating Commission (DCC) was established in 2000 with equal representation from local water management authorities of both countries. The Commission is in charge of implementation of the operational and maintenance manual for the dam and the downstream Shartape diversion dam. The Commission conducts joint measuring and monitoring. It is also in charge of guaranteeing the environmental flow of approximately 30 million m³ a year.

**THIS CASE STUDY TEXT IS STILL UNDER REVIEW**

**Main points to consider**

The development of allocation mechanisms and plans may provide flexibility for transboundary water allocation. Flexibility is required because uncertainties and changing circumstances, as consequences of climate change and other pressures affecting transboundary waters, may render stationary water allocation arrangements largely meaningless. At the same time, the approach to transboundary water allocation should be holistic and give recognition to long-term perspectives instead of responding impulsively to a series

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463 ADB 2013.
464 OECD 2015, p. 121.
of new projected impacts and scenarios. Overall, when developing allocation mechanisms, the following points should be taken into consideration:

- How to develop specific and adaptive allocations mechanisms and plans based on transboundary agreements and other arrangements;
- Different scales of allocation mechanisms and plans;
- Examples of allocation planning at different scales, from the local, national, and basin-wide;
- Key factors to think of when developing an allocation plan – physical characteristics of the resource, how water is accessed, how the resource pool is defined, etc.;
- Role of private sector, operators of water systems.

3) PHASE 3: Implementation of Transboundary Water Allocation Arrangements and Agreements

A) STEP 8: Implementation

The implementation of transboundary water allocation agreements follows similar steps outlined for the implementation of the main principles of the UN global water conventions. First, States must enact national law and regulations and enter into cooperative arrangements such as establishing joint bodies. Second, States need to adopt sufficient administrative measures. And third, they need to make sufficient human, financial and technical resources available for the implementation. While allocation mechanisms may be formally enshrined in treaties and related mandates of river basin organizations, the plans and systems for implementation of water allocation arrangements may be more informal depending on the arrangement. Such arrangements may take the form of policy documents and subsequent policy or legal/regulatory instruments. However, their implementation often requires the same steps as the agreements.

While an adequate transboundary legal framework brings predictability and allows for, practical experience show that a legal basis is not always necessary for transboundary cooperation, depending on the countries and their relations. A common understanding and/or shared interests can also provide a functioning basis for practical cooperation. Moreover, when the interests are aligned, national policies in the upstream country may to a large degree respond to the needs of also a downstream country, as may be the case for a flow regulation regime that serves multiple purposes, provided that there is a good communication. In some cases, where political relations are tense and there is e.g. a territorial issue, informal technical level realization may be the only possible to implement measures, that might be necessary, e.g. for safety reasons.

The implementation of the Water Convention already provides a comprehensive set of implementation measures at the national and international level. These measures can be specified and complemented in transboundary water agreements and other arrangements. The Convention requires countries to take many national level implementation measures related to water allocation such as:

- promotion of sustainable water resources management;
- application of environmental impact assessment and other means of assessment;
- prevention, control and reduction of the emission of pollutants at source (Art. 3.1); and
- monitoring of the conditions of transboundary waters (Art. 4).

Concerning the implementation measures at the transboundary level, the Water Convention stipulates that the agreements and arrangements must provide for the establishment of joint bodies and sets, for example, the following tasks for these joint bodies:

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466 Honkonen 2017 p. 9-10.
467 ADB 2013.
468 OECD 2015.
• elaboration of joint monitoring programmes concerning water quality and quantity;
• establishment of warning and alarming procedures; and
• exchange of information on existing and planned uses of water and related installations that are likely to cause transboundary impact (Art. 9.2).

Depending on the State system, national water allocation is further divided to basin level and regional water allocation. The transboundary shares are usually allocated to sub-national jurisdictions, administrative regions and management entities that decide and grant water entitlements, permits and licences to individual water users and abstractors.

Main points to consider
Implementation of transboundary water allocation arrangements and agreements at national and sub-national level often requires the following elements:
• water allocation planning at different levels from transboundary basin to sub-catchment and aquifer;
• regional limits on water abstraction;
• water entitlement or licensing systems that take the limits into account;
• annual water allocation process that assesses available waters and allocates them between different regions or uses;
• other water management systems such as hydrologic modelling, data collection, monitoring and measures to guarantee the compliance and enforcement.\(^{470}\)

B) STEP 9: Monitoring and Ensuring Compliance

Compliance is a central element of the implementation of water allocation arrangements and agreements. It can be defined as a State’s behavior in accordance with its commitments stemming from the allocation agreements. A compliance system includes rules and procedures such as a compliance review that assess, regulate, and ensure compliance. Monitoring compliance is an essential element of that system. Non-compliance may be a result of a State’s unwillingness and ability to meet its commitments but can also relate to ambiguity and indeterminacy in agreement language.\(^{471}\)

Monitoring and Assessment under the UN global water conventions
The UN global water conventions include many provisions that aim at monitoring and ensuring compliance with the Conventions as well as transboundary arrangements and agreements based on them. The Water Convention requires States to establish programmes for monitoring the conditions of transboundary waters (Art. 4) and the riparian countries to elaborate joint monitoring programmes concerning water quality and quantity (Art. 9.2). The riparian countries also need to exchange information on transboundary waters and impacts (Art. 13), as well as inform each other about critical situations and set up warning and alarming systems (Art. 14). According to the Watercourses Convention, riparian countries need to exchange data and information on the conditions of transboundary waters (Art. 9). The Convention includes a specific Part III on planned measures that may have an effect on the conditions of transboundary waters (international watercourse in the Convention). Accordingly, States need to inform and consult and negotiate with each other on these effects and, if needed, provide other States a timely notification thereof. In addition, the Convention includes provisions on the reply to the notification and on consultations and negotiations concerning planned measures (Arts. 11-19).

