

1 **Title: The Devil’s in the Details: Data Exchange in Transboundary Waters**
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13 **Abstract:** Data exchange in transboundary waters is widely viewed as fundamental to advancing
14 cooperative water management and now features in the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 6.
15 Nonetheless, the degree to which data are practically shared in transboundary waters is not well-
16 understood. To gauge levels of data sharing practice in international watercourses, an assessment
17 framework was developed and applied in 25 international river basins. The framework captures the
18 degree to which a set of data parameters (e.g. river flow, groundwater level, surface water abstraction,
19 and water quality) are exchanged among countries. Results reveal that the proportion of surveyed basins
20 that exchange at least some water data is reasonable. Nonetheless, the breadth of such data exchange is
21 often limited with less than half of surveyed basins confirming exchange on presumably key parameters
22 such as water quality, water abstraction and groundwater levels. Further, frequency of data exchange is
23 not always regular; with key parameters often exchanged in an *ad hoc* fashion. Ultimately, this paper
24 points to areas where data exchange can be improved, and provides guidance on how indicators utilized
25 in global assessment frameworks such as the SDGs can enhance granularity in order to motivate this
26 improvement.

27 **Keywords:** data exchange, transboundary basins, water data, SDG indicator 6.5.2
28

29 **INTRODUCTION**

30 Data exchange is central to equitable and sustainable management of transboundary
31 watercourses. Article 9 of the 1997 UN *Convention on the Law of Non-Navigational Uses of*
32 *International Watercourses* calls upon watercourse states to exchange data and information on a
33 regular basis (UN, 1997), for example, and Article 6 and 9 of the 1992 UNECE *Convention on the*
34 *Protection and Use of Transboundary Watercourses and International Lakes* obligates riparian parties
35 to exchange data through joint bodies and establish joint monitoring and assessment programmes
36 (UNECE, 1992)¹. Similarly, the International Law Commission (ILC) stipulates ‘the need for regular
37 collection and exchange of a broad range of data and information relating to international
38 watercourses’ (ILC, 1994). Regional frameworks such as the 2000 Southern African Development

¹ Further, as part the UNECE Water Convention, considerable efforts are currently (2020-2022) being undertaken to encourage and capacitate basins to improve monitoring programmes and exchange water related data.

39 Community (SADC) *Revised Protocol on Shared Watercourses* and the 2000 European Union *Water*
40 *Framework Directive*, equally embrace principles of data and information exchange in shared
41 watercourses. More recently, data exchange in transboundary waters features in Sustainable
42 Development Goal (SDG) indicator 6.5.2, which measures regular (at least yearly) exchange of data
43 as one of the four determinants for ‘operational’ transboundary water cooperation (UN Water, 2018).

44 While skeptics may argue that data exchange in transboundary waters is a principle of
45 international water law that may not always resonate in local contexts, integrating data from different
46 countries in a shared watercourse can have real implications for disaster mitigation, water resources
47 allocation and trust-building among countries (Timmerman & Langaas, 2005; Gerlak *et al.*, 2011;
48 Kibler *et al.*, 2014; McCaffrey, 2019). Exchange of data undertaken regularly can indeed enable
49 optimal decision-making based on the current state of a shared water system, maximizing benefits
50 derived from water resources and ensuring their fair usage (WMO, 1999; Kibler *et al.*, 2014;
51 McCaffrey, 2019). The chronology of the River Rhine before vs. after data exchange (Bernauer &
52 Moser, 1996), for example, highlights how water quality progressively improved, through a shared
53 understanding and coordinated action facilitated by data exchange. Not surprisingly, data exchange
54 typically features prominently in large development projects – supported by financiers and donors
55 such as the World Bank, World Meteorological Organisation, United States Agency for International
56 Development – focused on cooperation and water-sharing in transboundary basins (World Bank,
57 2014; USAID, 2015; World Bank, 2018).

58 Despite principled focus in international water law and practical relevance to shared
59 watercourses, the abundance and frequency of data actually exchanged in transboundary waters has
60 not been the subject of extensive investigation. Gerlak *et al.* (2011) investigated the degree to which
61 the global corpus of transboundary water law contains reference to data exchange, but they did not
62 examine whether data were actually exchanged. Chenoweth and Feitelson (2001) and Plengsaeng *et*
63 *al.* (2014) highlighted the weaknesses of practical data exchange in the Mekong and speculated on the
64 reasons behind it. Nishat and Shams (2013) reviewed how extensive networks of monitoring and data
65 collection may exist in individual countries in the Ganges, but bottlenecks occur when it comes to
66 data exchange across borders. Saruchera and Lautze (2015) applied data exchange and other

67 indicators in three southern African basins, in order to assess their suitability for inclusion in the SDG
68 process. Results of SDG indicator 6.5.2. application suggest data exchange in 70% of transboundary
69 basins, though this figure should be considered in the context of relatively low thresholds applied on
70 quantity and frequency of exchange (UN Water, 2018). A systematic examination of the breadth of,
71 and variation in, data exchange in a set of transboundary watercourses has not been undertaken.

72 In this paper, we develop and apply a framework that captures the volume and frequency of data
73 exchange in 25 shared watercourses. Through this effort, we seek to establish and understand
74 practical heterogeneity in parameters that are exchanged, generate clues on meaningful benchmarks or
75 data exchange performance, and begin to identify factors that promote exchange. The paper first
76 reviews relevant literature as a means of identifying key parameters of data exchange, as a basis for
77 formulation of a framework that measures the extent of data exchange in transboundary watercourses.
78 This framework is then applied to the set of transboundary watercourses across Africa, the Americas,
79 Asia and Europe.

