

1 Title: Groundwater basin depletion and international political borders

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4 *Using data from NASA's Grace-Tellus Satellite project we study the effects of international*
5 *borders on large scale groundwater basins. This is the first global socio-economic study of all*
6 *major groundwater basins using these novel satellite data and connecting them to*
7 *anthropogenic, political, and physical drivers of terrestrial water storage change. We find*
8 *groundwater basins that intersect country borders face greater depletion than ones that do not,*
9 *providing evidence of inefficiency in international water management. The source of inefficiency*
10 *is driven by agricultural demand and the lack of international property rights.*

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26 The 2006 United Nations Human Development Report (Watkins, 2006) paints a grim picture in
27 regards to access to water, stating that "By 2025 more than 3 billion people could be living in
28 water-stressed countries and 14 countries will slip from water stress to water scarcity". It goes on
29 to explain that "high overuse tends to occur in regions heavily dependent on irrigated agriculture
30 such as the Indo-Gangetic Plain in South Asia, the North China Plain, and the High Plains in
31 North America". The overuse of groundwater basins is vital to society and is not just a local
32 problem but a global one (Konikow and Kendy, 2005; Shah et al., 2000). This phenomenon is
33 especially troubling because the distribution of natural resources may not coincide with
34 geopolitical boundaries, meaning, international groundwater is at greater risk of depletion.
35 Therefore, it is important to understand how these scarce resources are shared, used, and
36 effectively managed in an international context.

37 Large scale common pool resource management is potentially the next great challenge in
38 natural resource management (McGinnis and Ostrom 1996; Ostrom, 1999; Worm, 2009) and
39 depends on coordination between local, regional, national, and international institutions (Ostrom,
40 2010). As revealed almost 50 years ago by Garrett Hardin (1968), common pool resources can
41 fall victim to the tragedy of the commons when institutions fail to offer incentives to govern
42 over-extraction. The economics literature has yet to empirically address free riding in
43 international groundwater (Olmstead and Sigman, 2015), where water availability can be central
44 to development. In this article we address one critically important question about large-scale
45 groundwater basin management: Do international borders exacerbate the loss of large-scale
46 groundwater basin stocks? We find evidence that they do.

47 The world's unfrozen freshwater resources are primarily made up of groundwater,
48 roughly 96% (Jousma and Roelofsen, 2004), though much of this water may be inaccessible to
49 humans. These supplies are subject to stressors from human and physical systems but only
50 recently have global data been available to compare the profiles of groundwater basin loss on a
51 large scale (Famiglietti et al., 2011; Rodell et al., 2009). In 2002, NASA started collecting
52 gravity data, known as the GRACE-Tellus data, which we use to look at causal drivers of
53 terrestrial water storage changes in the major groundwater basins of the world. Ineffective
54 management of internationally shared basins could be caused by strategic over-extraction or
55 could reflect additional coordination costs to managing water across multiple countries.
56 Coordination costs could arise from increased monitoring and enforcement, the uncertainty of
57 the information gathered, or the lack of legal institutions and recourse for the damaged party.
58 The lack of coordination or co-management of large scale water resources is critical to society as
59 increasing concerns grow over drought, starvation, human health, and water conflicts (Giordano,
60 2009; Gleick 2003; Sigman, 2002; Gleditsch et al. 2006; Dinar 2009).

61 Terrestrial water consumption is very influential in shaping the sustainable life of
62 aquifers and is driven by irrigated agriculture, demand for drinking water, and manufacturing.
63 Irrigation is the most significant source of demand, as it makes up approximately 67% of all
64 groundwater extraction, drinking water is the second most common reason for extraction, and
65 manufacturing falls in third place, driving about 10% of global groundwater extraction (Van der
66 Gun, 2012). The characteristics of demand can vary based on climatic variables like
67 precipitation and evapotranspiration, population density, the depth and cost to extract
68 groundwater, the suitability of the soil to growing crops, available substitutes, available
69 technologies, and restrictions on behavior through groundwater management institutions.

70 Much of the social science research on groundwater basin management is on small scale,
71 such as community self-governance (Ostrom and Gardner, 1993) and state level coordination and
72 cooperation (Schlager et al., 1994). While these studies have contributed to our understanding of
73 local management of common pool resource management, they do not address large scale natural
74 resources that span multiple countries. While empirical studies comparing depletion of basins is
75 lacking in the economics literature there is important contributions to the design of optimal
76 surface water contracts for international basins (Kilgour and Dinar, 2001), and elements of
77 groundwater treaties and relevant politics have been studied and structures for future treaties
78 proposed (Hayton and Utton, 1989; Zawahri et al., 2010).

79

80 **1 International Agreements**

81 Few international groundwater basin specific treaties are currently in place.¹ We list the major
82 international groundwater basin treaties in Table 1. While there are few groundwater basin
83 specific treaties, there are more treaties that mention water or groundwater within them, roughly
84 14% of water treaties mention groundwater according to Giordano et al. (2014). When
85 groundwater treaties do exist, they can often establish information sharing, set property rights,
86 have conflict mitigation mechanisms, or create binding limits on extraction. Groundwater basin
87 agreements vary quite considerably in levels of governance, and there is little that individual
88 countries can do if one partner decides to break the agreement. This basic aspect of governance,
89 or lack of recourse, in international treaties is common to most environmental treaties and not
90 unique to international water treaties. The lack of an international framework for groundwater

¹ This claim depends on how you classify groundwater treaties. There are very few international agreements solely focused on groundwater basins. This does not include treaties that has a surface water focus but mention groundwater usage. We do not include all water treaties that may include groundwater provisions but focus on treaties primarily focused on groundwater management. It is difficult to classify all treaties that mention groundwater and how these treaties relate to depletion concerns.

91 basins, which has only recently been addressed, and the complex nature of the resource, which is
92 notoriously costly to monitor and sometimes poorly understood, greatly affects the establishment
93 of international property rights and rules that affect depletion of groundwater. Even though few
94 formal international groundwater treaties exist there is a push for governance; in 2009 the Law of
95 Transboundary Aquifers, which encourages bilateral and regional groundwater agreements, was
96 officially adopted through resolution by the UN General Assembly. Even so, the inability to
97 enact legal recourse internationally suggests that large scale groundwater basins are potentially
98 threatened by over-extraction driven by the lack of international property rights.

99 It is worth noting that there are many issues that are taken up through water treaties
100 (Giordano, 2014), such as variability in supply, water quality concerns, hydro power, local needs
101 and governance and that these issues speak to more than just concerns about depletion of
102 internationally shared basins. Therefore, even if groundwater treaties are ineffective in reducing
103 depletion, they may be successful by other metrics.