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\(^{470}\) See ADB 2013 p. 91-97.
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/406715#record-files-collapse-header
Concerning transboundary water allocation arrangements and agreements, active reporting and regular exchange of information is an essential measure for monitoring and ensuring compliance. Joint bodies are often charged with a monitoring task when compliance review and support mechanisms are included in the arrangements. Join bodies may play an important role in the compliance review process, i.e. through monitoring of action plans, and of the efforts of States to meet objectives, standards and targets. Often there is a higher risk of experiencing transboundary conflict if water allocation agreements and other arrangements do not contain follow-up monitoring and enforcement mechanisms. However, compliance mechanisms should be different from dispute prevention and settlement mechanisms between co-riparians as contained in any allocation framework. Any compliance review procedure should be without prejudice to dispute settlement.

Monitoring and the exchange of data and information should enable assessments of quantity and quality of transboundary waters, and their variability in space and time. It should support decision-making on transboundary water allocation, also in critical situations. In general, the analysis of water allocation issues and challenges guides to specify information needs related to water uses, their impacts and varying environmental circumstances such as flooding and drought, sedimentation, salinization and pollution. Monitoring and the exchange of information increases transparency and thus promotes compliance. Ideally, a water allocation regime creates incentives for voluntary compliance with the arrangement or agreements. These incentives may be linked, for instance, to State reputation or benefits under the regime. In general, lack of an explicit enforcement mechanism in a transboundary water agreement may discourage voluntary compliance by the parties. In reality, however, compliance monitoring by joint bodies is rarely imposed, and mechanisms for enforcing decisions and responding to monitored non-compliance are even rarer.

UNECE has published the Geneva Strategy and Framework for Monitoring Compliance with Agreements on Transboundary Waters in 2000. It is based on the following premises:

a) “The Parties agree to monitor compliance with their agreement(s) on transboundary waters through the establishment of a compliance review process. This commitment of States may be found in the agreement on transboundary waters, or in subsequent instruments or mechanisms, including, for example, a decision of the Meeting of the Parties or activities of joint bodies;
b) The compliance review process should be based on mechanisms designed to enhance, improve and ensure compliance, rather than on compliance control and enforcement tools and traditional judicial mechanisms. To this end, the regime created should focus on positive measures and incentives aimed at facilitating compliance;
c) The instrument embodying the compliance review procedure should be, ideally, legally binding. The obligations subject to compliance however, may arise out of non-legally binding instruments, for example, guidelines, voluntary measures, targets and objectives, and may relate to assessment of efforts undertaken, and not only of results achieved;
d) The compliance review procedure is greatly enhanced by the elaboration of clear primary rules, objectives or targets; the elaboration of compliance information systems; the involvement of an institutional mechanism; a response to problems with compliance that, in the first instance, is positive,

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472 UNECE 2000 p. 4.
476 Paisley and Grzybowski, 2011
forward-looking, non-confrontational and non-judicial and, is supplementary to, independent from, any settlement regime. 478

**Water Convention Implementation Committee supporting parties with implementation & compliance issues**

Under the Water Convention, the Implementation Committee’s objective is to “facilitate, promote and safeguard the implementation and application of and compliance with the Convention”. The Committee is meant to deal with specific cases of difficulties with implementing the Convention and is intended as an alternative to a dispute settlement procedure. The Committee is to be simple, non-confrontational, non-adversarial, transparent, supportive and cooperative in nature, building on the distinctive collaborative spirit of the Convention. Concerning compliance with the Convention, the Committee may serve as a means to prevent situations from evolving into a dispute. 479 The Committee consists of nine members elected by the Meeting of the Parties. The members serve in their personal capacity. The Committee has specific advisory, submission, own initiative and information gathering and consultation procedures. 480 The Committee may, for example:

- consider any submission relating to specific issues concerning difficulties in implementation and compliance;
- consider undertaking a Committee initiative;
- examine, at the request of the Meeting of the Parties, specific issues of implementation of and compliance with the Convention;
- take measures, including recommendations.

To support implementation and to address cases of non-compliance the Committee may take, for example, the following measures:

- to suggest or recommend setting up and strengthening domestic regulatory regimes;
- to request and assist the Party or Parties concerned to develop an action plan to facilitate implementation of and compliance with the Convention;
- to invite the Party concerned to submit progress reports to the Committee on the efforts that it is making to comply with its obligations under the Convention;
- to recommend to the Meeting of the Parties to take specific measures such as to recommend that Parties provide capacity-building measures or issue a statement of concern or declarations of non-compliance.

