

## Dams and Violence in Africa

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# Clashes over Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam on Nile



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## Egypt accuses Ethiopia of violating law over controversial dam

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While for Ethiopia, the dam, pictured here in 2019, is vital, Egypt sees it as a threat to its existence

**Egypt has accused Ethiopia of violating international law after it received a notice saying that Ethiopia's dam upstream on the Nile is now filling up with water for a second year.**

The hydroelectric dam has long been a source of tension in the region.

Egypt, which relies almost entirely on the Nile for its water, sees it as a possible existential threat. Ethiopia says it is vital for its development.

Decade-long negotiations over the dam have failed to reach a final agreement.

## Egyptian Protesters



# Disputes over Hydropower Dams

Hydropower dams are controversial.

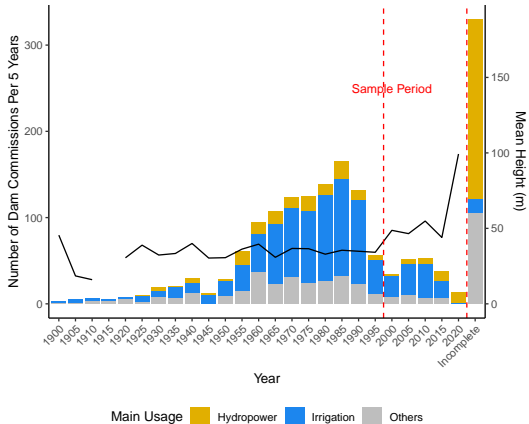
- On one hand, dams are pivot water infrastructure for agricultural intensification and electrification.
- On the other hand, the construction and operation of these dams involve
  - large-scale relocation;
  - adverse environmental effect in the downstream regions, e.g., water cycle, temperature, biodiversity, etc.
- Likely evoke conflicts in the downstream.
  - ⇒ Domestic water scarcity — Fight for diminishing water access.
  - ⇒ Economic loss — reduced agricultural production due to ↓ irrigation water & soil quality.
  - ⇒ Higher temperature?
    - Loss in biodiversity.
    - Forced displacement.

## Research Question

- Did hydropower dams increase the incidence of conflicts in Africa?
  
- Why focus on hydropower dams?
  - Larger hydrological impact than irrigation dams due to greater size and height.
  - Rapid proliferation amid Africa's ongoing electrification.
  
- Potential Mechanisms:
  - Competition over domestic-used water resources? (✓)
  - Dams ↑ downstream temperature?
  - Reduced agricultural production ↓ opportunity costs of participating in conflicts?

## More/Taller Dams in Africa

- A sharp rise of dams constructions in Africa since 1950 (ICOLD WRD, 2020)
- Dams become taller.
- More hydropower dams in the future.



# of Dams by Year of Commission

# Dam and Water

- Dams provide stable irrigation water.
  - Hold water in rainy seasons and release in dry seasons ([Ando and Lei 2023](#)).
- On the other hand, dams have been argued to adversely affect the river ecology, especially in the downstream area.
- **Water deficit** (occurs when water demand exceeds supply)  $\uparrow \Rightarrow$  **drought severity**  $\uparrow$ 
  - **Water temperature changes**: Released water is often warmer than natural river water, increasing evaporation rates.
  - **Water surface exposure**: Dam-regulated flows can create wider, shallower channels that expose more water surface area.
  - **Flow Pattern Changes**: Altered flow could be more constant, creating permanent shallow pools and backwaters; water in these areas moves slowly and has more time to evaporate.

## Dam and Water (Con't)

- Dams likely reduce groundwater storage in the downstream regions.
  - **Reduction of recharges:** Dams truncate natural river flow — surface water discharges ↓ — recharges to shallow groundwater aquifer ↓
  - **Over-extraction:** Associated irrigation system over-pumped water from aquifer.
- Poor management of dams exacerbates adverse effects.
  - Imprecise forecasts of rainy/dry seasons.
  - Hydroelectric dams tend to hold more water in dry seasons for electricity generating.



## Preview

- Estimate the effects of hydropower dams on the incidence of conflicts separately for downstream and upstream regions on:
  - Dep Var.: **Monthly # of conflict; conflict dummy (monthly)**.
  - DID: Areas near to **Dam-Affected vs. -Unaffected** river branches (in the same basin with the dam); **Pre vs. Post** Period of dam commissions.
  - Mainly focus on downstream regions, while using upstream regions as placebo tests.
- We find that:
  - Downstream: monthly # of conflicts **↑ 0.01** piece (91% of the mean) in the Affected vs. Unaffected.
  - Upstream: No significant effect.
  - Larger effect in arid areas and areas with lower groundwater storage.
  - Induce more conflicts in area with high ethnicity fractionalization.
- Mechanisms:
  - Competition for water resource: water deficit (+), drought severity (+), groundwater storage (-), household time use in water collection (+).
  - Temperature: max. temperature (+), but incidence of high temperature weather (> 86 F) not change.
  - Agricultural output (+).