104

105 **2 Model and Econometrics**

106 A large innovation in the information of global water is the GRACE-Tellus project, which
107 utilizes satellites to measure large scale changes in terrestrial water storage through gravity
108 measurements. We use this data to measure depletion of large scale groundwater basins in this
109 manuscript. The strength of this dataset resides on the independence from farmers or agencies
110 that may have a direct conflict of interest in sharing truthful information, and on the consistency
111 in the way large water storage changes are estimated across the globe. Although GRACE data
112 have been used in physical science studies and is suitable to monitor large scale changes in

113 terrestrial water storage (TWS) with relatively low spatial resolution (Famiglietti et al., 2011;
114 Rodell et al., 2009) it has been underutilized in social science research.

115 Many studies on global water take a combination of empirical observations and estimates
116 from models to understand changes in TWS. We use data from the Gravity Recovery and
117 Climate Experiment (GRACE) project and data from the Global Land Data Assimilation System
118 (GLDAS) model (Rodell and Beaudoin, 2007) to isolate TWS changes in our study. GLDAS
119 incorporates satellite and observational ground data to produce land surface states and fluxes.
120 Both methods, GRACE and GLDAS, have been used to compare large scale water storage
121 changes (Syed, 2008). Changes in TWS, at the moment, cannot be further broken down
122 explicitly into groundwater and surface water changes although certain components can be
123 accounted for through models like GLDAS, such as changes in snow water equivalent (SWE)
124 and canopy water storage (CWS). Typically, researches interested in the change of terrestrial
125 water storage would start with a water balance equation:

126 (1)
$$\Delta S_{it} = P_{it} - E_{it} - R_{it}$$

127 where ΔS_{it} represents the change in water storage for location i and time t . The change to water
128 storage is driven by precipitation, P , evapotranspiration, E , and runoff, R . The water balance
129 approach typically models the components of physical change and makes assumptions about
130 human behavior, as this component is not observed. In contrast to the water balance approach,
131 we use an econometric method to identify the causal changes to TWS. To isolate TWS change,
132 we take annual GRACE estimates of TWS change (Swenson, 2012) and subtract the annual
133 changes of SWE and CWS (output from GLDAS (Rodell and Beaudoin, 2007)) to constitute
134 our dependent variable in the regression. One limitation of our study, and others that use
135 GRACE data, is that we cannot separate out groundwater changes from surface storage changes

136 completely. Therefore, changes in surface storage, like reservoirs, can contribute to changes in
137 TWS which we are not able to isolate. Though we do note that other studies in specific basins
138 have found large changes in basins to be due to groundwater changes (MacDonald et al., 2016)
139 and a study of surface water impoundments show general increases in global and country level
140 storage (Chao et al., 2008), up through 2007.

141 To test our hypothesis, the econometric approach is more advantageous than a pure
142 modeling approach for multiple reasons: 1) it can control, rather than model, for unobservable
143 factors such as country specific laws or institutions and their influence on TWS, 2) it relies less
144 on important modeling assumptions of human behavior and land-use decisions but rather tests
145 the observed depletion behavior controlling for the physical factors, and 3) components of the
146 uncertainty in GRACE data can be directly used in estimation. The GRACE dataset is known to
147 have large amounts of uncertainty, and some systematic errors that can be accounted for in the
148 regression model.

149 To identify drivers of TWS change, we start fitting standard regression models that
150 include variables that drive water change (e.g. evapotranspiration, precipitation) and control
151 variables (e.g. latitude, longitude, soil constraints) that are included to validate the comparisons
152 between domestic and international groundwater basins. The control variables serve as a
153 modeling choice to discount the effect of spatial and temporal dependence in the conditional
154 mean of the response variable. We estimate the function $f(X_{it})$ which includes the variables of
155 interest and controls, X_{it} , measured at location i and at time t , providing the following basic
156 regression structure:

157 (2)
$$\Delta TWS_{it} = TWS_{it} - TWS_{i(t-1)} = f(X_{it}) + \varepsilon_{it},$$

158 where ε_{it} is an independent gaussian error term. Our dependent variable, ΔTWS_{it} , is the annual
159 change in terrestrial water storage (cm), defined by the GRACE Tellus dataset, for year t , which
160 is adjusted by subtracting annual changes of SWE and CWS.

161 The measurement scale of GRACE data (1 arc degree longitude by 1 arc degree latitude)
162 is arbitrarily determined by NASA. We collect all the gridded observations that are above major
163 groundwater systems as seen in Figure 1. The data, ΔTWS and all controls variables, are
164 combined and averaged at a $\sim 330\text{km} \times 330\text{km}$ spatial resolution (3 arc degree by 3 arc degree),
165 and we call these rasters. This aggregation brings TWS to the spatial resolution that more
166 effectively identifies changes in TWS from the filtered and spatially smoothed data from
167 GRACE post-processing (Swenson and Wahr, 2006; Landerer and Swenson, 2012). Each i^{th}
168 observation, or raster, provides a gravity field measurement which when differenced over time
169 captures the change in TWS over a raster.

170 Our dataset has the form of a balanced spatial panel that is a cross-section of observations
171 collected at specific geographic locations (in our case, rasters) over several time points (years).
172 Several selections for variables of interest and controls have been considered. The spatial and
173 time component of the model is largely accounted for with control variables, or fixed effects.
174 We present the results with these simpler controls.²

175 GRACE data are known to be attenuated (Swenson and Wahr, 2006). Gain factors, when
176 applied to the GRACE data, return a significant portion of the signal attenuation. These gain
177 factors mostly return the seasonal component of the signal attenuation, and our study focuses on

² The spatial models are used to investigate how borders affect depletion within a basin and results are available upon request from the authors.

178 the long term annual changes in TWS. We therefore exclude the gain factors from our main
 179 results, but analyze the significance of using gain factors by performing a robustness analysis.