**C) STEP 10: Dispute Prevention and Resolution Mechanisms**

**Dispute prevention**

Cooperative management of a transboundary freshwater basin has considerable potential to prevent conflicts and to promote regional stability. 481 Cooperative management on the basis of the Global Water Conventions and water allocation arrangements and agreements between the riparian countries aims to reconcile water uses and alleviate challenges stemming from, for example, water scarcity, pollution and flooding. 482

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478 UNECE 2000 p. 5.
480 UNECE 2012. Decision VI/1 on support to implementation and compliance (ECE/MP.WAT/37/Add.2) https://unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/env/water/meetings/Implementation_Committee/1st_meeting/Documents/decisionVI_1_Eng.pdf
482 See Sergei Vinogradov and Patricia Wouters 2013, Sino-Russian Transboundary Waters: A Legal Perspective on Cooperation, Institute for Security and Development Policy.
Environmental changes due to climate change and other pressures are likely to sharpen possible conflicts over water and trigger new ones. 483 Trust-building and the maintenance of legitimacy among the riparian countries are essential requirements for conflict prevention. In general, dispute prevention and resolution mechanisms in water agreements and arrangements can be seen as a sequence of steps that may include procedures for cooperative management, clarifying facts, negotiation, mediation, and, finally, as the last resort, dispute resolution. 484

Joint bodies can play an important role in preventing water allocation disputes between the riparian countries. They can manage the use of shared water resources and stipulate rights and obligations in support of the underlying agreements and arrangements, and thus prevent disputes from escalating. 485 Many transboundary water regimes rely on joint bodies to prevent disputes, or to act as pragmatic conflict resolution facilitators. 486 Joint bodies often have expertise and enough neutrality to act both in conflict prevention and dispute settlement within shared basins. In practical terms, the following elements of transboundary water allocation can be central in preventing disputes:

- routines of water allocation and information exchange that create predictability;
- flexibility to adapt to changing circumstances; and
- open communication and gathering of and access to information.

In some cases, possible water allocation disputes between the riparian countries may relate to the interpretation of water allocation agreements and the UN global water conventions. Concerning the interpretation of the Water Convention, the Implementation Committee (see previous subsection 3B) may serve as a non-adversarial means for preventing situations from evolving into a dispute. An advisory procedure under the Implementation Committee is a unique tool which distinguishes this body from other similar mechanisms and enables it to engage with countries seeking to resolve water issues in a non-confrontational manner. 487 Aimed at facilitating implementation and application of the Convention through the provision of advice by the Committee, an advisory procedure shall not be regarded as alleging non-compliance. Options that are open to the Committee in resolving an issue via an advisory procedure are:

   “a) To provide advice and facilitate assistance to individual Parties and groups of Parties in order to facilitate their implementation of the Convention, which may include:
           (i) Suggesting or recommending that domestic regulatory regimes be set up or strengthened and relevant domestic resources be mobilized as appropriate;
           (ii) Assistance in establishing transboundary water cooperation agreements and arrangements for strengthening cooperation and sustainable management of transboundary waters;
           (iii) Facilitating technical and financial assistance, including information and technology transfer, and capacity-building;
           (iv) Assistance in seeking support from specialized agencies and other competent bodies, as appropriate;
   (b) To request and assist, as appropriate, the Party or Parties concerned to develop an action plan to facilitate implementation of the Convention within a time frame to be agreed upon by the Committee and the Party or Parties concerned;

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483 See e.g. Pohl with Carius et al., 2014.
485 See Tir and Stinnett, 2012
487 See example of Montenegro and Albania engaging in an advisory procedure https://unece.org/environment/press/water-conventions-implementation-committee-provides-advice-albania-and-montenegro
Sometimes a joint body is explicitly charged with the task of conflict prevention. This is the case with the Okavango River Basin Commission (OKACOM) Secretariat, for instance. The purpose of the Secretariat is to facilitate conflict prevention, to monitor activities in the basin and to inform OKACOM members of potential points of conflict. In addition, the Secretariat resolves disputes when instructed to do so by the OKACOM, and acts as an impartial broker in negotiations within the Commission (see the OKASEC Guidelines). The Secretariat has been called upon to undertake a broader role in conflict prevention under the Okavango regime (see OKASEC MoU).

Dispute resolution
According to the Water Convention, parties to a dispute about the interpretation or application of the Convention must seek a solution by negotiation or by any other means of dispute settlement acceptable to them. After that the dispute may be submitted to the International Court of Justice or arbitration for a compulsory dispute settlement if the parties have accepted such an option (Art. 22). The Watercourses Convention provides a list of options available to States in order to settle their possible controversies. Disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the Convention’s provisions shall initially be the object of negotiations. If no negotiated settlement is found within six months, the States parties to the dispute shall, at the request of any of them, seek a settlement by diplomatic methods such as good offices, mediation or conciliation, or use the services of any joint watercourse institution entitled to deal with such disputes, or agree to submit the dispute to arbitration or to the International Court of Justice (Art. 33).

The Watercourses Convention stipulates, furthermore, that where the matter is not resolved by using traditional means of dispute settlement, the parties may resort to compulsory fact-finding by an ad hoc commission composed of one member designated by each party and a national of a third State chosen by the members already designated. The non-binding recommendations of the commission are aimed to achieve ‘an equitable solution of the dispute, which the parties shall consider in good faith’ (Art. 33).