# Literature Review

## ■ The effect of dams:

- Distributional effect on agriculture output in India and Africa ([Duflo & Pande 2007](#); [Strobl & Strobl 2011](#)).
- Increased infant mortality through drinking water pollution in South Africa ([Mettetal 2019](#)).
- Enlarged gender inequality in education since dams reduced groundwater storage and prolonged females' time use in water collection ([Han, Lam & Yin 2024](#)).
- The Three Gorges Dam led to less rainfall downstream, thereby widening income inequality among downstream rural families ([Chen et al. 2021](#)).
- Hydropower dams intensify downstream drought if upstream experience drought, too ([Ando & Lei 2023](#)).
- Hydropower dams were associated with reduced economic production, population, and greenness in nearby areas in the Global South ([Fan et al. 2022](#)).

# Literature Review

## ■ Conflict

- Climate-derived conflicts, e.g., high temperature, precipitation, flood, drought, etc. ([Hsiang, Burke & Miguel 2013](#); [Dell, Jones & Olken 2014](#); [Burke et al. 2015](#); [Sarsons 2015](#); [Harari & La Ferrara 2018](#)).
- Global commodity price and conflicts: export price ([Besley & Persson 2008](#); [Brückner & Ciccone 2010](#)); oil price ([Collier & Hoeffler 2005](#); [Koubi et al. 2014](#); [Ross 2015](#)); mineral price ([Berman et al. 2017](#)); crop price shock ([McGuirk & Burke 2020](#)).

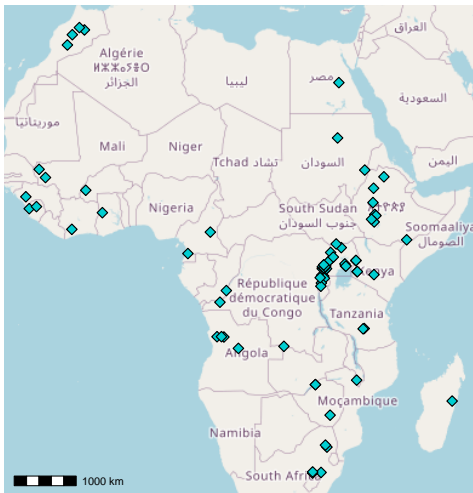
## ■ Water access and human well-being:

- Students lacking access to piped water are associated with worse educational outcomes ([Choudhuri & Desai 2021](#); [Halmet et al. 2021](#)).
- Clean water supply improved individual health outcomes ([Frempong et al. 2021](#); [Kremer et al. 2011](#)).
- Having access to piped water increases people's happiness ([Devoto et al. 2012](#)).

## Data on Dams

- We compile a comprehensive database on hydropower dams in Africa from:
  - Reservoir and Dam (GRanD v1.03) database provided by NASA;
  - AQUASTAT dams database collected by FAO;
  - Africa Dams Briefing (2015) collected by International Rivers;
  - Manually validate with Wikipedia.
- The database contains information on
  - Longitude and latitude;
  - Year and month of commission;
  - Other dams characteristics such as heights, reservoir capacities (though with missing values)

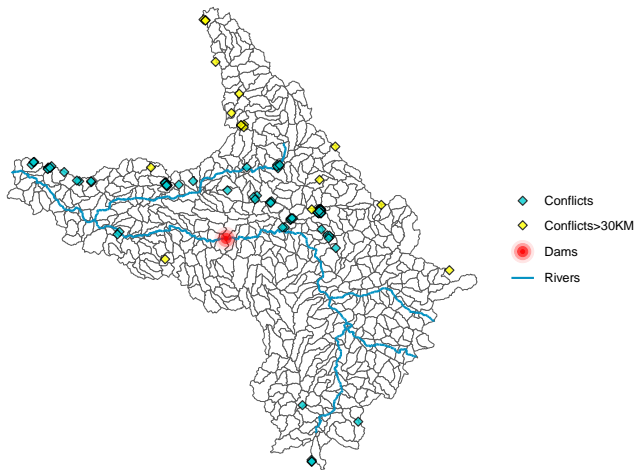
## Dam Sample Includes 77 Hydropower Dams (2000-2020)