180 We address uncertainty in the GRACE data in three distinct ways. First, as stated, we
 181 aggregate the data to a ~330km X 330km level to match filtering and smoothing data processing;
 182 this reduces the correlation in the errors between rasters. Second, we adjust the standard errors in
 183 our analysis to be clustered at the groundwater basin level which accounts for the correlation of
 184 rasters within the same basin. Third, we use the estimated errors from GRACE as weights in the
 185 regression model. The aspects of uncertainty in GRACE data are referred to as measurement
 186 errors and leakage errors (Swenson and Wahr, 2006). They are a result of the uncertainty of
 187 measurement across grid points when compared to models and observations of TWS change,
 188 such as GLDAS. The gridded uncertainty estimates are used as weights, in equation (3) to
 189 estimate the coefficients of interest.

$$190 \quad (3) \quad \text{Min} \sum w_i [\widehat{\varepsilon}_{it}]^2 = \sum w_i [\Delta TWS_{it} - f(X_{it})]^2$$

191 The weighting of observations is based on the estimated errors from the GRACE data, $w_i =$
 192 $\frac{1}{\sqrt{ME_i^2 + LE_i^2}}$, where ME_i is the measurement error for raster i and LE_i is the leakage error for raster
 193 i . This weighted regression is the primary model specification used throughout this paper.

194

195 **3 Data**

196 Using GIS maps produced by international organizations (e.g. Food and Agricultural
 197 Organization (FAO), BGR & UNESCO, International Water Management Institute) we define
 198 the major groundwater systems used in this study, as seen in Figure 1. The boundaries of major
 199 groundwater basins in Figure 1 are defined by maps produced by World-wide Hydrogeological

200 Mapping and Assessment Programme (WHYMAP) (Richs et al., 2011) and Internationally
201 Shared Aquifer Resources Management (ISARM) (Puri and Aureli, 2009).

202 The change in annual TWS from GRACE Tellus spans 2002-2015, providing 13 years of
203 annual changes measured at December of each year. Explanatory variables are captured and
204 matched to the geographic location of the GRACE gridded observations. The primary
205 explanatory variables include spatial and temporal controls as well as annual precipitation
206 (mm/yr), mean annual evapotranspiration (mm/yr), soil suitability (%), irrigated acreage (%),
207 water table depth (m), presence of a major river, population density, and a control for
208 international groundwater basin systems. We use irrigated acreage even though this measure of
209 water demand might be potentially determined endogenously by countries; this would be true if
210 countries encouraged (through subsidies or regulations) irrigated agriculture in shared
211 groundwater basins. To alleviate this concern we also substitute irrigated agriculture with soil
212 suitability as a control variable, which is an exogenous measure of the likelihood of agricultural
213 cultivation of the land based on climatic and soil characteristics (Ramankutty et al., 2002).

214 Precipitation data are gathered by the Global Precipitation Climatology Centre (Schneider
215 et al., 2008). Precipitation has two major effects on the groundwater basin stock. First, it
216 provides recharge to the aquifer and surface storage through rain water or snowmelt. Second,
217 rainfall reduces the demand for water, whether it be drinking water or irrigation water. If there is
218 conjunctive use of surface water and groundwater additional precipitation may decrease the
219 amount of groundwater pumped for consumptive use. The variation of precipitation may have
220 nonlinear effects on groundwater, and we include a square term in the estimates to control for
221 this effect.

222 Evapotranspiration refers to the quantity of water lost to the atmosphere which is
223 unavailable for consumption or irrigation. Average annual evapotranspiration is estimated as a
224 long term average, using information from 1950-2000, and is measured in millimeters per year
225 (Fekete et al., 2002). The relationship between terrestrial water storage stocks and the natural
226 process of evapotranspiration may be nonlinear, thus we control for this effect with a square term
227 on evapotranspiration.

228 Irrigated agriculture, compiled by the FAO (Siebert et al., 2005), is the percentage of total
229 equipped irrigated land. This data provides the position and extent of irrigated areas derived
230 through multiple sources that leveraged maps, atlases, and remote sensing information to digitize
231 an estimate of irrigation density in the scale of 5 arc minute cells.

232 Soil suitability is defined as the percentage area that is suitable to be used for agriculture
233 based on the climatic and soil conditions (Ramankutty et al., 2002). This spatial index estimates
234 the likelihood of cultivation to grow crops based on environmental conditions. In order to grow,
235 crops need an appropriate combination of topology, water, and climate variables. Climate
236 variables used in this index are growing degree days and the difference between precipitation and
237 evapotranspiration. Soil properties used in this index are defined as soil carbon and soil pH, and
238 together with climate variables are used to define the suitability for cultivation.

239 The water table data (Fan et al., 2013) is collected through a unique study of individual
240 wells across the globe. The depth to the water table is measured in meters and is approximated
241 across areas with sparse data elements when necessary, such as Northern Africa. Water table
242 depth could capture the cost of extraction to bring groundwater to the surface: typically this is
243 interpreted as the marginal cost of extraction in an economic context. However, the water table

244 could also be correlated with elements of demand, as in areas where economic returns tend to be
245 large water would be extracted more heavily and face a lower table.

246 Major rivers are identified by the Global Runoff Data Centre (GRDC) and include 687
247 major rivers across the globe (Global Runoff Data Centre (2007)). Major rivers are incorporated
248 into the data by using the count of major rivers within a raster. Controlling for major rivers may
249 account for available surface water as a substitute for groundwater where there are sustained
250 flows.

251 Population density, the amount of people per square kilometer (NASA Socioeconomic
252 Data and Applications Center, 2002) for the year 2000 is used as a control for municipal water
253 demand.

254 Soil constraints are included to control for geological conditions that may affect
255 agriculture water demand and the relative demand for water across different land uses. We
256 include two types of soil constraints as controls. First, a combined measure of soil constraints in
257 developed which includes soil depth, soil fertility, soil drainage, slope, soil texture, and chemical
258 composition which is captured as categorical variables as defined by the authors of the source
259 data (Fisher et al. 2002). Second, we control for excess salt as measured by Electric Conductivity
260 (EC in dS/m) which is grouped into categorical variables defined by the authors of the source
261 data (Fisher et al. 2008). Salt accumulation in soils can affect crops, generally through inhibiting
262 their ability to uptake water.

263 We construct the dataset by aggregating the data for all variables at the 1 arc degree
264 latitude by 1 arc degree longitude scale matched to the GRACE data, assign binary variables for
265 the appropriate variables (e.g. International aquifer, country fixed effects), and spatially average
266 other continuous variables (e.g. precipitation, soil suitability, population density). We then

267 aggregate the data to the raster size used in the analysis (~330km X 330km) in order to deal with
 268 uncertainty in the GRACE data. For all binary variables this creates a quasi-continuous measure
 269 that is bounded by 0 and 1 and represents the share of the 1 by 1 arc degree data that contain that
 270 binary variable (e.g. the percentage of a raster that contains a specific country). The descriptive
 271 statistics for our sample are provided in Table 2.