80 **METHODS**

81 *Background*

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85 To identify key aspects of data exchange in shared waters, literature on data requirements for
86 effective basin management (Burton & Molden, 2005; Hooper, 2008; Hooper & Kranz, 2009; Bureau
87 of Meteorology, 2017; Cantor *et al.*, 2018), contents of transboundary data exchange protocols (e.g.,
88 MRC, 2001; ISRBC 2014; ZAMCOM, 2016) and literature related to SDG 6 (UN Water, 2018;
89 UNECE, 2019) were reviewed. This led to identification of a range of parameters which can be
90 broadly grouped into three areas:

- 91 • Types of water-related data that should be exchanged
- 92 • Frequency of exchange
- 93 • Modalities of exchange

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95 Types of data identified for exchange were broadly consistent across international
96 conventions, the SDGs, and basin protocols. The UNECE Water Convention (1992) and the UN
97 Watercourses Convention (1997) require the sharing of available data on environmental conditions,
98 hydrological, meteorological, ecological and water quality data and information. The SDG indicator

99 6.5.2 focuses on environmental conditions, research activities and application of best available
100 techniques, emission monitoring data, planned measures taken to prevent, control or reduce
101 transboundary impacts, point source pollution sources, diffuse pollution sources, existing hydro
102 morphological alterations, flows or water levels (including groundwater), water abstractions,
103 climatological information and future planned measures with transboundary impacts, such as
104 infrastructure development (UNECE, 2019). The Mekong River Commission (MRC, 2001) lists a
105 range of data exchange requirements for topography, natural resources including water, agriculture,
106 navigation and transport, flood management and mitigation to infrastructure, urbanisation and
107 industrialisation, administrative boundaries and socio-economic data.² Similarly, the Zambezi
108 Watercourse Commission (ZAMCOM, 2016) requires the sharing of data on hydrology, meteorology,
109 water quality, socio-economy, environment, policies; and more specifically exchange of data on water
110 levels, discharge, rainfall, evaporation, temperature, sediment concentration and water quality. A
111 synthesis of both the broad categories of data that can be exchanged, as well as the specific
112 parameters within these categories, is shown below (Table 1).

113 Table 1: Data suggested for exchange in transboundary waters (Adapted from MRC, 2001; Burton &
114 Molden, 2005; Bureau of Meteorology, 2017; ISRBC, 2014; UN Water, 2018)
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Data category	Parameters
Hydrological (hydrometric)	River discharges, river water levels, river flood peak discharges, river base flows, river sediment load, river water quality, lake/reservoir water levels, lake/reservoir volumes, lake/reservoir water temperature, lake/reservoir surface evaporation, volume of water imported/exported to/from basin
Hydro morphological alterations	Dams, weirs
Future planned measures with transboundary impacts	Infrastructure development
Groundwater	Groundwater levels and pressure, quality, aquifer yields and quality, estimate annual groundwater recharge, aquifer thickness, permeability and storage capacity
Meteorological (and climatic)	Sunshine/radiation hours, wind speed, air temperature, humidity, evaporation, precipitation, precipitation intensity
Ecological (environmental)	Minimum flow requirements, critical flow periods and demands, protected areas and water demands, protected areas and water demands, required water quality standards

² The data here illustrate the range found in data exchange protocols. This article nonetheless limits its focus to water data – data relating to the quality and quantity of water

Data category	Parameters
Water Quality	Electrical conductivity, suspended sediment, nutrients, temperature, pH, oxygen
Water Pollutants	Concentrations of arsenic, bacteria, nitrogen, phosphorus, viruses, fertilizers, pesticides, algae, industrial waste, heavy metals
Water abstraction	Abstraction quantity (surface/groundwater), abstraction quality, return flow quality and quantity

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117 A key point when considering types of data to exchange is the motivation or demand for
118 particular data, which is often context-specific. Diverse priority issues may indeed drive different data
119 that are collected in different watercourses (Cantor *et al.*, 2018). In areas prone to flooding, for
120 example, a dense network of rainfall monitoring networks might be expected (Bureau of Meteorology,
121 2017). In the case of the River Rhine, for example, one of the key drivers for cooperation was
122 pollution, which resulted in the development of an extensive water quality monitoring network in the
123 basin (Bernauer & Moser, 1996). The varied terrain in transboundary water cooperation can also
124 impact on data exchange dynamics in specific watercourses (van der Zaag & Savenije, 2000).

125 Guidance on regularity of exchange is more discernable in basin-level protocols than
126 international law. Article 9 of the UN Watercourse Convention (1997) calls for “regular” exchange of
127 data, for example, but stops short of quantifying “regular”. The International Law Commission, in its
128 commentary to Article 9 goes slightly further by suggesting that “regular” exchange requires an
129 “ongoing and systematic process” rather than *ad hoc* exchange (ILC, 1994). Precise details on the
130 frequency of data exchange will depend on the type of data being exchanged, and is more evident at
131 the operational level in specific protocols (MRC, 2001; ISRBC, 2014; ZAMCOM, 2016). ZAMCOM
132 (2016), for example, calls for exchange of flow data on a weekly basis and other data monthly. In the
133 Sava Basin, water level, water temperature and river discharge are to be shared both annually and in
134 real time (ISRBC, 2014). The SDG indicator 6.5.2 stipulates that data should be exchanged at least
135 once per year for an arrangement to be considered operational (UN Water, 2018).