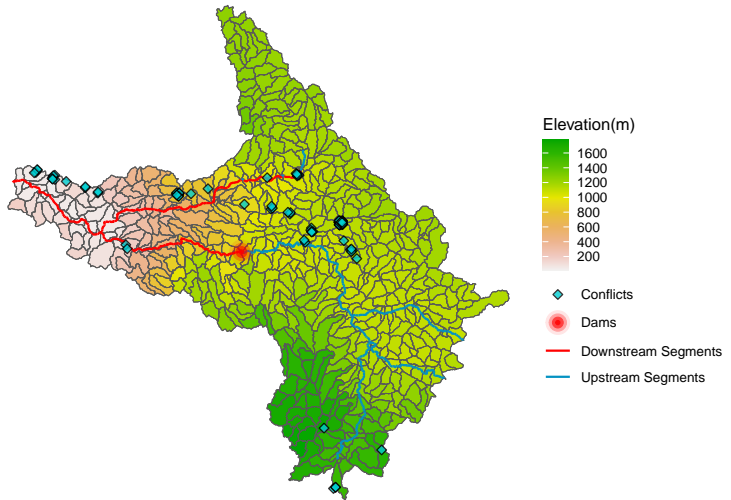
## Conflicts Data

- We draw conflicts data from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset (ACLED), which provides detailed information of conflicts worldwide from 1997, mainly sourced from news reports:
  - Geo-location of the conflicts;
  - Occurrence date;
  - Types of conflicts;
  - groups of the conflicts.
  - A short sentence stating the reason of the conflicts.
- Subtypes of conflicts.
  - Abduction, Attack, Armed Clash, Looting, Mob Violence, Peaceful Protest, Protest with Intervention, Excessive Forces against Protesters, Demonstration, Sexual Violence, Government Regains Territory, Nonstate Actor Overtakes Territory, Conflicts related to Water.
- Our conflict sample is at the dam-cell-yearmonth level.
  - Period: 2000-2020.
  - Located within 50 KM to a dam in the same river basin, and within 30 KM to the nearest stem river.
  - Count the monthly # within a 10KM\*10KM grid cell.

## Match Dams with Conflicts Data (Capanda Dam in Angola: Kwanza River Basin)



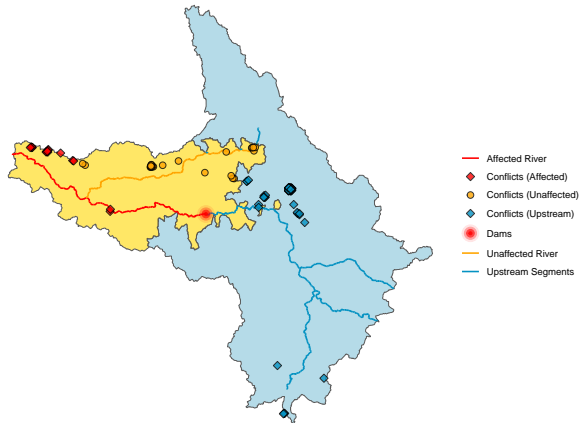
## Delineate Downstream & Upstream



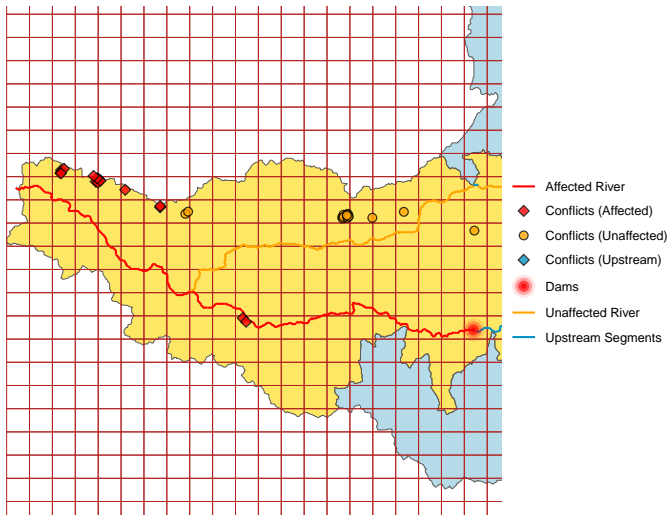


## The DID Design

- 1st difference: Areas located within 30km of **Affected** (pass from dams) vs. **Unaffected** (not pass from dams) river branches.
- 2nd difference: **Pre** vs. **Post** period of dam commission.



## Zoom in (10KM\*10KM)

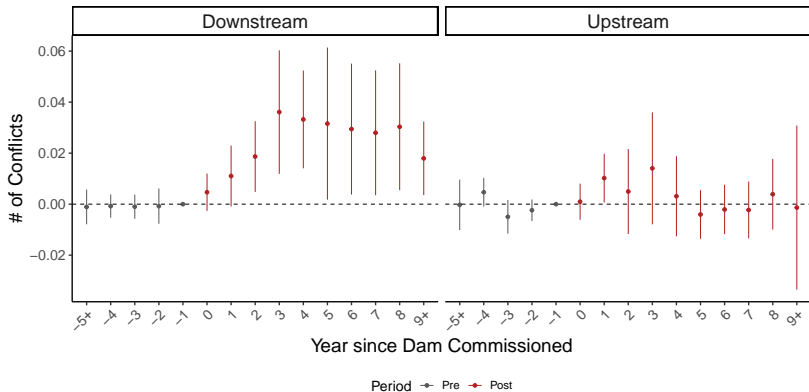


## Baseline DID Specification

$$Y_{ijdt} = \beta_1 Post_{td} + \beta_2 Affected_{jd} \times Post_{td} + X_{it}\gamma + \kappa_i + \delta_d + \mu_{ct} + \epsilon_{ijdt}$$