272

273 **4 International vs. Domestic Groundwater Systems Results**

274 We first test the average annual effect of groundwater basins being international using domestic
 275 groundwater basins as controls. Table 3 reports the results of Eq. 3 for all major groundwater
 276 systems while controlling for the drivers of TWS change, the recharge characteristics by area,
 277 spatial controls of longitude and latitude, fixed effects by country, year, and soil constraints. We
 278 express the function, $f(X_{it})$, as the linear combination of the primary variables of interest,
 279 $International_i$, $IntAgreements_i$, and other controls of terrestrial water storage change in Eq. 4.
 280 $International_i$ is a binary variable equal to 1 if the groundwater basin is shared by more than one
 281 countries, and 0 otherwise. The coefficient on $International_i$ in Eq. 4 is the average annual effect
 282 on groundwater basin stocks for international groundwater basins. $IntAgreements_i$ is a binary
 283 that is equal to 1 if the country and basin of the groundwater system is listed in Table 1 for the
 284 years covered in an international agreement.

$$285 \quad (4) \quad f(X_{it}) = \beta X_{it} + \varphi International_i + \theta IntAgreements_i$$

286 We report a series of results that vary the control variables to explore our main result.
 287 Our preferred estimate is Table 3 column 3 which includes all controls. We find evidence of
 288 greater depletion in international basins compared to domestic basins. Table 2 column 4 shows

289 that international groundwater basin systems are subject to an additional 0.614 cm annual
290 decrease in TWS, on average.

291 International agreements are weakly statistically significant in this regression. In our
292 preferred model the international agreements coefficient has the expected positive sign and is
293 significant at the 10% level. This suggests that these International agreements may be effective at
294 mitigating groundwater depletion at approximately 50% of the depletion realized by the
295 International basins without agreements.

296 These results suggest that sharing groundwater basin systems with multiple countries
297 causes greater depletion over the period from 2002 to 2015, controlling for physical, spatial, and
298 economic factors. The results presented here are in terms of the change in *TWS* over rasters
299 which are ~330km X 330km. One centimeter change in storage over this size area is significant,
300 approximately 1,107,000,000 m³.³ Our estimates from Table 3 approximates to an additional
301 annual loss of 679,698,000 m³ of water over a raster if it is in an international groundwater basin
302 system. This aggregation highlights the immense size of depletion across shared basins.

303

304 *4.1 Degree of Sharedness*

305 The degree to which each basin is shared by countries may also play a role in groundwater
306 depletion. Basins which are equally shared would presumably have greater incentives to
307 deplete the basin compared to basins in which one country controls the majority of the
308 basin and another country is a relatively minor player. To investigate this question, we first
309 construct the percentage of the groundwater basin which each country overlays. Then

³ We also find similar results using a 110km X 110km rasters, these results are available upon request.

310 calculate the mean absolute deviation from the mean for each basin by country, which is
311 bounded by 0 and 0.5. A value close to zero describes the case where countries in the basin
312 equally share the basin and there is a high degree of sharedness. A value close to 0.5
313 describes the case where one country overlays a high percentage of the basin and other
314 countries overlay a very small percentage of the basin. At the limit, a domestic aquifer
315 would have a value of 0.5 since they do not share the basin with any other countries. In
316 addition to the degree of sharedness we explore how the number of countries affects
317 depletion as coordination costs may increase with the number of countries in a basin.

318 Table 4 shows results using the identical specification from Table 3 column 3 with
319 all controls but include measures of sharedness of the basin. We find that the sharedness
320 measure is statistically insignificant, the defining feature is the international designation of
321 the basin rather than how much of the basin is shared by countries. The number of
322 countries is also insignificant, and non-parametric controls for the number of countries
323 suggests that two countries basins are similar to the basins with three or more countries
324 whom share a basin. Regressions with fixed effects for basins with four or more countries
325 have the problem of few basins per fixed effect, therefore we do not pursue this strategy
326 any further. Since we cannot reject that our two country and three country or more
327 coefficients are different from each other or that the level of sharedness is insignificant, we
328 conclude that the international designation is the critical aspect of greater groundwater
329 basin depletion.

330

331 **5 Borders within International Groundwater Basin Systems Results**

332 We also hypothesize that areas within an international groundwater basin system but not close to
333 a border could experience better coordination and regulation of water extraction leading to
334 greater relative depletion at the borders. Within international basins we compare TWS change in
335 rasters at the border using the counterfactual of rasters not at the border. This approach isolates
336 the effect of international borders on groundwater basin systems while reducing un-observables
337 that would complicate the identification of our variable of interest. We deconstruct the
338 $f(X_{it})$ function below to highlight our variables of interest in Eq. 5.

$$339 \quad (5) \quad f(X_{it}) = \beta X_{it} + \varphi Border_i + \theta Border_i \cdot Irrigation\ Acreage_i$$

340 Unlike our previous analysis, here we use a subset of our data to estimate the effect of
341 rasters overlapping an international border and interact this with measures of irrigated
342 agriculture. We use observations only in international basins and apply these data to Eq. 5,
343 effectively comparing rasters that overlay international borders and rasters that are farther away
344 from international borders. *Border*, the primary variable of interest, is defined as the approximate
345 percentage of the raster that intersects with an international border. The GRACE Tellus data, at
346 the 1 degree latitude by 1 degree longitude scale, are assigned binary variables if they intersect
347 an international border. When the data is aggregated to the 3 degree latitude by 3 degree
348 longitude scale *Border* is averaged to produces a measure of the ‘sharedness’ of the particular
349 raster bounded by 0 and 1. We interact $Border_i$ with the spatial index $Irrigation\ acreage_i$, to
350 capture the heterogeneous effects that agriculture can have on groundwater extraction at the
351 border. Table 5 column 2 shows that greater extraction does occur at the border of international
352 groundwater systems and that this effect is more dramatic when there is a greater density of
353 irrigated acreage. This suggests that inefficiency in water extraction is driven by agricultural
354 demand for groundwater within international aquifers.