CASE STUDY PLACE HOLDER: Indus Waters Treaty dispute resolution mechanisms

Since 1990, 61% of international river basin agreements have incorporated some sort of dispute resolution mechanism. Five different mechanisms and their shares of the total are: the use of diplomatic channels (39%); arbitration (32%); the creation of special commissions for conflict resolution (28%); the agreement to submit a dispute to an existing permanent judicial organ, such as the International Court of Justice (8%); and third-party involvement (6%). It is important that the mechanisms are clearly defined, applied timely and that they can bind disputing parties to a settlement that ensures their equal contribution to the solution.

The parties to the dispute need to feel that they have been treated fairly, the dispute has been handled impartially and effectively, and that the resolution is based on correct information and has come about through a legitimate process.

488 See Article V.22 in decision VI/1 on support to implementation and compliance (ECE/MP.WAT/37/Add.2) https://unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/env/water/meetings/Implementation_Committee/1st_meeting/Documents/decisionVI_1_Eng.pdf
489 Giordano et al. 2014.
490 Giordano et al. 2014.
491 Susanne Schmeier 2011, Resilience to Climate Change – Induced Challenges in the Mekong River Basin. The Role of the MRC, World Bank.
Dispute resolution mechanisms in international water agreements can be structured as a sequence of progressively intensive steps or elements from fact-finding to negotiation and dispute resolution:

- **Negotiations.** Within transboundary water regimes, negotiation is the primary mechanism for resolving disputes between the parties. Negotiations may take place through diplomatic channels or meetings of experts and can be assisted by a joint body. Negotiations may lead, for example, to the creation of a Memorandum of Understanding between the parties.

- **Mediation and good offices.** Mediation involves a neutral external party that guides the negotiation process and helps to identify potential solutions to the dispute. The role of a mediator may range from encouraging the parties to resume negotiations and facilitate dialogue (i.e., good offices) to the investigation of the dispute and active participation in finding a solution. Mediation may only be undertaken by mutual agreement by the parties.

- **Conciliation.** In conciliation, an impartial person or a formal impartial commission studies the facts of the case, establishes the applicable law, and makes solution proposals for the parties.

- **Fact-finding and inquiry.** An impartial person or commission investigates factual or technical matters.

- **Compulsory fact-finding.** According to the Watercourses Convention, a fact-finding commission can be established and it can make “such recommendation as it deems appropriate for an equitable solution of the dispute”. However, the parties to the dispute are not bound by the commission’s recommendation and may still invoke compulsory dispute settlement procedures, such as arbitration or adjudication (Art. 33).

- **Arbitration.** Arbitration means that a dispute is submitted to a third party for resolution. The arbitrator is always a neutral expert and is not involved with the parties or the governing organization of the regime within which the dispute has arisen. Arbitration requires the prior consent of each party to the dispute. In the Watercourses Convention, arbitration is provided for in Article 33 and complemented by the Annex that sets out the rules for the establishment and operation of an Arbitral Tribunal. Arbitration can be a voluntary or mandatory forum (based on jurisdiction to hear the matter being accepted by the disputing parties) for dispute settlement, the outcome/decision of which is final and binding.

- **Dispute resolution by a joint body.** The role of a joint body in preventing and managing disputes largely depends on its characteristics, operating environment and tasks. The regulatory and implementation powers of joint bodies vary, as does their capacity to manage and prevent conflicts. An effective joint body is generally more akin to a multi-issue body that is able to adopt a balanced approach to issues and resolving conflicts. Sometimes a joint body may be designated as the first or primary actor to resolve a dispute between the parties.

- **Specific organizations.** Some organizations serve the conflict management needs of several transboundary water treaty regimes.

- **Adjudication.** It is sometimes possible to refer the dispute to a national or international court. Concerning the International Court of Justice, its general mandate includes the settlement of legal disputes submitted to it by States. No State can be brought to the Court without its prior consent.

- **Permanent international tribunals.** Unless otherwise agreed, a settlement of a dispute by a permanent international tribunal is final and binding, and based on rules of international law.

Transboundary water regimes should be able to determine the conditions for dispute resolution. These include matters such as who may trigger a mechanism, what kinds of issues may be dealt with through it and what is the role of a joint body in dispute resolution. In general, the use of a dispute resolution mechanism may be possible after a breach of the agreement, when its interpretation or application is uncertain, in the course of

492 Paisley and Grzybowski, 2011.
Practical anecdotes worth noting for water allocation dispute prevention and settlement arrangements

- **Indus Water Treaty: Baglihar Dam case;** a neutral expert in the Baglihar difference issued a decision in 2007 (after the Commission had been unable to resolve the issue), which both parties accepted. If a dispute settlement through the Commission is unsuccessful, the Indus Waters Treaty provides for alternative means by decision of a Neutral Expert for any difference in the interpretation or application of the Treaty or the existence of any fact that might constitute a breach of the Treaty. In the case of a dispute according to Article IX, the Governments are called on to resolve the dispute by agreement, and they may enlist a mediator to assist in their efforts or they may submit the dispute to a Court of Arbitration.