- $i, j, d, t$  represent cell  $i$  along river  $j$  near dam  $d$  in year-month  $t$ .
- $Y_{ijdk}$  denotes monthly # of conflicts, or conflict dummy at month level.
- $Affected_{jd}$  is an indicator for cells within 30 km of affected river  $j$  which flows from dam  $d$ .
- $Post_{td}$ : = 1 for post-period of dam commission.
- $X_{it}$ : geographical/climate/hydrological characteristics of cell  $i$ .
- $\kappa_i, \delta_d, \mu_{ct}$ : cell, dam, country-year, country-month, and year-month fixed effects, respectively.
- $\epsilon_{ijdt}$ : standard errors are clustered at the cell level.

## Baseline Result: Monthly # of Conflicts



## Baseline Table

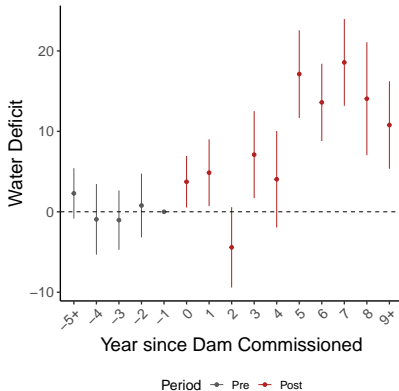
	Monthly # of conflicts					
	Downstream			Upstream		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Post	-0.016*** (0.004)	-0.015** (0.006)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.021*** (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.006)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.038*** (0.009)	0.025*** (0.008)	0.016*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.008)	0.005 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.012	0.012	0.012
Observations	404,340	404,340	404,340	313,752	313,752	313,752
R <sup>2</sup>	0.144	0.169	0.179	0.084	0.116	0.141
Covariates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Covariates*Year			Y			Y
Dam fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cell fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓			✓		
Month fixed effects	✓			✓		
Country-Year fixed effects		✓	✓		✓	✓
Country-Month fixed effects		✓	✓		✓	✓
Year-Month fixed effects		✓	✓		✓	✓

## Robustness & Additional Results

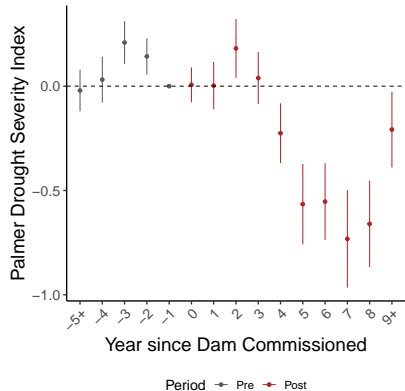
- Our baseline results are robust to alternative conflict measurement (conflict dummy) and different samples (distances to dams/ivers, periods). fig tab
  
- All types of conflicts near affected river ↑ vs. unaffected river (downstream). fig
  - Attack, Armed clash, Abduction, Protests, violent demonstration, mob violence, looting, etc.
  
- Larger effect in arid areas and areas with lower average groundwater storage. tab
  
- Induce more conflicts in area with high ethnicity fractionalization. tab

# Water Cycle

- Downstream area near dam-affected rivers have become drier: water deficit ↑, Palmer Drought Severity Index ↓.



(a) Water Deficit



(b) PDSI

# Water Cycle

- Groundwater storage in area near dam-affected rivers ↓
- However, the incidence of severe drought ( $PDSI < -4$ ) does not increase.

	Water Deficit (1)	PDSI (2)	Severe Drought (3)	log(Groundwater Storage)		
				All (4)	Non-Cropland (5)	Cropland (6)
Post	-29.7*** (4.52)	0.251*** (0.079)	0.014* (0.008)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.011 (0.012)
Affected_Riv × Post	5.68*** (1.36)	-0.188*** (0.045)	0.001 (0.004)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.014 (0.012)
Mean of Dep. Var.	517.4	-0.789	0.184	6.99	6.96	7.09
Observations	458,328	458,328	458,328	344,638	266,298	78,340
R <sup>2</sup>	0.927	0.806	0.659	0.995	0.996	0.995
Covariates*Year	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cell fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dam-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dam-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓



## Alternative Mechanisms

- Temperature (probably): tab
  - Monthly temperature max. and min. ↑
  - However, the incidence of severe high temperature weather (> 86 F or 30°C) does not increase.
  