355 We also use soil suitability, rather than irrigated acreage, to control for irrigation water
356 demand as this measure is more likely to be exogenous to water use decisions. Endogeneity can
357 be a problem in estimation because the amount of irrigated acreage may be determined jointly
358 with how water is used in shared groundwater basins. In our research, we can use this aspect of
359 endogeneity to look at underlying causes of greater depletion at the border, which are the
360 extensive margin and intensive margin changes. The depletion caused by agriculture at an
361 international border could be effected by extensive margin choices (eg. land use policies) that
362 encourage additional irrigation or cultivation on marginal lands or intensive margin choices, i.e.
363 using more water on similarly irrigated areas, through quantity restrictions from groundwater
364 management of subsidizing irrigation technologies. If there are extensive margin policies that
365 affect irrigation water demand, we expect estimates using irrigated acreage to be biased upward.
366 In Table 5 column 4 we find that the interaction between *soil suitability* and *border* is smaller
367 than the interaction between *irrigated acreage* and *border* but has the expected negative sign;
368 and is not statistically significant at the 10% level. This suggests that there are two important
369 effects occurring; 1) more water is lost at international borders than is likely economically
370 efficient driven by agricultural demand and, 2) the decrease in TWS at the border is most likely
371 associated with extensive margin changes. By recovering a statistically insignificant coefficient
372 from the interaction with soil suitability we find that areas with similar conditions for agriculture
373 may have similar depletion rates. This suggests that the type of irrigated agriculture is related to
374 the inefficiency of groundwater use in international basins, not just the presence of irrigated
375 agriculture.

376

377 **6 Monte Carlo Analysis**

378 One limitation in this analysis is the small number of major groundwater basins available to
379 measure differences between basins. The nature of this data require that small aquifers be
380 ignored since the measurement of change is on a scale much larger than small identifiable basins.
381 One may rightfully question the result as a false positive due to the small number of basins
382 tested. Therefore, we run a Monte Carlo analysis by randomizing the treatment of 'International'
383 for each aquifer and run simulations to test the significance of Type I error. This test provides
384 essential information of how likely it is that the significance of our finding is by random chance.

385 Using the same regression specification as in Table 3 column 3, we produce results of
386 3,000 simulations with random assignment of 'International' for each aquifer, and require that
387 observations within the same aquifer are assigned the same status. Figure 2 shows the
388 distribution of coefficients from these simulations with the random assignment of 'International'.
389 Our preferred estimate falls outside of the range of this distribution which shows that there is a
390 small probability of a Type I error and that our result is highly significant when comparing to the
391 simulation results. The distribution of randomized assignment is centered on zero, as expected,
392 and none of the estimates from the simulation are larger than the estimate from Table 3 column
393 3, suggesting a very small p-value for our main estimate. These results are again suggestive of a
394 significant negative effect of International designation of a groundwater basin on terrestrial water
395 storage leading to greater groundwater depletion which is not attributable to random chance.

396 We also provide a similar analysis to check the significance of depletion at borders within
397 International basins due to irrigated agriculture, established in Table 5. We take the regression
398 specification from Table 5 column 2, but randomize the designation of on 'Border' across the
399 sample. We produce 3,000 simulations to retrieve a distribution of the coefficient from the

400 interaction between $Border_i$ and the spatial index $Irrigation\ acreage_i$. We provide the
401 distribution of this coefficient in Figure 3 which shows that our main estimate is highly
402 significant, only one simulation out of 3,000 produced a coefficient of equal or larger size than
403 our result in Table 5 column 2. This again suggests that the result that observations with greater
404 irrigated acreage is not due to random chance but rather is due to the assignment of closeness to
405 International borders within a basin.

406

407 **7 Robustness**

408 As robustness checks to the main results in Table 3 and Table 5, we pursue various specifications
409 that apply gain factors, drop the weighting scheme, or use subsets of our data reported in Table 6,
410 Table 7, and Table 8. These robustness checks suggest that our main specification and controls
411 reported are robust to these econometric specifications. The application of gain factors, which
412 returns the attenuated signal that filtering of the data produced, does little to our estimate. We
413 also restrict the data to prior to 2014 because GRACE data lacked an estimate of TWS for
414 December 2014. Therefore, in the main specification we average the observations across
415 November 2014 and January 2015. In Table 7 column 5 and Table 8 column 5 we decrease the
416 sample to only include rasters within 400 miles from a border, calculated at the nearest edge of
417 the raster to an international border within the shared basin. This is meant to improve the
418 comparison of the unobserved differences between border rasters and off border rasters. We find
419 stronger evidence of intensive margin changes within international groundwater basin systems
420 with the restricted sample. This taken with our earlier results suggests that both the internal and
421 external margins may be important to large scale groundwater basin depletion.

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423 **8 Conclusions**

424 We offer the first empirical global study of political boundaries and water use
425 inefficiencies, which suggests a new hypothesis: international groundwater basin inefficiencies
426 exist and are likely driven by agricultural water use and ineffective water management. Similar
427 to recent work that combines GRACE data with more localized data (MacDonald et al., 2016),
428 future research should look to micro level evidence to confirm this new hypothesis. The
429 challenges to obtaining micro level data are considerable, requiring detailed groundwater use
430 data across multiple countries, but these will be needed in the future to more fully understand the
431 behavior within internationally shared groundwater basins.

432 Our study finds evidence that political borders play an important role in the inefficiency
433 of international groundwater basin management. We estimate that approximately 0.6 cm of
434 equivalent water thickness of terrestrial water storage is depleted due to coordination failures and
435 water management inefficiency in international groundwater basins. The size of this inefficiency
436 is large. In unconfined aquifers, the water table would decrease by 24 cm more in International
437 basins than domestic basins over a 10-year period, presuming a specific yield of 0.25. Over-time
438 this could lead to significant cumulative costs in extraction, loss of access to groundwater, or to a
439 host of other societal costs. International agreements appear statistically weak in our results but
440 may mitigate reduction of this depletion to an economically significant degree. We hold
441 reservations about this result due to the statistical weakness and the minimal number of large
442 basins with agreements in place.

443 We find evidence of greater water depletion close to international borders within
444 international basins, driven by agricultural water demand (e.g. irrigated agriculture). This
445 enforces the conclusion that internationally shared basins suffer greater depletion caused by the

446 political borders and agricultural water demand. There is weaker evidence that the inefficiency
447 found includes intensive margin changes.

448 The inefficiency in the large scale groundwater commons could be driven by the lack of
449 legal frameworks in international basins. Property rights in domestic basins allow for legal
450 recourse by states or communities. For instance, in the United States, Kansas and Colorado
451 successfully won a case over Nebraska in the Republican River Basin in 2014 that changed the
452 allocation of water use between states and regulated irrigation behavior. Our results suggest the
453 lack of similar legal recourse and property rights at an international level may lead to
454 inefficiency in water use on a large scale.

455 In this analysis we do not assume that domestic basins are exempt from the tragedy of the
456 commons, only that international basins are subject to a greater relative depletion and
457 furthermore that international basins experience greater depletion of water storage at the border.
458 Agricultural demand for groundwater is important to international groundwater management as it
459 is such a strong source of demand and a driver of inefficiencies in international basins. This
460 result coupled with the lack of international groundwater governance suggests improvements to
461 the sustainable use of international groundwater basins are needed and are sensitive to the types
462 of groundwater use.