- **In 2010, Pakistan instituted arbitral proceedings regarding India’s Kishenganga Hydroelectric Project.** The Court of Arbitration, constituted in accordance with the Indus Waters Treaty in the matter of the Kishenganga Arbitration, rendered a partial award on 18 February 2013.

- **An example of an RBO that has been actively involved in settling conflicting interests between the Parties is the Finnish-Russian Commission on the Utilization of Frontier Waters.** The underlying Agreement Concerning Frontier Watercourses generally provides that the parties may agree to refer any matters concerning the prohibition of pollution or altering the course or flow of a waterway to the Commission for a decision or opinion. This appears to also include matters under dispute between the parties. If the Commission fails to reach consensus on the matter, or if the consequences of the said measure on the territory of the other contracting party are significant, the matter must be submitted to the governments of the two States for consideration. The role of the Commission in conflict resolution is further affirmed by Article 19 of the Agreement, which States that the Commission shall settle any differences of opinion arising from the interpretation or application of the Agreement. If this route proves unsuccessful, the matter will be settled by a Joint Board consisting of representatives of both governments. If the occurrence of transboundary harm cannot be avoided under the Finnish-Russian transboundary water regime, i.e. when the execution of certain measures by one contracting party causes loss or damage in the territory of the other party, the contracting party that permitted such measures is to be held liable. The changes in water discharge volumes are agreed in the joint Commission, and parties may agree on reparation and the Commission shall decide upon compensation to be paid to the party that has suffered losses. The most significant test so far of the liability regime under the Agreement was a case which a Finnish hydroelectric power station incurred losses due to construction of a dam and a hydroelectric power station in Svetogorsk in the Russian Federation. The joint Commission actively participated in settling the issue of compensation.

- **Within the Mekong River Agreement, the joint treaty body must take the initiative to resolve disputes between parties in matters covered by the Agreement.** In the words of the Agreement, it is the task of the Council of the Mekong River Committee ‘to entertain, address and resolve issues, differences and disputes referred to it[...] on matters arising under the Mekong Agreement.’ Furthermore, the Joint Committee of the Committee is asked to ‘address and make every effort to resolve issues and differences that may arise between regular sessions of the Council, referred to it[... ] on matters arising under the Agreement.’ The dispute can be considered resolved only if

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‘the concerned parties are satisfied’. Only after the Commission has proved unable to resolve a dispute in a timely manner shall the case be referred to the governments of the States for resolution through diplomatic channels. The Commission is the first instance to resolve disputes.

- In contrast, the Joint Committee of the Ganges Treaty between India and Bangladesh has the authority to only ‘examine’ any difficulty arising from the implementation of the Treaty. This formulation does not give the Committee authority for dispute resolution or recourse to mediation or arbitration.\textsuperscript{495} A bilateral committee. Main drawbacks: lies in the fact that an equal number of members from each State party sit on the commission, so that no majority may emerge; moreover, the commission members, being mostly engineers and administrators, are not particularly well equipped to deal with disputes, especially legal ones.\textsuperscript{496}

\textsuperscript{496} Lucius Caflisch 2018, Settlement of disputes concerning international watercourses, in Mara Tignino et al (eds) Research handbook on freshwater law and international relations, Edward Elgar, 236-258 p. 242.
PART 3 - CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER IX: Main Messages

SUMMARY:
This chapter sets out the main messages that have been distilled from the content of the preceding Chapters, including case studies. It is structured in a similar order to the Handbook, starting with definitions and cross-cutting issues before moving into the core elements of transboundary water allocation. The limitations to and complementary approaches regarding transboundary water allocation are also addressed. These main messages are intended to provide an over-arching summary of the Handbook contents. For specific details and illustrative examples, the relevant Chapter(s) can be consulted.

1. Transboundary water allocation is a joint iterative planning, decision-making and implementation process and an outcome between two or more water-sharing States. It can determine one or more of the following: the quantity; quality; and/or timing of water at the border between these States and grants associated entitlements. Simply put, water allocation determines who can use shared water resources, in what quantity and quality, where, for which purposes and at what point in time.

2. Transboundary water allocation is increasingly important in present rapidly changing water security contexts. This is especially due to the increasing demands for water resources as well as increasing impacts of physical water scarcity, droughts and flooding, which are aggravated by climate change. Current and future water developments (e.g. irrigation, abstraction, flood management, navigation, hydropower, drinking water supplies, etc.) add to the need for coordination and arrangements for ensuring sustainable water availability for different demands across borders.

a. Globally, more than 60% of freshwater resources flow across national boundaries, including 310 transboundary rivers and over 500 transboundary aquifers. Most transboundary basins are vulnerable to rising impacts of climate change and the other growing pressures on increasingly scarce and degraded freshwater resources.

b. An increasing number of transboundary surface and groundwater basins around the world are classified as fully or over-utilized regarding the available water resources, particularly in water-scarce and drought-prone regions. Additionally, many countries are increasingly reliant on diminishing transboundary water resources.

c. Total water use has had a strong upward trend globally and regions are experiencing their own pressures in water usage and resource demands. On a global scale, water use in all key water-using sectors has been increasing dramatically over recent years and water withdrawals have been projected to further increase in the short, medium and long-term, although with significant differences between regions, basins and States.