- Agricultural production (not likely):
  - Food consuming area has not seen significant increase in conflicts. tab
  - Cropland did not decrease. tab
  - Soil moisture and grain output in food consuming area did not decrease.
  - Survey data (DHS) shows local residents' land ownership ↑, and adults' agricultural labor participation rate ↑

## Inequality? Uneven Distributional Effect?

	Land ownership	Land hectares	Wealth (1-5)		Electricity	Refrigerator	Radio	Television	Bicycle
	(1)	(2)	Land_Own=0 (3)	Land_Own=1 (4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Post	-0.195** (0.099)	-110.2*** (39.9)	1.11** (0.455)	0.303 (0.389)	-0.155 (0.121)	-0.119*** (0.045)	-0.011 (0.063)	-0.124 (0.091)	-0.026 (0.114)
Post × Affected_Riv	0.246** (0.099)	115.0*** (39.9)	-0.985** (0.447)	-0.399 (0.390)	0.148 (0.121)	0.119*** (0.044)	0.021 (0.063)	0.125 (0.091)	0.038 (0.113)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.655	26.1	2.81	3.48	0.275	0.041	0.567	0.152	0.136
Observations	31,406	30,738	10,085	21,321	40,967	40,956	40,975	40,939	40,968
R <sup>2</sup>	0.248	0.244	0.431	0.205	0.532	0.222	0.295	0.421	0.141
Covariates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dam fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
factor(cells) fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-factor(time) fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

# Labor Participation

	Downstream				Upstream			
	All (1)	Agricultural (2)	Non-Agricultural (3)	Domestic Work (4)	All (5)	Agricultural (6)	Non-Agricultural (7)	Domestic Work (8)
Post	0.083 (0.072)	-0.158*** (0.038)	0.228*** (0.038)	0.013 (0.021)	-0.028 (0.042)	-0.020 (0.043)	-0.030 (0.035)	0.017 (0.015)
Affected_Riv × Post	-0.128* (0.070)	0.108*** (0.034)	-0.226*** (0.039)	-0.011 (0.021)	0.017 (0.026)	0.012 (0.026)	0.018 (0.021)	-0.010 (0.009)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.537	0.285	0.229	0.021	0.522	0.316	0.187	0.017
Observations	11,265	11,265	11,265	11,265	3,191	3,191	3,191	3,191
R <sup>2</sup>	0.235	0.340	0.190	0.093	0.347	0.473	0.260	0.064
Covariates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dam fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cell fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

## Conclusion

- We find that in Africa
  - Recent hydropower dams increased all types of conflicts alongside dam-affected rivers in the downstream.
  - The effects are not significant for upstream regions.
  - A potential mechanism: competition for water resources.
- This study highlights the social impacts of water scarcity in developing countries and shows that dams could exacerbate the problem.
- The water and energy management needs to take into consideration this water-related social cost.

## Next Step

- Develop the theoretical framework of water conflicts.
- Dig more into the mechanisms:
  - Agricultural production, labor participation and opportunity costs.
  - Shocks on fishery? Loss in biodiversity?
  - Link with attitude surveys (Afrobarometer).
- Loads of robustness checks...

# What Causes Rising Water Conflicts?

- Climate change intensifies water uncertainty.
  - Droughts, floods, and water-related disasters create severe water stress;
  - and drive significant economic damage, population displacements, and social distress.
  
- Construction and operation of **water infrastructures** on shared waterways.
  - **Distributional impacts:** Dams alter river flow and affect water uses in the downstream regions.
  - Recent example: clashes over Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) on between Ethiopia (upstream) and Egypt/Sudan (downstream).
  - Can amplify climate change impacts.

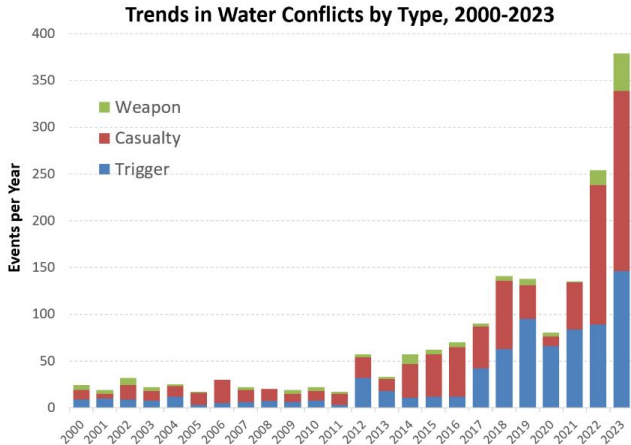
## Economic Origins of Conflict

**Factor conflicts:** conflicts over the control of territory, essential resources or factors of production.

**Output conflicts:** conflicts over the distribution or appropriation of the finished product or surplus generated from those resources once they are produced.