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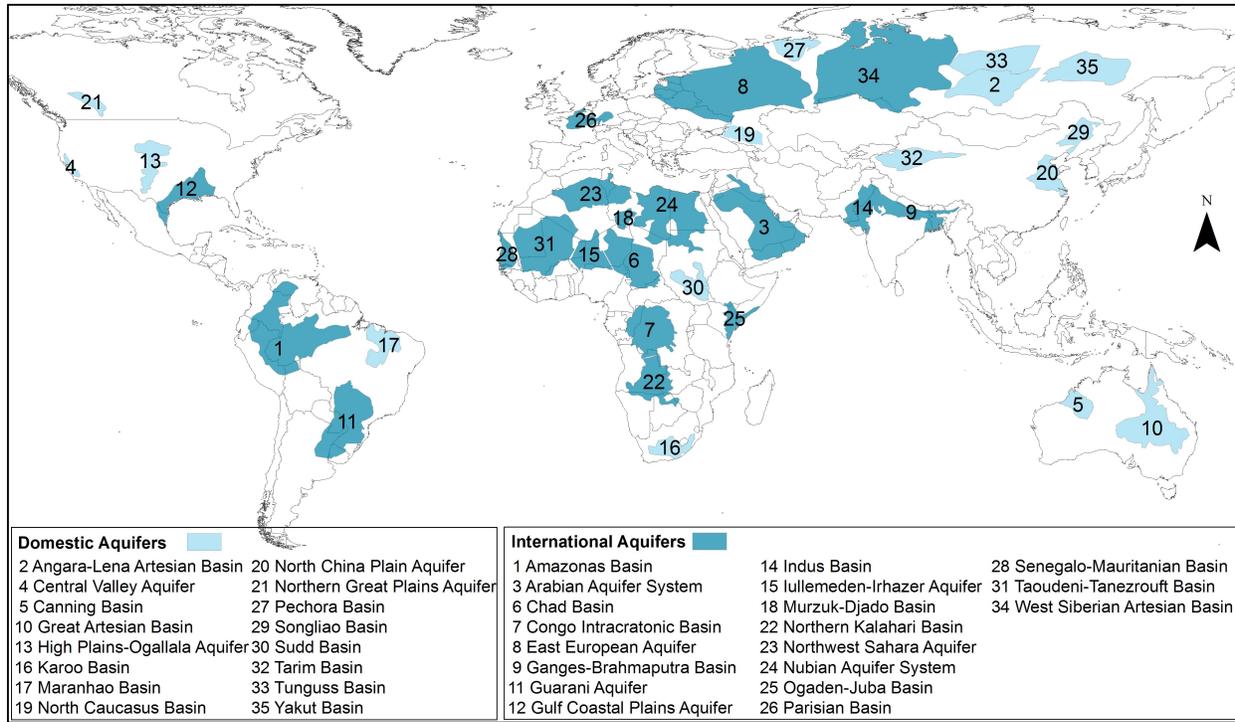
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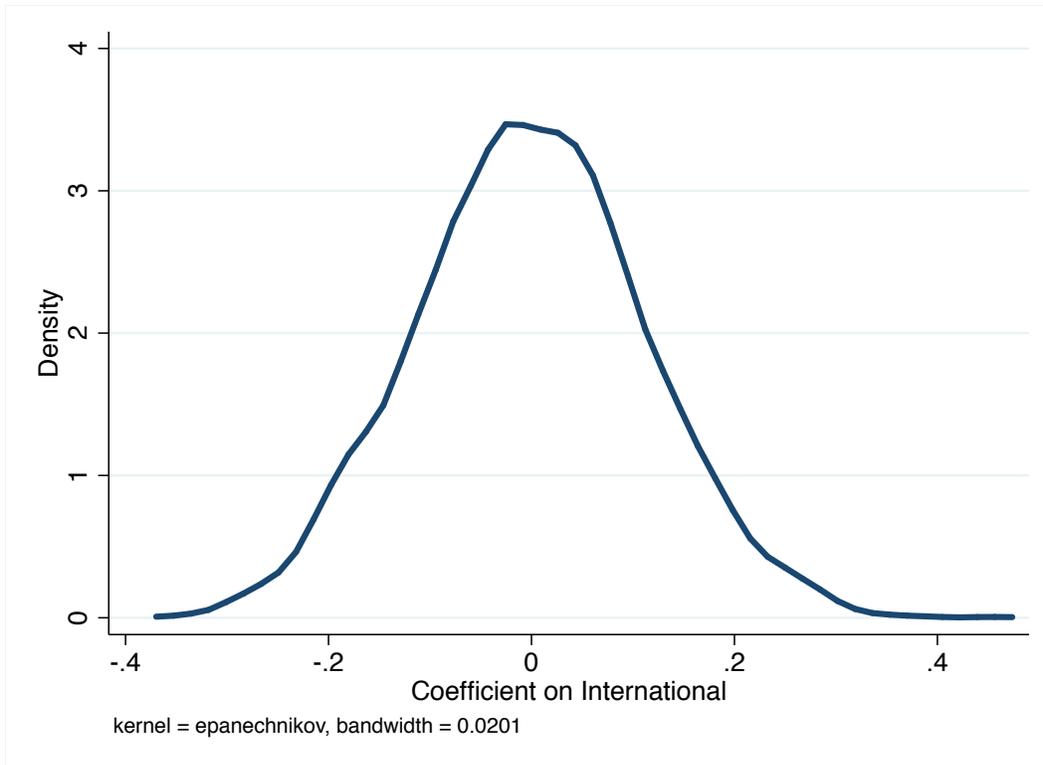
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589 **Fig. 1. Major groundwater systems.**