136 An issue linked to frequency is latency of data exchange, defined as the time between
137 measurement and use or sharing of data (EPA, 2015). The *Zambezi Basin Rules and Procedures for*
138 *the Sharing of Data and Information* call for water level, discharge and rainfall for particular stations
139 in the basin - to be shared at near real time frequency while other parameters like temperature,

140 sediment concentration, evaporation and water quality are only to be shared quarterly (ZAMCOM,
141 2016). *The Mekong Procedures for Data and Information Exchange and Sharing* (PDIES) (MRC,
142 2001) fall short of giving practical detail and refer the intricacies of data exchange modalities to
143 National Mekong Committees (NMCs). The Mekong PDIES nonetheless contain a clause calling for
144 “timely” data exchange.

145 Finally, practical modalities of data exchange should not be overlooked. In the context of
146 outlining attributes of successful river basin management, Hooper (2008) highlighted ‘the use of a
147 flexible and adaptive information exchange process’ for which Hooper and Kranz (2009) developed a
148 performance framework for data and information exchange with three main components: affordability
149 of information exchange system, how integrated the information was into a single system, protocols
150 for information management. Affordability – though not widely cited as key to effective data sharing
151 – may in fact be a critical indicator to fostering sustainable data exchange particularly in resource-
152 constrained contexts. Indeed, data collection can require costly instrumentation, maintenance and
153 calibration and laboratory testing; thus exchange of data in a way that most effectively manages these
154 costs may have the best chance for sustainability. Similarly, harmonized approaches are needed to
155 ensure alignment in what is measured and how it is measured. Alternate formats of data can also
156 constrain practical integration for effective use, so it is equally important to consider the degree to
157 which disparately collected data can be harmonized.

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159 *Framework Development*

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161 Synthesizing pre-existing literature into a manageable framework for assessing the strength of
162 data exchange in transboundary waters resulted in three categories for assessment. These categories
163 are as follows: i) scope or extent of data exchange, ii) frequency of data exchange, and iii) modalities
164 of data exchange (Table 2). In each category, a set of specific parameters was identified that gauge the
165 strength of data exchange.

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Table 2: Data Exchange Assessment Framework

Category	Parameters
Scope of exchange	<p><i>Class I</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surface water parameters - River flow, dam storage • Groundwater parameters - Groundwater levels <p><i>Class II</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water quality data - Electrical conductivity, suspended sediment, nitrates, pH, microbiological quality <p><i>Class III</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water use – Surface water abstraction data
Frequency of exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real time • Daily • Monthly • Quarterly • Annually • Ad hoc
Modalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of data exchange protocol • Means of transmitting exchanged data

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The framework’s first category is focused on the breadth in scope of data exchange. In the first class of parameters, which contains basics like water levels and river flow, a high exchange frequency may be expected to depict specific variation in cross border flows. In the second class of parameters, focused mainly on water quality, a somewhat lower frequency of exchange may be expected as the complexity of measurement increases and need to act on findings may be less urgent except in emergency situations. The scope of water quality parameters chosen covers conventional water quality indicators which are straightforward to measure, and which provide a snapshot of physico-chemical quality (UN Water, 2017). A third and final class of parameters, which include water abstraction, may be even less frequent as they are often used primarily in long term basin planning. The framework thus focuses on the exchange of water data rather than the exchange of information (i.e. processed data); the framework also excludes data related to planned measures, which may be subject to future investigation.

Frequency of data exchange is key to enable effective decision making, and as such is also considered. Importantly, exchanging data annually on some topics may hold value, whereas for other data parameters, hourly data may be important. Circumstances (such as risk of flooding, and pollution events) may also drive need for exchange, albeit at irregular frequencies.

188 Last, modalities of data exchange evidenced in a shared watercourse were considered. As
189 such, focus was placed on two parameters to provide a foundation for the assessment conducted. First,
190 the existence of a data exchange protocol was evaluated against levels of data exchange. Second, the
191 influence of data exchange channels on data exchange abundance was assessed.

192 *Data Collection*

193 To enable measurement of data exchange in specific shared waters, it was necessary to select
194 certain basins for assessment. On the assumption that transboundary data exchange is unlikely to
195 occur without provision for data exchange in a transboundary water treaty, the world's 286 shared
196 river basins (UN Water, 2018) were first filtered to those with reference to data and information
197 exchange in an applicable transboundary water agreement (Gerlak et al., 2011).³ To facilitate a
198 manageable basin engagement process, focus was then placed on those basins with international River
199 Basin Organizations (RBOs), estimated at 68 (Lautze et al., 2012) to 81 (Schmeier et al., 2015), and in
200 particular those RBOs i) supported by a secretariat empowered to speak on basin's behalf, and ii)
201 possessing a basin-wide mandate. Lautze et al (2012) determined the number of RBOs that met these
202 criteria at 25, though this figure is believed to have now grown to approximately 37.⁴

203 These 37 basins were distributed as follows - Africa (18), Americas (4), Asia (5) and Europe
204 (10). Ultimately, a set of 32 basins that met the criteria and with reliable email and phone contacts
205 were selected for this analysis, though substantive replies were received from only 25.⁵ RBO contact
206 points for each basin were drawn from institutional networks of the author team. Each contact point
207 was sent a questionnaire, the completion of which enabled population of the framework elaborated
208 above. Questionnaires were sent, and responses received, between July and October 2019.