According to [McGuirk and Burke \(2020\)](#),

- In **food-producing** areas, rising domestically-produced crop prices will
  - disable attacking from being a dominant strategy, **factor conflict** ↓
  - ↑ **output conflict**, as consumers respond by appropriation of output.
- In **food-consuming** cells, rising consumer crop prices
  - induce some consumers to switch from low wage agriculture to higher wage soldiering, which lower the relative cost of **factor conflict** (↑).
  - ↑ **output conflict**, as consumers respond by appropriation of output.



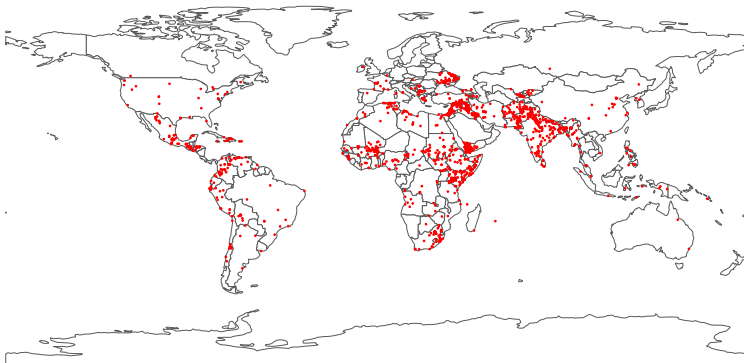
Data source: Water Conflict Chronology Update (August 22, 2024)

- The period 2012–2021 witnessed roughly **four times** more conflicts than the years 2000–2011.
- Increasing trend of water being a trigger of conflicts — people compete for water resources.

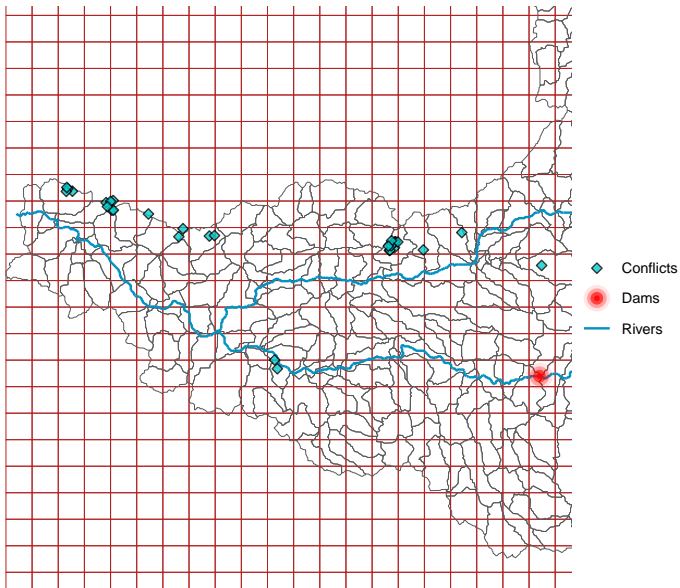


## Distribution of Water Conflicts (1990-Now)

- Most concentrated in Africa and East Asia.



## 10KM\*10KM Grid Cell

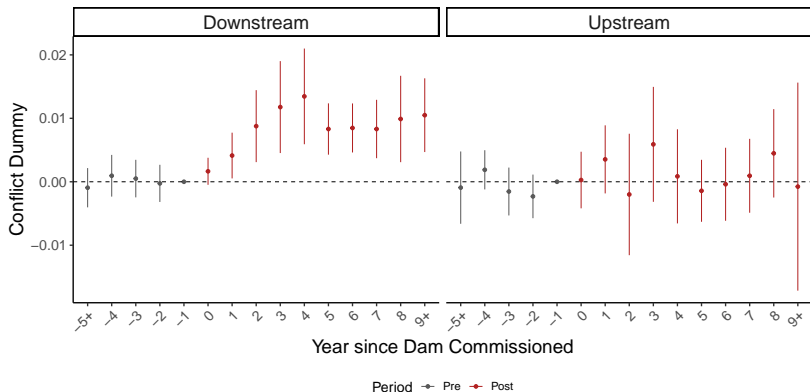


## Delineate Downstream & Upstream

We trace the river flow and its direction from HydroRiver dataset.

- Rivers passing by the dam (**Affected**)
  - Downstream segments: flow from the dam-nearest river segment.
  - Upstream segments: flow to the dam-nearest river segment.
- Rivers not passing by the dam (**Unaffected**)
  - Downstream segments: located at sub-basins that are lower than the dam-situated sub-basin.
  - Upstream segments: located at sub-basins that are higher than the dam-situated sub-basin.

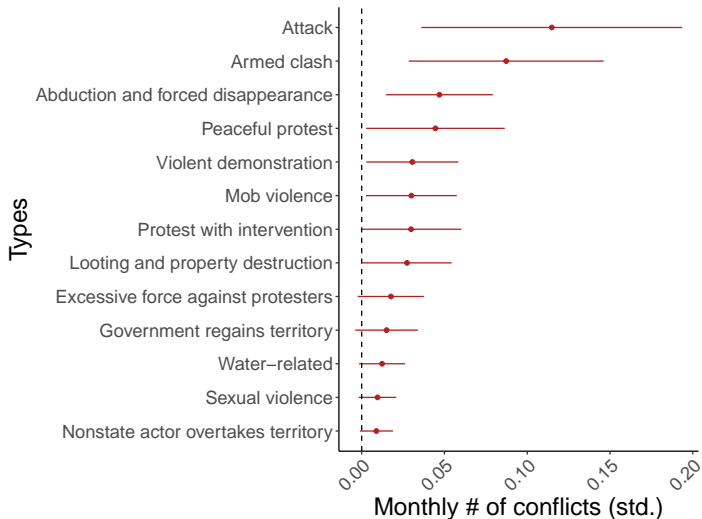
# Alternative Measurement: Conflict Dummy [back](#)



## Alternative Measurement: Conflict Dummy [back](#)

	Conflict Dummy					
	Downstream			Upstream		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Post	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.017*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.015*** (0.004)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.009	0.009	0.009	0.007	0.007	0.007
Observations	404,340	404,340	404,340	313,752	313,752	313,752
R <sup>2</sup>	0.132	0.169	0.184	0.116	0.154	0.179
Covariates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Covariates*Year			Y			Y
Dam fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cell fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓			✓		
Month fixed effects	✓			✓		
Country-Year fixed effects		✓	✓		✓	✓
Country-Month fixed effects		✓	✓		✓	✓
Year-Month fixed effects		✓	✓		✓	✓

## Which Types of Conflicts Increased?

[back](#)

# Heterogeneity by Climate Types and Groundwater Storage [back](#)

	Monthly # of Conflicts			
	Climate		Groundwater Storage	
	Arid (1)	Non-arid (2)	Low (3)	Normal (4)
Post	-0.010** (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)	-0.016** (0.007)	-0.006 (0.004)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.014** (0.006)	0.003* (0.002)	0.022** (0.009)	0.010** (0.004)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.008	0.017	0.012	0.009
Observations	319,800	154,440	343,200	131,040
R <sup>2</sup>	0.153	0.137	0.158	0.089
Dam fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cell fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓

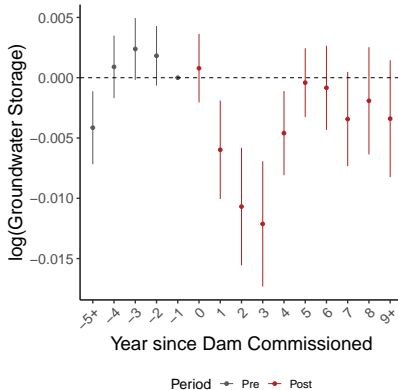
# Heterogeneity by Ethnic Fractionalization [back](#)

	Monthly # of Conflicts					
	Downstream			Upstream		
	High (1)	Low (2)	All (3)	High (4)	Low (5)	All (6)
Post	-0.002 (0.002)	0.003 (0.003)	0.007* (0.004)	-0.0005 (0.001)	0.007 (0.006)	0.011 (0.008)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.003 (0.003)	0.003* (0.002)	0.006** (0.002)	0.003** (0.001)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.009)
HighEthnicFrac_Dam × Post			-0.039*** (0.013)			-0.025** (0.011)
Affected_Riv × HighEthnicFrac_Dam × Post			0.021*** (0.008)			0.014 (0.011)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.003	0.015	0.011	0.005	0.009	0.008
Observations	175,344	298,896	474,240	156,312	213,720	370,032
R <sup>2</sup>	0.050	0.154	0.143	0.141	0.111	0.110
Dam fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cell fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

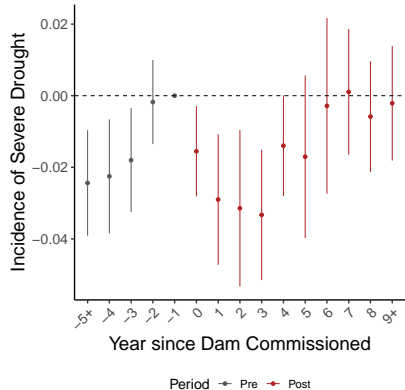


## Water Cycle

- Groundwater storage in area near dam-affected rivers ↓
- However, the incidence of severe drought (PDSI < -4) does not increase.



(a)  $\log(1+\text{Groundwater Storage})$



(b) Has Severe Drought

# Temperature [back](#)

	TempMax (1)	TempMin (2)	hightemp (3)	lowtemp (4)	severetemp (5)
Post	-0.176*** (0.024)	-0.144*** (0.016)	0.013** (0.005)	-0.009* (0.006)	0.010* (0.005)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.023*** (0.005)	0.007* (0.004)	0.0006 (0.003)	-0.0003 (0.003)	0.0009 (0.004)
Mean of Dep. Var.	29.9	17.1	0.444	0.541	0.869
Observations	458,328	458,328	458,328	458,328	458,328
R <sup>2</sup>	0.979	0.980	0.748	0.814	0.592
Covariates*Year	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dam-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dam-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cell fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

# Agriculture [back](#)

	Monthly # of conflicts			
	Downstream		Upstream	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Post	0.0008 (0.008)	-0.012 (0.011)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.034 (0.026)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.013** (0.005)	0.011 (0.011)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.034 (0.029)
Affected_Riv	17.4 (4,718.1)	163.2 (12,883.8)	4.39 (745.2)	1.83 (100,688.2)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.019	0.013	0.011	0.020
Observations	313,344	90,996	261,696	52,056
R <sup>2</sup>	0.196	0.121	0.146	0.255
Covariates	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dam fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cell fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-Month fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓

# Agriculture [back](#)

	Cropland	Soil Moisture			Net Primary Production		
	All	All	Non-Cropland	Cropland	All	Non-Cropland	Cropland
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Post	0.021** (0.010)	17.8** (7.57)	32.1*** (8.13)	39.6* (20.3)	174.8*** (46.5)	162.1*** (43.9)	-68.3 (175.3)
Affected_Riv × Post	-0.005 (0.009)	-5.59* (3.31)	-7.38** (3.62)	-2.62 (9.41)	-281.1*** (50.8)	-308.8*** (52.5)	63.1 (178.0)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.221	633.5	651.9	556.6	8,740.2	8,691.8	8,902.3
Observations	99,682	458,328	354,984	103,344	96,052	73,969	22,083
R <sup>2</sup>	0.888	0.920	0.931	0.833	0.973	0.988	0.991
Covariates*Year	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dam fixed effects	✓				✓	✓	✓
Cell fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country-Year fixed effects	✓						
Dam-Year fixed effects		✓	✓	✓			
Dam-Month fixed effects		✓	✓	✓			
Year-Month fixed effects		✓	✓	✓			
Year fixed effects					✓	✓	✓

# Which Types of Conflicts Increased? [back](#)

	Monthly std. # of conflicts by types:		
	Peaceful Protest (1)	Protest with Intervention (2)	Excessive Force against Protesters (3)
Post	-0.017 (0.019)	-0.022** (0.010)	-0.009 (0.008)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.044** (0.021)	0.030* (0.015)	0.018* (0.010)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.012	0.007	0.007
Observations	404,340	404,340	404,340
R <sup>2</sup>	0.082	0.048	0.018
Covariates	Y	Y	Y

## Which Types of Conflicts Increased? (Con't) [back](#)

	Monthly std. # of conflicts by types:		
	Violent Demonstration (4)	Armed clash (5)	Government Regains Territory (6)
Post	-0.006 (0.009)	-0.043* (0.025)	-0.001 (0.010)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.031** (0.014)	0.087*** (0.030)	0.015 (0.010)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.014	0.030	0.013
Observations	404,340	404,340	404,340
R <sup>2</sup>	0.057	0.091	0.018
Covariates	Y	Y	Y

## Which Types of Conflicts Increased? (Con't) [back](#)

	Monthly std. # of conflicts by types:		
	Nonstate Actor Overtakes Territory (7)	Sexual Violence (8)	Abduction and Forced Disappearance (9)
Post	0.010 (0.007)	-0.019** (0.009)	-0.021 (0.013)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.009* (0.005)	0.010* (0.006)	0.047*** (0.016)
Mean of Dep. Var.	-0.003	-0.001	0.005
Observations	404,340	404,340	404,340
R <sup>2</sup>	0.012	0.017	0.047
Covariates	Y	Y	Y

## Which Types of Conflicts Increased? (Con't) [back](#)

	Monthly std. # of conflicts by types:			
	Mob Violence (10)	Attack (11)	Looting and Property Destruction (12)	Water-related (13)
Post	-0.025** (0.011)	-0.092*** (0.034)	-0.017 (0.012)	-0.010 (0.008)
Affected_Riv × Post	0.030** (0.014)	0.115*** (0.040)	0.027** (0.014)	0.012* (0.007)
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.009	0.038	0.004	0.006
Observations	404,340	404,340	404,340	404,340
R <sup>2</sup>	0.050	0.106	0.028	0.018
Covariates	Y	Y	Y	Y