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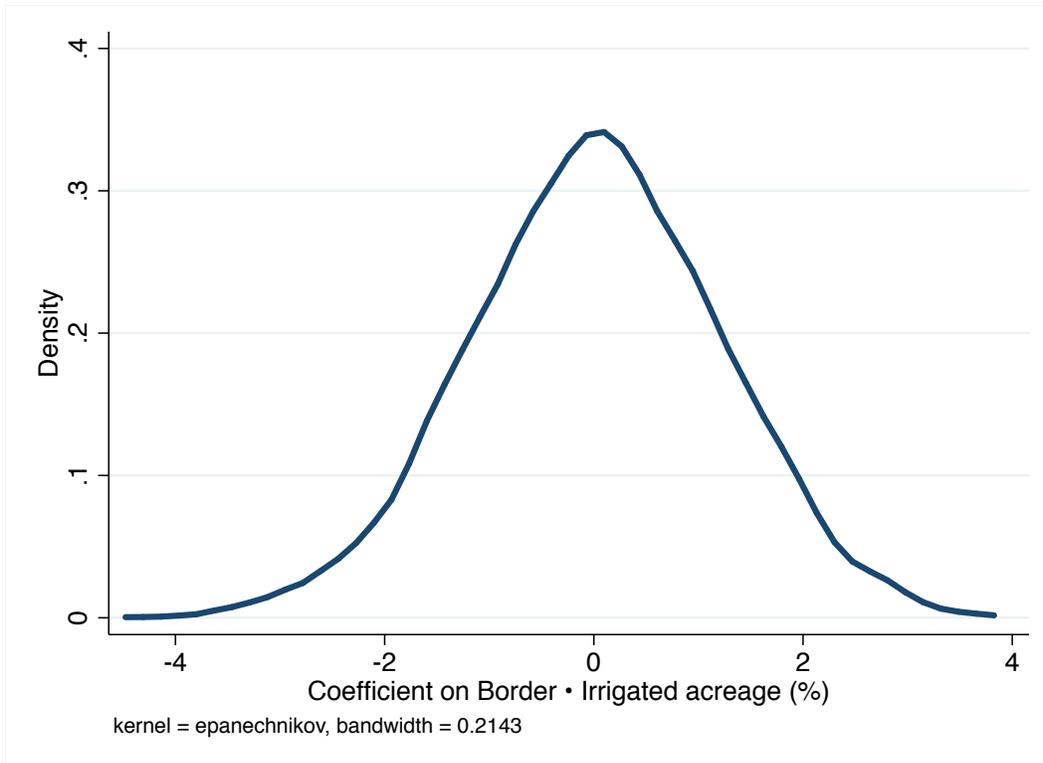
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594 **Figure 2. Monte Carlo Simulation Results for International Basins.** The simulation results
595 used the WLS regression specification from Table 3 column 3. 3,000 runs of the simulation
596 were run to provide the distribution of coefficients on 'International' designations using
597 randomized assignment for each aquifer.
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600 **Figure 3. Monte Carlo Simulation Results for Borders.** The simulation results used the WLS
601 regression specification from Table 5 column 2. 3,000 runs of the simulation were run to
602 provide the distribution of coefficients on 'Border • Irrigated acreage (%)' using randomized
603 assignment for Border across International basin observations.
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	Countries	Treaty/Agreement name	Date
1	Algeria; Benin; Mali; Niger; Nigeria; Burkina Faso; Mauritania	Memorandum of Understanding for the establishment of a Consultation Mechanism for the Integrated Management of the Water Resources of the Iullemeden, Taoudeni/Tanezrouft Aquifer Systems (ITAS).	28-Mar-14
2	Russian Federation; Kazakhstan	Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on joint management of transboundary waterbodies.	7-Sep-10
3	Argentina, Brazil,Paraguay Uruguay	Guarani Aquifer Agreement	2-Aug-10
4	Paraguay; Brazil	Cooperation agreement between the Government of the Republic of Paraguay and the Government of the Federative Republic of Brazil for the sustainable development and integrated management of the watershed basin of the Rio Apa.	11-Sep-06
5	Russian Federation; Belarus	Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of Belarus on cooperation in the sphere of protection and rational use of transboundary waterbodies.	24-May-02
6	Algeria, Libya, Tunisia	Establishment of a Consultation Mechanism for the Northwestern Sahara Aquifer System (SASS)	24-Jun-05
7	Ukraine; Belarus	Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of Belarus on joint management and protection of transboundary waterbodies.	16-Oct-01
8	Sudan; Libya; Egypt; Chad	Agreement 1 between Chad, Egypt, Libya and Sudan concerning the monitoring and exchange of information related to the groundwater of the Nubian Sandstone Aquifer System.	5-Oct-00
9	Sudan; Libya; Egypt; Chad	Agreement No. 2 between Chad, Egypt, Libya and Sudan for Monitoring and Sharing Data for the sustainable development and proper management of the Nubian Sandstone Aquifer System.	5-Oct-00
10	Angola; Botswana; Congo, Dem. Rep. of Congo; Lesotho; Malawi; Mauritius; Mozambique; Namibia; South Africa; Seychelles; Swaziland; Un. Rep. of Tanzania; Zambia; Zimbabwe	Revised Protocol on Shared Watercourse Systems in the Southern African Development Community (SADC).	7-Aug-00
11	Ukraine; Republic of Moldova	Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Moldova on joint boundary waters management and protection.	23-Nov-94
12	Ukraine; Russian Federation	Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Russian Federation on joint transboundary waterbodies management and protection.	19-Oct-92
13	Egypt; Libya	Bilateral Cooperation Agreement Minutes between Egypt and Libya on the establishment of the Joint Authority for the Study and Development of Groundwater of the Nubian Sandstone Aquifer System.	8-Jul-91

614 **Table 1. International groundwater agreements.** Source: FAO legal database of international
615 agreements (faolex.fao.org) and <http://www.internationalwaterlaw.org>.
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	Domestic Basins		International Basins	
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
Δ TWS	0.065	4.552	-0.002	5.340
Precipitation (mm)	1,001.640	849.402	1,336.449	1.454.935
Precipitation squared	1,743,016	3,865,502	3,968,489	8,842,397
Evapotranspiration (mm)	412.520	213.564	424.064	326.408
Evapotranspiration squared	216,723	202,659	288,985.9	340,641.4
Population density (km ²)	53.290	160.422	48.187	150.506
Irrigated acreage (%)	0.049	0.111	0.029	0.106
Water table (m)	4.731	4.547	5.068	5.567
Major river	0.505	0.423	0.455	0.477
International agreement	-	-	0.547	0.497
Year	2009	3.742	2009	3.742
Number of rasters	194		428	

622 **Table 2. Descriptive Statistics.**

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	Dependent Var: Δ TWS		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Precipitation (mm)	0.002** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)
Precipitation squared	-1.55e-07** (7.41e-08)	-2.68e-07*** (9.57e-08)	-2.92e-07*** (8.92e-08)
Evapotranspiration (mm)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.003** (0.001)
Evapotranspiration squared	-1.01e-06 (1.27e-06)	-1.57e-06 (1.46e-06)	-5.46e-07 (1.36e-06)
Population density (km ²)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Irrigated acreage (%)	0.069 (0.886)	-0.150 (0.741)	0.525 (0.890)
Water table (m)	0.007 (0.005)	0.005 (0.007)	0.016** (0.007)
Major river	-0.207 (0.167)	-0.114 (0.118)	-0.110 (0.109)
International basin	-0.100 (0.168)	-0.464** (0.201)	-0.614*** (0.174)
International Agreement	0.002 (0.140)	0.239 (0.166)	0.294* (0.165)
Year FE	N	Y	Y
Recharge area FE	N	N	Y
Soil Constraints FE	N	N	Y
Excess Salt FE	N	N	Y
Spatial Controls	N	Y	Y
Observations	8,099	8,099	8,099
R ²	0.011	0.0522	0.0591