3. Transboundary water allocation agreements and other arrangements should be adaptable. New transboundary water allocation agreements and other arrangements need to be designed to be adaptable in the medium and longer terms to changing hydrological, climatic and other related factors (socioeconomic, geographical, cultural etc.). States may consider revising existing water allocation agreements and other arrangements, or adopting subsidiary instruments, to make them more adaptable, in accordance with the general principles of treaty law. Adaptive capacity can be integrated
into transboundary allocation systems and institutions to respond to changing conditions, impacts and opportunities. Examples of this include applying allocations in percentages instead of absolute amounts, periodic reviews and using objective thresholds (e.g. persistent low precipitation) as a basis if exceptional deviations from agreed allocations are needed.

a. **Climate change must be approached as a cross-cutting challenge to effective allocation.** It is a potential risk-multiplier that may necessitate adjustment of existing –and a careful drafting of any new– transboundary water allocation agreements and arrangements. Transboundary allocation arrangements need to factor-in the increased uncertainty and inter- and intra-annual variability of precipitation and run-off to cope with increasing frequency and extremity of drought and flood events. Making transboundary allocation arrangements climate-resilient requires strong coordination mechanisms between different levels of governance, sector policies and stakeholder groups.

b. **Where appropriate, and in accordance with the general principles of treaty law, it may be useful to jointly review pre-existing usage patterns and any transboundary allocation arrangements on which they are based in order to adapt to evolving conditions and demands.** Such review should be based on equity and sustainability, especially as regards upstream and downstream water use allocations, including for the environment.

c. **It can also be useful to share and jointly develop or review plans for any future water uses based on predicted foreseeable needs at the transboundary and State level.** Future plans with potential transboundary impacts should be shared as soon as reasonably possible in accordance with the principles of prior notification and consultation. Water demands and flows evolve over time due to many factors, including but not limited to changes in demography and land uses. Impacts of climate change on future demands and flows should also be anticipated and used to inform the negotiation of acceptable allocation arrangements.

d. **Economic considerations (including impacts on prices, consumer and produce surplus in the sectors concerned, fiscal impact and affordability constraints) are important to managing demand and water infrastructure needs over time, as well as negotiating and implementing water allocation (rules and mechanisms, externalities etc.).** Cost-benefit analyses can help to structure the options in water allocation and to assess the impact of those options. However, we must acknowledge that not all costs and benefits can be quantified and monetized usefully, and therefore, those aspects should be included in other terms in the analysis. Coordinating infrastructure and incentivizing efficiency and cost-effectiveness can help to avoid over-sized water infrastructure and reduce demands for water.

4. **Transboundary allocation should always be considered in conjunction with its limitations and possible complementary broader approaches.** A main limitation of allocation can be its narrow focus on water quantity, quality and timing, within a bounded spatial area. Sustainable and equitable transboundary water allocation should be seen as a potentially beneficial element of transboundary water resources management depending on the basin situation.

a. **Intersectoral approaches, such as the Water-Food-Energy-Ecosystem Nexus approach, depending upon the issues at stake and the context, may inform the choice of sectoral and integrated policies and decisions which increase efficiency, reduce trade-offs and build synergies.** Nexus solutions may allow informing sectoral policies and development strategies, or provide alternatives, before they translate into sectoral demands.
b. **Long-term basin planning incorporating integrated water resources management can, firstly, reduce the need for resorting to specific water allocation arrangements, and secondly, provide a foundation for transboundary water allocation (ideally accounting for the future outlook).** This potential of IWRM comes from a holistic consideration of different water sources and uses, but also from applying both supply and demand management. Reinforcing cooperation on basin management contributes to, for example, sustaining the allocable water resource, ensuring the functioning of the necessary built or natural infrastructure.

c. **Sharing of net benefits from water resources provides a broader range of benefits for negotiating transboundary allocations.** This can inform development of a more complete and sophisticated allocation arrangement.

5. **Developing transboundary water allocation arrangements is an iterative and cooperative process:** start by setting out the States' terms of reference, identify a simple shared objective(s), develop trust and then expand. Arrangements should adapt those elements which are relevant for the specific purposes and issues seeking to be addressed and ensure the existence of adequate institutional capacity at transboundary and national levels for implementation. It is recommended to incorporate feedback loops in order for States to jointly revisit and re-assess important elements and steps in the process as and when it is required.

a. **Identification of the net benefits of cooperation regarding transboundary waters can help with creating enabling conditions, including the political willingness, for strengthening cooperation on water allocation in a transboundary context.** Tools are available to assist with this process. Allocation arrangements can thus contribute to broader peace building and regional conflict prevention, mitigation or resolution.

b. **Historical records of negotiations over transboundary water allocation agreements or other arrangements indicate that they have tended to follow a needs-based approach rather than approaches focused solely on legal rights (whether absolute rights or other principles and entitlements).** Needs-based approaches that are based on basin characteristics, or the tangible benefits that water brings, are more easily quantifiable. Such approaches have often provided a common starting point for negotiations by offering more practical methods for determining water sharing baselines in a transboundary context. Notwithstanding, legal rights are a crucial component of any negotiations regarding transboundary water allocation.

c. **Negotiations can benefit from an assessment of present and future water needs in the riparian States, including a detailed diagnosis of potential water allocation scenarios.** Any future water needs assessment should consider feasible options for managing water demands, prioritizing vital human needs and improving water use efficiency in riparian countries and their main water users.

d. **Inclusive participation in decision-making should be integrated into both the process and outcome of water allocation in a transboundary context.** Involvement of traditionally marginalized and/or under-represented members of society who rely on transboundary water resources should be particularly taken into consideration, including gender equity.

e. **Implementation of transboundary water allocation arrangements relies on having effective national legislation and policies in place (and may require revising them).** Seeking alignment and coordination between transboundary allocation arrangements and relevant State legislation is beneficial and should be taken into consideration as early as possible in the planning process.
Depending on the national legal framework, sub-national entities may have delegated authority and hence a particular role in negotiating, establishing and implementing allocation agreements and arrangements. Institutional and technical capacity of all States’ agencies should also be taken into consideration in transboundary water allocation implementation plans.

f. Integrating clearly defined dispute settlement mechanisms (both diplomatic and adjudicatory mechanisms) can help to support transboundary allocation arrangements. Given the often-contested nature of transboundary water use and allocation, binding dispute settlement mechanisms that are agreed to by the riparian States can be beneficial to incorporate into any allocation agreement.

6. Existing and new water allocation mechanisms can generally be divided into direct mechanisms, indirect mechanisms or mechanisms based on principles. These mechanisms are not mutually exclusive and can be used in combination and change over time. For example, groundwater is a distinct type of resource compared to surface water, and by consequence specific mechanisms refer to pumping rates, water table impact, spring outflow or relates to storage capacity of the aquifer. It is up to the States involved in allocation arrangements to determine the mechanisms that are most relevant and suitable to use in their context and any associated benefits they wish to prioritize.

   a. Direct mechanisms typically specify fixed quantities (for all or some States), percentage of flow, equal division, variable by water availability; variable according to time of the year, water loans, allocation of entire/partial aquifer/river (based on sole use), allocating time; cap, limit or no allocation allowed.

   b. Indirect mechanisms include dividing allocation based on the priority of use, consultation and/or prior approval; allocation mechanism is to be determined by a river basin organization, commission, and/or committee.

   c. Mechanisms based on principles refer to one of the following: benefits sharing, historical or existing uses, equitable use, sustainable use or allocation mechanism uses a market instrument.

7. Growing practice in some transboundary basins reflects the prioritizing of specific human and ecological needs before allocating available water resources to other needs. Water quality for human consumption is becoming an increasingly important aspect of transboundary allocation and the prevention and mitigation of pollution loads a high priority. Preventing ecosystem degradation has been a main driver for recent water allocation reforms.

   a. Vital human needs for drinking water, sanitation and hygiene are increasingly prioritized, especially in regions facing frequent drought events or chronic water scarcity. Water scarcity may compromise water supply and sanitation services and have negative impacts on human health. Deteriorating water quality diminishes available potable resources while the need for treatment increases costs for water use.

   b. The State of freshwater ecosystems affects the quantity, quality and variability of allocable water. Safeguarding or restoring key aspects of ecosystem functioning, such as downstream water supply, wetlands, freshwater fisheries or sediment transport to low-lying delta regions can thus be strategically important to transboundary allocation arrangements.
c. Increasing use of environmental / ecological flow assessment tools and approaches while ensuring the environment is determined as a water user, reflects an understanding that maintaining healthy freshwater ecosystems has broader strategic social, cultural, and economic benefits, both direct and indirect. This trend also recognizes the intrinsic value of the integrity of ecosystems. Numerous methods for defining e-flows have been developed beyond the basic definition of minimum flows.

d. Ensuring obligations related to return flows and discharges are properly specified and enforced can further support prioritizing human and ecological allocation needs.

8. The UN global water conventions, the Draft Articles on Transboundary Aquifers and regional agreements (such as the SADC Revised Protocol on Shared Watercourse) provide guiding legal frameworks relevant for allocating water in transboundary basins and aquifers. These contain general principles (e.g. equitable and reasonable utilization, no significant harm, good neighborliness and cooperation, protection of ecosystems, polluter pays, peaceful settlement of disputes) and governance tools (agreements, joint bodies) to assist States in developing or revising (if appropriate) contextualized transboundary allocation agreements or other arrangements. Applicable international laws and riparian State treaty obligations should also be taken into account.

a. Multilateral environmental agreements can be worthwhile taking into consideration in developing transboundary water allocation arrangements. These include, but are not limited to: the Aarhus Convention on access to information, public participation and access to justice; and the Espoo Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA); Ramsar Convention on wetlands of international importance; Convention on Biological Diversity; and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

b. Several emerging principles and norms can be considered for inclusion in the development of allocation arrangements depending on the context. These include, but are not limited to: Indigenous water allocation in conjunction with the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and cultural flows; human right to water and other rights; community of interest approach; water stewardship; rights of rivers and ecosystems. Approaches to valuing water and supporting ecosystem services, e.g. water pricing and payment for ecosystem services, have also gained increasing attention globally.

9. Joint arrangements, agreements and joint bodies established by riparian countries are key elements of well-functioning transboundary allocation systems granting certainty and legal weight in the long-term. In some cases, technical solutions, informal or temporary arrangements, may be instrumental in reaching a negotiated and acceptable short-term solution for allocation in a transboundary context.

a. Many joint bodies have water quantity among the issue-areas they are mandated to work on. How such a mandate on water quantity is translated into specific cooperative action varies widely across those basins and their respective joint bodies. However, very few joint bodies have an explicit water allocation mandate.

b. Concerning transboundary water allocation, where joint bodies are operational, they can sometimes be mandated to advise/be the technical advisor/provide guidance to member States with regard to water allocation. Implementation of agreed measures rests with riparian States. Empirical evidence demonstrates that those basins that have joint bodies in place do better in addressing contested issues around water quantity because they have a platform for regular exchange.
c. The success with which these joint bodies fulfil these mandates with respect to water allocation varies considerably. Many joint bodies that have been tasked with water allocation have found it challenging to deal with water allocation over time.

10. Collecting and sharing relevant and reliable data and information is a vital foundation for the planning and implementation of water allocation in a transboundary context. Data and information may include both bio-physical and socio-economic aspects. Such measures can help to reconcile different understandings of the shared water resources between sectors and/or riparian States regarding water availability, status and significance for sustainable development. The elements listed below can strengthen the knowledge base for transboundary water allocation.

a. Joint and/or coordinated monitoring and assessment systems, which utilize sound and financially sustainable technology, are of benefit to water allocation arrangements. Harmonized methodologies and parameters, ideally inspired by best-practices, can further support consistency of cross-border comparisons and inter-operability of data. Such systems can be useful to verify allocation implementation and effectiveness and provide the transparency necessary for compliance and enforcement.

b. A joint or coordinated assessment of vulnerability of water resources to climate change, and projection of impacts on future demands can be useful exercises for transboundary allocation. They foster a shared understanding of the future water outlook and developing related monitoring and assessment systems. This can also provide scope for periodic review of the terms of allocation and their modalities for implementation.

c. Open, transparent and regular sharing of up-to-date information is important for allocation, but many States find this element challenging. This should include the exchange between States of and/or access to any relevant data (including metadata) on the current status and variability of transboundary water resources within each State, including various stakeholders. It should also include any plans for future water uses and related developments, including infrastructure projects, as soon as reasonably known, as well as forecasts/outlooks on the availability of waters. Nevertheless, not all data is always required (or simply not available) and this should not prevent decision-makers from taking decisions when relating to decision-making under uncertainty.

11. Operationalizing water allocation in each transboundary context is the product of a unique pathway. Nevertheless, an adaptable and applicable set of technical, legal, and institutional water allocation approaches, mechanisms and arrangements can be outlined as three groups of steps:

   i. incentives, reasons/motivations and the knowledge base;
   ii. negotiations for arrangements or agreements including development of allocation mechanisms and plans, monitoring and ensuring compliance, and dispute prevention and resolution mechanisms;
   iii. implementation, including national implementation.

a. An adequate shared knowledge base and understanding of the issues at stake is a starting point for evaluating whether water allocation agreements and other arrangements provide the most appropriate means to address the issues. If appropriate, this information can further assist with defining agreed allocations and system design, including related mechanisms and plans. Important elements of the knowledge base include water resource and availability assessments, analyses of environmental requirements as well as use and impact assessments, preferably in different scenarios.
b. Beyond government entities concerned with water allocation, it is advisable to identify and engage other key stakeholders in the process of transboundary water allocation. These may include international financial institutions, infrastructure operators, sectoral organizations, main water users or associations thereof, civil society and citizen organizations, local communities and Indigenous groups. Engaging with the public concerned has benefits, potentially contributing to an improved knowledge base, as well as enhanced equity and sustainability. A stakeholder analysis can inform who should be involved, and an institutional analysis about the determining foundations for any arrangement.

c. Identification of different allocation options and alternatives and their careful consideration before taking decisions is very beneficial and diverse valuation tools and needs-based evaluations can be of assistance, taking in account that not all benefits or factors can be quantified. One such example, multi-criteria decision analysis (MCDA) is a means for providing a transparent and systematic comparison. Various software tools and decision support systems (DSS) have been developed to support the application of MCDA and other methods in practice. Joint bodies are best positioned to apply these methods in practice given their mandate and as platforms for exchange, at the transboundary level.

d. Uncertainty related to water availability, variability and events is inevitable, making it essential to integrate flexibility mechanisms and adaptive capacity in the allocation arrangements. Better availability of data reduces uncertainty, but even a lack of data can be turned into an opportunity by sharing information and co-producing knowledge.

e. Negotiating water allocation arrangements and agreements should not be seen as a one-off exercise. Rather, it is part of a transboundary water cooperation process that advances step-by-step and may eventually need to be revised.

f. Transboundary water allocation arrangements and agreements often need to be further specified to ensure effective implementation. This can be supported by developing allocation mechanisms, coordination and monitoring plans - considering different scales - which may also provide flexibility for allocation.

g. Implementation of transboundary water allocation arrangements and agreements at national and sub-national level is critical. This can be supported by various elements, such as: water allocation planning, harmonizing relevant water resources legislation; regional limits on water abstraction; water entitlement or licensing systems; and annual water allocation process and monitoring systems for compliance and enforcement.