209 **RESULTS**

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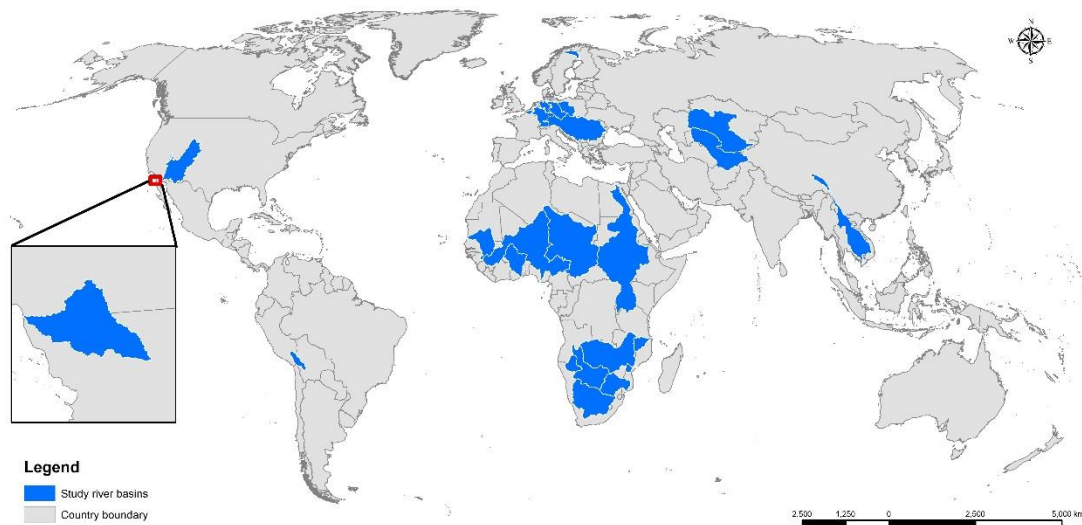
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³ The list of treaties referencing data and information exchange in Gerlak et al (2011) was updated given the time gap between publication of that paper, and writing of the present one.

⁴ A key issue when determining current number of RBOs is confirming their continued functionality or, conversely, establishing their dissolution. Such an exercise is not always straightforward.

⁵ Responses were not received in a timely manner from the following seven basins: Congo, Drin, Gambia, Golok, Meuse, La Plata, Sixaola.

212 Responses were obtained from 25 basins, spanning five continents (Figure 1). This set of
213 basins is believed to contain the vast majority of those with basin-wide secretariat-based RBOs. In
214 Africa, 12 basins were assessed including the Nile, Volta and the Zambezi. The Danube, Rhine and
215 Elbe basins were among the 7 basins assessed in Europe. Three basins were assessed in the Americas,
216 namely Colorado, Tijuana and Lake Titicaca. In Asia, the Amu Darya, Mekong and Syr Darya were
217 the three basins assessed.



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219 Figure 1: Basins of Focus
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221 Over three-quarters of surveyed basins exchange river flow data. In total, 76% of basins share
222 data on river flow (Figure 2). 40% of basins exchange river flow data at a daily frequency or higher
223 (including real time and hourly). 24% of basins exchange river flow data at frequencies between
224 monthly and annually⁶. 12% reported *ad hoc* exchanges. There was no reported exchange on river
225 flow data in 24% of basins.

⁶ There were no reported frequencies between daily and monthly (e.g. weekly)

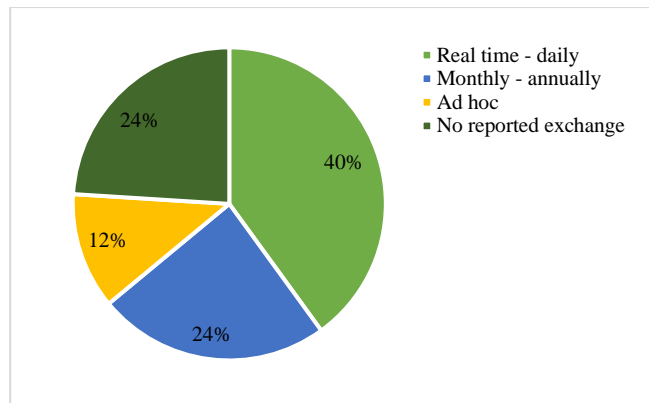


Figure 2: Frequency of exchange for river flow data⁷

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Exchange of groundwater data is not high. Only 32% of basins exchange groundwater level data (Figure 3). Regular exchange on groundwater level data was reported in just 16% of basins, where data are exchanged between quarterly and annual frequencies. *Ad hoc* exchange⁸ occurs in 16% of basins.

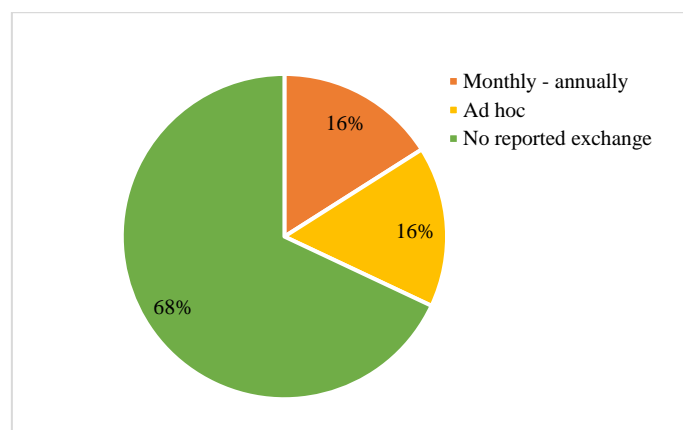


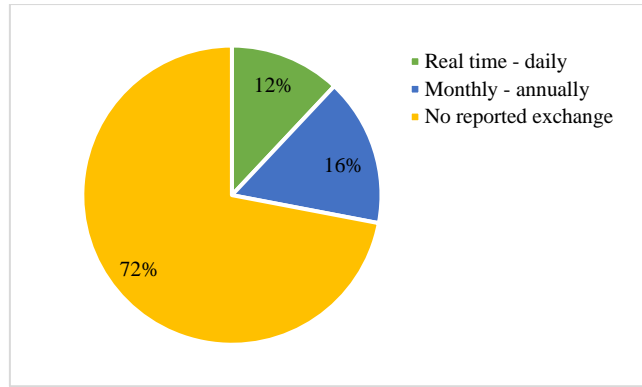
Figure 3: Frequency of data exchange, groundwater levels

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Data on surface water abstraction are seldom exchanged. Only 28% of the basins exchange surface water abstraction data (Figure 4). Frequency of exchange is daily (12%) or between monthly and annually (16%). A large proportion of basins (72%) do not exchange surface water abstraction data.

⁷ No data were exchanged between daily and monthly.

⁸ This category includes an outlier basin that shares groundwater data every 6 years.



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Figure 4: Frequency of data exchange, surface water abstraction data⁹

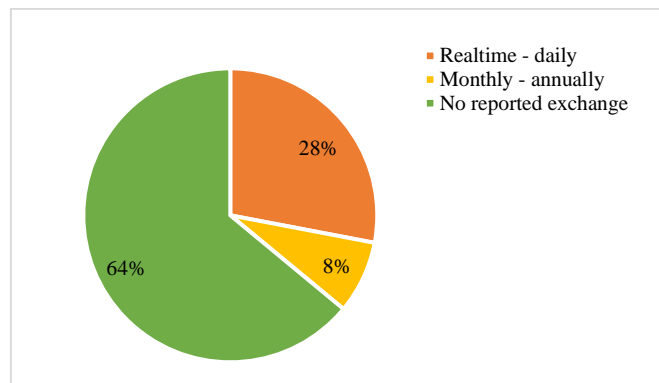
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Less than half of basins share data on reservoir storage. 36% of basins share data on reservoir storage (Figure 5). 28% of basins share these data between real time and daily frequencies. In 8% of basins, dam storage data are shared at frequencies between monthly and annually. 64% of basins did not report on regular exchange of reservoirs' storage data.¹⁰



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Figure 5: Frequency of data exchange, dam storage data¹¹

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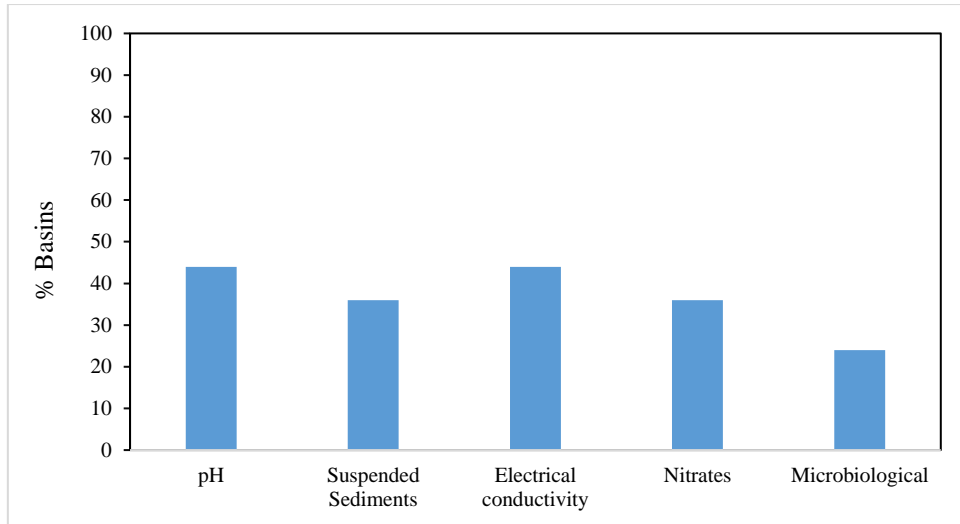
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Less than half of basins exchange data on water quality on a regular basis. pH and conductivity are the most exchanged water quality parameters; exchange of these parameters occurs in 44% of basins. Microbiological data is least shared; only 24% of basins share data on these parameters. Data on suspended solids, and nitrates are exchanged by just over one-third of basins (36%) (Figure 6).

⁹ No surface water abstraction data is shared at frequencies between daily and monthly

¹⁰ In one basin, absence of dam storage was explicitly reported and hence removed from this particular analysis.

¹¹ No reservoir storage data was reported between daily and monthly frequencies (e.g. weekly)



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Figure 6: Proportion of basins exchanging water quality data

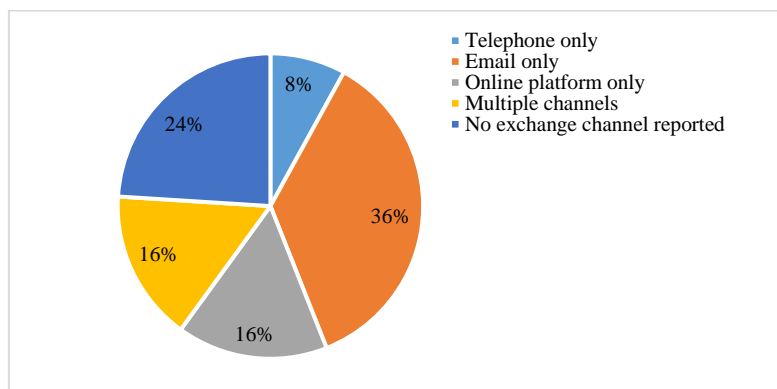
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There is a mix of means used for river flow data exchange. Exchange via email is the most common channel of exchange and is utilised in 36% of basins. Online platforms only, were used in 16% of the exchanges. Telephone only was used in 8% of basins. 16% of basins use multiple channels of exchange. No exchange was reported in 24% of basins (Figure 7).



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Figure 7: Channels used for data exchange

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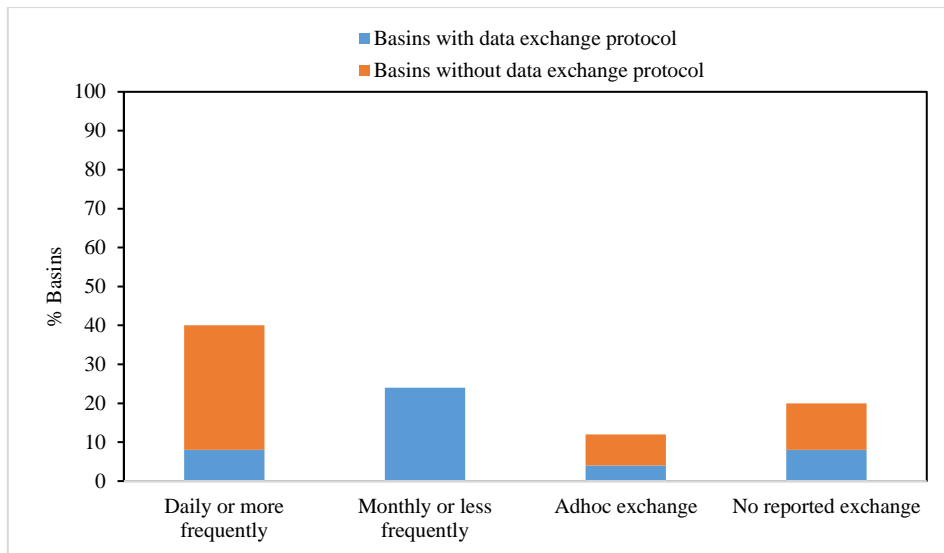
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Basins with data exchange protocols do not exchange river flow data more frequently. More basins without a data exchange protocol (32%) share river flow data at a frequency of daily or higher than those which have a protocol (8%) (Figure 8a). More basins with a data exchange protocol (24%) share data at a frequency of monthly or less, as there is no reported exchange in basins without a data exchange protocol at this frequency. 12% of basins without a protocol reported no exchange, compared to 8% of basins which have a protocol.



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Figure 8a: Data exchange protocol and frequency of river flow data exchange.

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There is greater exchange of water quality data among basins with a data exchange protocol

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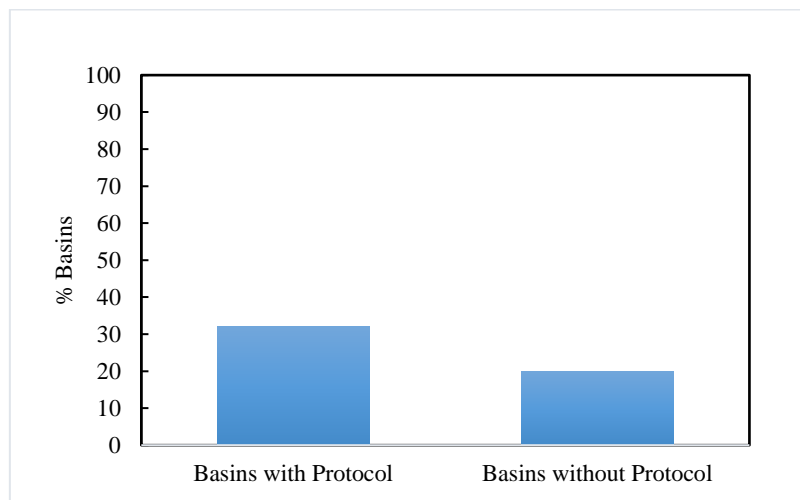
(Figure 8b). 32% of basins with a data exchange protocol share water quality data compared with

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basins only 20% of those without a protocol. Reported exchange of water quality data was

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nonetheless generally low in both cases.



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Figure 8b: Data exchange protocol and data exchange for water quality

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Use of multiple exchange channels, as well as online platforms, promote more frequent

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exchange of river flow data. All basins which use telephone only as a channel of exchange, exchange

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river flow data at a daily or more frequency (Table 3a). Nearly half (45%) of basins using email only

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as a data transmission channel, exchange data at a monthly or more frequency. Of basins using

278 multiple channels, 75% exchange data at a daily or higher frequency similar to basins which use
 279 online platforms only.

280 Table 3a: Data exchange channels, river flow data

Channel for exchanging data	Daily or more frequent (%)	Monthly or less frequent (%)	Ad hoc (%)	Total (%)
Telephone exchange (only)	100	0	0	100
Email exchange (only)	22	45	33	100
Online Platform exchange (only)	75	25	0	100
Multiple channels of exchange (Telephone+ Email + Online Platform)	75	25	0	100

281 Email is the most common means of transmitting water quality data. Of basins exchanging
 282 water quality data, 54% used email as a channel of exchange. Only 8% of basins exchanging water
 283 quality data used the telephone. 23% of basins used other channels of exchange such as reports and
 284 presentations at meetings, as well as publications (Table 3b).

285 Table 3b: Data exchange channels, water quality data

Channel for exchanging data	% Basins sharing water quality data (%)
Telephone exchange (only)	8
Email exchange (only)	54
Online platform exchange (only)	15
Other: Publications, meeting reports and presentations	23
Total	100

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 287 **DISCUSSION**
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289 This paper designed and applied a data exchange assessment framework to 25 international
 290 watercourses. Widely regarded as a central foundation for effective management of shared waters,
 291 data and information exchange had not been thoroughly assessed across a set of transboundary basins.
 292 This paper is thus believed to be the first to measure breadth and depth of data exchange – as judged
 293 by RBO representatives – across a diverse set of transboundary watercourses. It is hoped that this
 294 work clarifies important gaps between aspirational principles of data exchange contained in
 295 international conventions on the one hand, and mixed practice of basin-level realities on the other.
 296 Perhaps more importantly, it is hoped that this paper will support a constructive conversation on how
 297 to move practice toward principles of data exchange.

298 The paper generated five key findings. First, there are encouraging levels of data exchange on
299 one core parameter: river flow. Second, the scope of data exchanged is limited; groundwater levels
300 and abstraction data, for example, are seldom exchanged. Third, the importance of formalized data
301 exchange protocols – hypothesized as being important to structure data exchange – was not apparent.
302 Fourth, related, there is evidence that adoption of online platforms promotes data exchange. Finally,
303 lack of benchmarks on *breadth* of data exchange in the current SDG indicator framework may result
304 in a low, easily-met threshold; this may in turn contribute to the checkered realities evidenced.

305 The paper’s first finding – reasonable exchange of river flow data – is broadly consistent with
306 other evidence. The SDG reporting process found more than 70% of basins share data on
307 environmental conditions, which one may assume to include river flow data (UN Water, 2018).
308 Similarly, evidence from the Mekong indicated that data were exchanged mostly on ‘water resource
309 related data’ (Thu & Wehn, 2016). Nonetheless, the reality that river flow data are not exchanged in
310 about one-quarter of surveyed basins, which have their cooperation institutionalized in an RBO, also
311 raises questions. While an exhaustive set of factors deterring exchange remain to be established,
312 varying incentives, risk perceptions, and simply inertia may undoubtedly constrain actual data
313 exchange to varying degrees (van der Zaag & Savenije, 2000; Nishat & Shams, 2013; Thu & Wehn,
314 2016).

315 The paper’s second finding – limited breadth and depth of data exchange – highlights that the
316 devil is in the details. In other words, more robust assessment of data exchange begins to unearth the
317 challenges characterized in case study analyses (e.g., Nishat & Shams, 2013; Plengsaeng *et al.*, 2014;
318 Thu & Wehn, 2016). At least four key data parameters – namely, water quality data (pH, electrical
319 conductivity, suspended sediments, nitrates, microbiological data), groundwater levels, surface water
320 abstraction and dam storage – are exchanged in less than half the basins. These findings drive home
321 realities in which some level of data exchange occurs, yet challenges or bottlenecks simultaneously
322 persist.

323 Review of challenges, barriers and incentive-vacuum provide clues that may explain the data
324 exchange realities observed. In the Mekong, barriers of a perceived loss of control over shared data,
325 uncertainty of associated benefits, political interference and technical capacity are said to constrain

326 data exchange (Plengsaeng *et al.*, 2014). In the Ganges, disjointed bilateral exchanges detract from
327 basin wide data exchange (Nishat & Shams, 2013). Another, broader issue is that upstream countries
328 may not always have incentive to generate and share water quality and quantity data, when
329 downstream countries may have more to benefit. In the case of early warning data in the Ganges, for
330 example, considerable gaps and inefficiencies exist in data being made available to downstream
331 Bangladesh which constrain timely implementation of necessary interventions (Kibler *et al.*, 2014).

332 The paper's third finding – questionable value-addition of data exchange protocols – was at
333 odds with existing knowledge. Substantial investment has been placed in protocol development in
334 major basins such as the Mekong, Sava and Zambezi (MRC, 2001; ISRBC 2014; ZAMCOM, 2016)),
335 for example, on the assumption that protocols enhance data exchange across borders. One possible
336 explanation for this confounding finding is that protocols may be developed where pre-existing data
337 exchange challenges exist, which a protocol may not necessarily address, as suggested by Plengsaeng
338 *et al.* (2014). Protocol formulation may also explain these findings. The Nile Basin *Data and*
339 *Information Sharing and Exchange Interim Procedures*, for example, may not necessarily promote
340 regular data exchange since it prescribes data to be shared only on a project need basis and not
341 regularly (NBI, 2009).

342 A fourth finding may support a proliferation in the use of online data platforms in
343 transboundary waters. While skeptics may point to reservations in the provision of high-tech
344 instruments in low-tech contexts, evidence emerging from this paper underlines the utility of such
345 tools. Coupled with the preceding finding on limitations on protocols, the positive association
346 between online platforms and data exchange may call for prioritization on investment in levers that
347 directly enable exchange, such as platforms that transmit data, potentially at the expense of
348 investment to establish processes for exchange.

349 A final finding calls for more nuance in the formulation and application on the indicator
350 applied in the SDG 6.5.2 reporting process. Indeed, it may be time to partially close a seemingly
351 anomalous reality gap whereby more than 70% of countries report exchanging data on environmental
352 conditions (UN Water, 2018), yet broader investigation reveals substantial limitation on the range of
353 data exchanged. Notwithstanding the additional legwork required to populate a more data-intensive

354 indicator, it may be prudent to elevate the threshold in the SDG reporting process from its current
355 standard in which exchange of any water data suffices. It may be advisable, for example, to compel
356 data exchange in *at least* three key categories in order to achieve an optimal data exchange threshold.
357 Such categories could be: (i) water quantity data, e.g., flow (ii) water quality according to locally
358 relevant quality parameters and (iii) water use data. While data needs undoubtedly vary across basins,
359 exchange of data in these three categories of data, inform decision-making related to fairly common
360 aims of water allocation, flood management and satisfaction of ecosystem services.

361

362 **CONCLUSION**

363

364 To achieve effective basin management and efficient progress toward global development
365 targets, a substantial augmentation in the volume and frequency of data exchange is needed. This
366 paper assessed 25 basins – among those with more advanced levels of cooperation and data exchange
367 – and found that outside of one core parameter (river flow), their current levels of data exchange are
368 often insufficient to enable for effective water allocation, flood management and ecosystem services
369 satisfaction. Should the assessment be extended to include basins without RBOs or without codified
370 cooperation entirely, these results would assuredly appear even more concerning. Ultimately, this
371 paper’s findings confirm that challenges described in case studies are not isolated, and indeed suggest
372 context-specific assertions about barriers to data exchange in shared waters may be pervasive.

373 While one may advocate for improving data exchange by promoting adherence to
374 international conventions and declarations such as those stipulated at the outset of the paper (e.g.,
375 1997 UN Watercourse Convention), the aims of basin-specific cooperation may be equally if not more
376 relevant. Nonetheless, transboundary basin-specific cooperation is undertaken with an increasingly
377 common set of goals including equitable and sustainable use, sustainable development, environmental
378 conservation and disaster risk reduction. While the precise importance associated with each goal
379 undoubtedly varies by basin, the fact remains that progress toward realization of these goals typically
380 benefits from exchange of data.

381 A limitation of this paper is that it focused mainly on measuring the current state of data
382 exchange in shared waters, and not extensively on factors driving and constraining exchange. We

383 view this effort as a valuable first step to establish current conditions, on which investigation into
384 actual catalysts and deterrents for exchange can build. In this context, at least two areas may merit
385 specific focus. First, it may be worthwhile to conduct a demand assessment that identifies data
386 exchange needs of riparian countries; it may very well be that if countries in a basin want to share
387 data, they will – regardless of formal provisions or channels of exchange. Second, the role of joint
388 monitoring systems and associated online platforms as catalysts for exchange, merits deeper
389 investigation.

390 Related in some ways to platforms of exchange are methods of data collection. The potential
391 for enhanced earth observation data to satisfy riparian data exchange obligations has indeed begun to
392 receive focus (Leb, 2020). At present, data in shared waters is generally collected directly via, for
393 example, flow gauging stations. Approaches based on monitoring networks no doubt currently face
394 practical limitations, such as insufficient maintenance leading to high proportions of non-functional
395 stations (Houghton-Carr *et al.*, 2006). Nonetheless direct measurement – particularly if undertaken as
396 part of a joint program – may provide soft benefits through trust and relationship-building. Further,
397 direct measurement may be needed to calibrate and validate data derived from remote sensing. In
398 either case, an issue that may merit greater focus is the role of affordability and ensuring sustainable
399 financing.

400 Ultimately, this paper set out to capture practical heterogeneity in the breadth of data
401 exchange in shared waters, generate clues on meaningful data exchange benchmarks, and identify
402 factors that promote exchange. On the first point, we found relatively high exchange of river flow data
403 but far less exchange on a suite of other key parameters. On the second aim, findings point to value in
404 a broader-based and gradational set of thresholds to measure diversity and frequency of data
405 exchanged in shared waters *vis-a-vis* those currently used in the SDGs. Nonetheless, there is a need to
406 balance the strength of an updated indicator framework with its ease-of-application. On the third aim,
407 there is evidence that online platforms promote data exchange whereas data protocols do not. While
408 deeper investigation can certainly be directed toward both findings, this evidence supports calls for
409 greater use of online platforms in shared waters.

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415

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