637 **Table 3. International aquifers and international agreements.** Spatial controls are
638 defined as longitude, latitude, and latitude squared. Recharge areas are designated
639 through Whymap.org as deep and shallow aquifers by low, moderate, and high recharge
640 rates. Asterisks (***, **, *) denote variables significant at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively.
641 Standard errors are clustered at the aquifer level to control for correlation of the errors by
642 basin. For brevity we do not report the entire estimation results for the control variables,
643 and instead we indicate with Y or N the inclusion or exclusion of the listed fixed effects.
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Dependent Var: Δ TWS			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
International basin	-0.630** (0.271)	-0.666*** (0.228)	- -
Sharedness	-0.034 (0.803)	- -	- -
# of Countries	- -	0.010 (0.031)	- -
Two Countries	- -	- -	-0.662*** (0.186)
Three or more Countries	- -	- -	-0.567*** (0.200)
Observations	8,099	8,099	8,099
R ²	0.0591	0.0591	0.0591

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Table 4. Sharedness of Groundwater Basins. Standard errors are reported below the coefficients in parentheses and are clustered at the aquifer basin level to control for correlation of the errors by basin. The other controls are the same as in Table 3 column 3 and are not reported. Asterisks (***, **, *) denote variables significant at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively.

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	Dependent Var: Δ TWS			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Precipitation (mm)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)
Precipitation squared	-2.60E-07** (9.21E-08)	-2.62E-07** (9.22E-08)	-2.59E-07** (9.23E-08)	-2.59E-07** (9.24E-08)
Evapotranspiration (mm)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.004** (0.002)
Evapotranspiration squared	7.54E-07 (1.42E-06)	7.27E-07 (1.41E-06)	8.63E-07 (1.38E-06)	8.68E-07 (1.39E-06)
Population density (km ²)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Irrigated acreage (%)	-0.768 (1.123)	-0.246 (1.305)	- -	- -
Soil suitability (%)	- -	- -	-0.533 (0.525)	-0.420 (0.524)
Water table (m)	0.020** (0.008)	0.021** (0.008)	0.019** (0.008)	0.020** (0.008)
Major river	-0.191* (0.109)	-0.187* (0.108)	-0.178 (0.110)	-0.170 (0.106)
Border	-0.041 (0.063)	0.017 (0.053)	-0.021 (0.064)	0.052 (0.065)
Border • Irrigated acreage (%)	- -	-3.953*** (1.019)	- -	- -
Border • Soil suitability	- -	- -	- -	-0.517 (0.458)
Basin FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Country FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Recharge area FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Soil Constraints FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Excess Salt FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Spatial Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	5,551	5,551	5,551	5,551
R ²	0.0681	0.0683	0.0682	0.0682

675 **Table 5. International borders and agricultural water demand.** Basins are defined as in
676 Figure 1 that correspond to major groundwater systems. Spatial controls are longitude, latitude,
677 and latitude squared. Recharge areas are designated through Whymap.org as deep and shallow
678 aquifers by low, moderate, and high recharge rates. Asterisks (***, **, *) denote variables
679 significant at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively. Standard errors are reported below the Coefficients

680 in parentheses and are clustered at the aquifer basin level to control for correlation of the errors
 681 by basin. For brevity we do not report the entire estimation results for the control variables, and
 682 instead we indicate with Y or N the inclusion or exclusion of the listed fixed effects.
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	Dependent Var: Δ TWS			
	(1) Main Specification	(2) Gain factors applied	(3) Without weighting by errors	(4) Prior to 2014
International basin	-0.614*** (0.174)	-0.480*** (0.156)	-0.727*** (0.220)	-0.685*** (0.190)
Observations	8,099	8,099	8,099	6,853
R ²	0.0591	0.0497	0.0737	0.0688

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692 **Table 6. International borders robustness results.** Standard error are reported below the
 693 coefficients in parentheses and are clustered at the aquifer basin level to control for correlation of
 694 the errors by basin. The other controls are the same as in Table 3 column 3 and are not reported.
 695 Column 1 repeats the main results from Table 3. Asterisks (***, **, *) denote variables
 696 significant at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively.
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Dependent Var: Δ TWS					
	(1) Main Specification	(2) Gain factors applied	(3) Without weighting by errors	(4) Prior to 2014	(5) Trimmed within 400 miles of border
Border	0.052 (0.065)	0.026 (0.076)	0.171 (0.139)	0.065 (0.112)	0.054 (0.064)
Border • Soil suitability	-0.517 (0.458)	-0.635 (0.526)	-1.062* (0.592)	-0.584 (0.511)	-0.652* (0.357)
Observations	5,551	5,551	5,551	4,697	4,017
R ²	0.0682	0.0521	0.0956	0.0632	0.1428

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Table 7. International borders and soil suitability robustness results. Standard errors are reported below the coefficients in parentheses and are clustered at the aquifer basin level to control for correlation of the errors by basin. The other controls are the same as in Table 5 column 4 and are not reported. Column 1 repeats the main results from Table 5. Asterisks (***, **, *) denote variables significant at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively.

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	Dependent Var: Δ TWS				
	(1) Main Specification	(2) Gain factors applied	(3) Without weighting by errors	(4) Prior to 2014	(5) Trimmed within 400 miles of border
Border	0.016 (0.052)	-0.009 (0.059)	0.015 (0.098)	0.012 (0.087)	0.015 (0.054)
Border • Irrigated acreage (%)	-3.953*** (1.019)	-4.255** (1.499)	-3.629*** (0.871)	-3.616*** (0.792)	-3.328*** (1.277)
Observations	5,551	5,551	5,551	4,697	4,017
R ²	0.0683	0.0522	0.0957	0.0632	0.1418

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Table 8. International borders and irrigated agriculture robustness results. Standard errors are reported below the coefficients in parentheses and are clustered at the aquifer basin level to control for correlation of the errors by basin. The other controls are the same as in Table 5 column 2 and are not reported. Column 1 repeats the main results from Table 5. Asterisks (***, **, *) denote variables significant at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively.