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A synoptic history of the development, production environmental oversight of hydropower in Brazil, Canada and Norway

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Abstract

Sustainable global energy production is back-stopped by hydropower which is responsible for a significant share of the green energy produced worldwide. Hydropower, however, does not come without some environmental impacts, but has worked to reduce those impacts. Here we discuss the historical, legislative and design configurations of hydropower facilities located in three of the world's most important producers: Brazil, Canada and Norway. The background is intended to inform the collection scientific papers from each country aimed at assessing and improving the sustainability of hydropower production that form the core of this special issue on sustainable hydropower. We review the development and key legislative history for hydropower in each country and to point out the common backgrounds and interests each nation has in the continued sustainable development of its hydropower resources.

48 **Introduction**

49 Global hydro-electricity generation has now reached more than 4 000 TWh per year and matches
50 that of nuclear, wind and solar electricity production combined (IEA, 2019). Globally, hydro-
51 electric generation capacity has an estimated overall technical potential of four times the current
52 production (16 400 TWh/yr), with installed capacity having risen sharply since the early 1970s.
53 Since 2000, the rise in global generation ability has been particularly marked as a result of the
54 rapid development of unexploited Asian, African and South American potential and the need to
55 provide backstop generation capacity to other green energy approaches in Europe and North
56 America (IEA 2019). Consequently, there are an estimated 3,700 dams either planned or under
57 construction that are capable of producing in excess of 1 MW, primarily in developing nations
58 where the demand of electricity is growing fastest (Zarfl et al. 2015).

59

60 Hydropower is the most important renewable electrical energy source worldwide and is typically
61 seen as "green" energy that can be generated in an environmentally sustainable manner.

62 Nevertheless, hydropower comes with a set of associated environmental impacts that can be both
63 diverse and complex including: reduced ecosystem connectivity (Brown et al. 2013), habitat
64 alterations resulting from reservoir construction (Sabater 2008), downstream effects associated
65 with dam operation, i.e. hydrograph alterations (Poff et al. 1997; Forsberg et al. 2017),
66 facilitation of species invasions and/or distributional shifts (Gherardi & Padilla 2014), alteration
67 of watershed nutrient dynamics (Pokhrel et al. 2017, Moran et al. 2018), increases in
68 contaminant levels (Rosenberg et al. 2000; Pringle 2001), possible loss of biodiversity in
69 adjacent terrestrial habitats (Benchimol & Peres 2015), and potential greenhouse gas emissions
70 from reservoirs (Prairie et al. 2018). As a result, since 1990 there has been an exponential rise in
71 scientific studies associated with documenting and mitigating the more obvious environment
72 impacts of hydropower production (Figure 1), with both the problems and approaches varying
73 depending on where and how the hydropower potential is exploited.

74

75 In this special issue we focus on the issues associated with the assessment of hydro-power
76 impacts on aquatic ecosystems by comparing and contrasting the development experience of
77 three of the world's largest producers: Brazil, Canada and Norway, who combined produce
78 21.6% of the world's hydro-electric output (IEA 2019). While each country produces the same

79 basic product, each has a different approach to production (i.e., run-of-the-river versus pump
80 storage) and do so at different scales (predominantly large versus small) and in different
81 biogeographic regions (Figure 2). Nevertheless, each approach often encounters many of the
82 same problems with the study and insurance of environmental integrity. By comparing and
83 contrasting experiences, we hope to gain insights into commonly emerging problems and what
84 needs mitigating to ensure sustainable hydropower production. To provide a basis for
85 comparison, we first review the hydropower production systems within each country and the
86 associated regulatory regime within which hydropower producers operate, as both have
87 implications for the ways in which the costs and benefits of hydropower production are viewed
88 in each country.

89

90 **Brazil: A Synopsis of the Production and Regulatory Regime**

91

92 *History*

93

94 The development of the Brazilian hydropower industry parallels that of many areas of the world,
95 having begun in the 1900s as a result of private initiatives to provide electric power for lighting
96 and transportation services to local cities such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Initial investment
97 was largely foreign, with foreign entities controlling 70% of hydropower generation capacity by
98 1915 (Burrier 2016). The enactment of the Water Codes in 1934 set out a framework for
99 hydropower regulation reflecting government intent to place future hydropower development
100 under public ownership, with Federal and State owned utilities growing significantly after 1945
101 to become the leaders in the development, financing and construction of hydropower dams (Leite
102 2009). Eletrobras, established in 1961 as an autonomous agency of the Federal Government,
103 continued that trend and was charged with the completion of studies to finance and construct
104 electric power projects and operate electric power plants and transmission lines. With co-
105 ordinated planning came the realization that installed capacity and potential in the heavily
106 populated southeastern parts of Brazil could not meet the growing demand for electricity. Thus
107 beginning in the 1960s, and continuing through to 1980, there was increased investment in the
108 construction of large hydropower plants with the addition of over 22,000 MW of installed

109 capacity (Burrier 2016), much of it occurring in the relatively underdeveloped Amazon (Harvey,
110 1976; von Sperling, 2012) that contains six of the world's largest 25 rivers (FAO, 2014).

111

112 *Production*

113

114 Brazil is endowed with a geography that lends itself to hydropower production, in particular
115 because it receives an estimated 12% of the world's surface precipitation (de Souza 2007) and
116 controls approximately 7% of the world's freshwater supplies (Burrier 2016). Consequently,
117 Brazilian electric power is generated largely by hydropower, with hydropower plants providing
118 61.15% (109 GW) of installed capacity (ANEEL, 2020) as compared to the 16% global average
119 (IEA 2019). Despite the high reliance on hydropower in the energy matrix, the percentage has
120 decreased substantially in the last decade (from 84% in 2009) as the share of solar, wind and
121 biomass sources have risen. Most electricity generation in Brazil is provided as a public service
122 through government agencies (83.2%), with private producers accounting for the remainder. In
123 all there are 1,368 hydropower plants in Brazil: 217 large (i.e. > 30 MW), 420 small (1-29 MW)
124 and 731 micro-generation facilities (up to 1 MW), providing up to 102 GW, 5.3 GW and 0.8
125 GW, respectively (ANEEL, 2020). Most hydropower plants within the mix are classified as
126 medium head (15-150m) facilities (von Sperling 2012).

127

128 Brazil is now home to some of the largest hydropower plants in the world, including Itaipu on
129 the Paraná River between Brazil and Paraguay (14,000 MW, world's second largest), followed
130 by the Amazonian dams at Belo Monte on the Xingu River (11,233 MW, world's fourth largest)
131 and Tucuruí on the Tocantins River (8,370 MW, world's sixth largest). The highest concentration
132 of hydropower, however, is in the midwest, south and southeast regions of the country (Dias et
133 al., 2018), where the geographic relief is composed predominantly of small mountains and
134 plateaus that create rivers with vertical drop suitable for the formation of large storage reservoirs
135 (de Souza 2008). In contrast, in the Amazon Basin, hydropower projects are predominantly run-
136 of-river that use bulb turbines that combine the turbine and generator in a single sealed unit and
137 smaller reservoirs to minimize some of the negative social and environmental effects of
138 hydropower development (von Sperling, 2012). In the run-of-river schemes the costs of per unit
139 of energy are higher, since during the dry season hydropower production is reduced. For

140 example, while installed capacity at Tucuruí is 8,370 MW, guaranteed capabilities are rated at
141 only 49% of that (4140 MW) as a result of precipitation-driven variations in the availability of
142 water for hydropower generation (de Souza 2008). Thus, despite having one of the world's
143 largest and most efficient grids for transferring electricity across regions, Brazil often has to use
144 energy from thermal plants to meet energy demand because of the hydropower system's
145 dependence on rainfall (Prado Jr. et al., 2016). Analyses of potential climate change impacts on
146 the Brazilian hydropower system have indicated that climate change may drastically affect the
147 ability of the system to meet energy demands and consequently, the system's capability to supply
148 enough power (Soito & Freitas, 2011; Dias et al., 2018),

149

150 In the south and southeast regions of Brazil, which concentrates >55% of Brazil's population, the
151 hydroelectric potential is nearly exhausted (Dias et al., 2018) and has been compromised recently
152 by droughts which have negatively affected production (Semertzidis et al 2018). For example,
153 2001 and 2002 drought conditions precipitated the institution of rolling blackouts and
154 compulsory rationing aimed at reducing consumption to compensate for that drought-induced
155 reduction in generation capacity (Burrier 2016). As a result hydropower expansion came to be
156 the centre piece of a federally funded economic growth initiative named Programa de Aceleração
157 do Crescimento (Program of Accelerated Growth), launched in 2007. The program supported the
158 construction of 55 new dams that nearly doubled Brazil's hydropower output, much of it
159 concentrated in the Amazon Basin. In 2018, Brazil's hydroelectric potential was estimated at
160 246,240 MW (Eletrobrás, 2018), with 40% of that located in the Amazon Basin. There are 416
161 operational or under construction dams and 334 planned/proposed dams in the Amazon Basin.
162 Hydropower development in the region is currently constrained by limited infrastructure and low
163 regional energy demand, with most dams located in upland tributaries (Winemiller et al., 2016).
164 Furthermore, the environmental sensitivity of one of the world's most biodiverse regions and the
165 presence of indigenous populations has raised concerns over the continued rapid expansion of
166 Amazonian hydropower potential. According to the National Energy Plan for 2030, 62% of the
167 hydroelectric potential in the basin is now subject to social-environmental restrictions due to the
168 presence of protected areas, such as Conservation Units and Indian Reservations (Britto et al.,
169 2015). Nevertheless, dams such as Belo Monte have been the focal point of both national and
170 international protests centred on the preservation of the environment and indigenous land rights.

171

172 *Regulation and Permitting*

173

174 Brazil's Federal structure makes hydropower resource development governance complex given
175 the sometimes competing interests and jurisdictions of Federal, State and Municipal authorities.
176 In the context of licensing hydropower development, the most important body is the Brazilian
177 Institute of Environment and Renewable Sources (IBAMA), which was created in 1989 and
178 subsequently linked to the Ministry of Environment. IBAMA is responsible for environmental
179 policy, monitoring, implementation of Federal environmental policies and the environmental
180 licensing, quality control and inspection of hydropower facilities (de Britto et al. 2015). In
181 Brazil, environmental licensing is required for any potentially polluting activity and/or activities
182 that can cause impacts to the environment, such as hydropower dam construction. Licensing is
183 regulated under the auspices of the National Environmental Policy (instituted in 1981) and
184 should be preceded by an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) (World Bank, 2008). The
185 licensing process differs according to the energy production. For hydropower plants > 30 MW,
186 the Federal portion of licensing in Brazil is a tiered, three-phase process which must be matched
187 with obtaining complementary authorizations from State or Municipal authorities. In the first
188 phase a Provisional License must be obtained and is issued as part of preliminary planning for
189 the project. The Provisional License approves project location, environmental viability and sets
190 out construction conditions which are developed as part of the completion of environmental
191 impact and risk analyses aided by public hearings. Following the Provisional Licence, an
192 operator must obtain an Installation License that permits project construction and requires the
193 meeting of previously determined conditions for project construction and the completion of any
194 required complementary environmental studies. As part of the Installation Licence,
195 environmental mitigation measures for the project are determined and approved. Before
196 operations can begin, an Operating License must be obtained. The operating licence permits
197 hydropower generation and sets out the conditions under which generation can occur. For
198 example, low flow or reservoir level condition may be imposed. The Operating License further
199 ensures that the conditions determined in the previous licensing phases have been met and will
200 set out final environmental monitoring and control measures that must be implemented (de Britto
201 et al. 2015). The process is not wholly bureaucratic as the Federal or State interest can intervene

202 to defend the public interest or if there is evidence to suggest laws have been broken (de Britto et
203 al. 2015). Accordingly, public hearings may become part of the licensing process.

204

205 **Canada: A Synopsis of the Production and Regulatory Regime**

206

207 *History*

208

209 From its beginnings in 1881 at Chaudieres Falls on the Ottawa River, Canada's hydropower
210 capacity has grown steadily and Canada was the world's 3rd largest producer of hydropower
211 (386 TWh) in 2019, just behind Brazil (398 TWh International Energy Association, 2020).

212 Canada has an installed capacity of 81,000 MW, with approximately 155,000 MW of
213 undeveloped potential (Canadian Hydropower Association, 2020). Hydropower accounts for
214 60% of all electricity generated in Canada and provides >80% of Canada's renewable energy
215 supply. Hydropower production occurs in nearly all Canadian provinces and territories, and
216 accounts for >90% of energy production in Quebec, Manitoba, Yukon, Newfoundland and
217 Labrador and British Columbia, with Quebec (48%) and British Columbia (18%) being the
218 largest producers.

219 Given the large size of the country and the associated variety of landscapes, Canadian
220 hydropower production is diverse, including more than 500 facilities, ranging from pico- (<5kw)
221 and micro-scale (<100kw) off channel run-of-the-river projects, to vast multi-dam projects with a
222 large generation capacity. For example the James Bay complex in Northern Quebec features 11
223 dams and has an installed generation capacity of 16,527 MW (Canadian Mining and Energy,
224 2020). Many of Canada's largest hydropower dams were built in the latter half of the 20th
225 century, for example BC Hydro's WAC Bennet Dam (1968, 2876 MW) and Labrador's
226 Churchill Falls Dam (1974, 5428MW). However, some large dam construction is currently
227 ongoing in Canada, including BC Hydro's Site C dam on the Peace River (1,100 MW),
228 Labrador's Muskrat falls project on the Churchill River (824 MW), Manitoba Hydro's Keeyask
229 project on the Nelson River (695MW) and Quebec's Romaine River 4 project (245 MW) which
230 will increase the installed generation capacity for the La Romaine Complex to 1550MW. Given
231 the northern location of much of Canada's production and potential and the concentration of its

232 population in south, power transmission across long distances remains a challenge for the
233 hydropower industry.

234 *Production*

235 The majority of Canadian facilities are comprised of traditional storage systems that rely on a
236 combination of dams to increase the head of a waterfall and reservoirs that allow flexibility in
237 production. Some of these storage dams are very large and have a high head height, such as
238 Canada's tallest dam, Mica (240m head height, 2800 MW installed capacity) located on the
239 Columbia River in the Rocky Mountains of British Columbia, and Canada's largest dam, the
240 Robert-Bourassa Dam (5,616 MW 162m head height, 2,835m wide), which is part of the James
241 Bay Complex and located on the La Grande River in Northern Quebec (Canadian Mining and
242 Energy, 2020).

243 There are several large stand-alone run-of-the-river type hydropower facilities in Canada,
244 including some of Canada's oldest and longest running, for example Beauharnois (1929) on the
245 St. Lawrence River, Sir Adam Beck 1 (1922) on the Niagara River (1600 MW) and La-Grande-1
246 at James Bay (1436 MW). However, the majority of run-of-the-river dams in Canada are
247 typically part of cascade systems, which occur immediately downstream of large storage dams,
248 such as the Revelstoke Dam (2876 MW) located below the Mica Dam in British Columbia.
249 Canada has just one pumped storage facility, the 174 MW Sir Adam Beck Pump Generating
250 Station on the Niagara River, in Ontario. However, plans and proposals are in place to develop
251 more pumped storage facilities, including a 1000 MW facility in Ontario (TC Energy, 2020) that
252 will pump water from Lake Huron (Georgian Bay) to the height of the Niagara escarpment and
253 the expansion to 900MW capacity at the existing Brazeau River facility in Alberta. Canada also
254 has numerous small low head hydropower (<50MW) facilities with a total installed capacity of
255 3400 MW, which account for 4.5% of total hydropower production (Natural Resources Canada,
256 2020). Given that most of the feasible sites for large hydropower production are already utilized
257 in Canada and there is an estimated 15,000 MW of undeveloped potential for small hydropower,
258 small hydropower construction is expected to increase in the coming years in Canada (Natural
259 Resources Canada, 2020).

260 *Regulation and Permitting*

261 The majority shareholders for hydropower projects in Canada are Provincial or Territorial Crown
262 Corporations (i.e. government-owned or controlled enterprises) such as BC Hydro, Hydro
263 Québec and Yukon Energy Corporation. While these corporations are responsible for most of the
264 hydropower generation in Canada (Natural Resources Canada, 2019), a small proportion of
265 hydroelectric power is produced from privately-owned companies. All hydroelectric producers
266 must abide by the regulatory schemes enacted by both Federal and Provincial governments,
267 although principal control rests with Provinces as a result of the constitutional prerogative for the
268 exercise of legislative control over the management of natural resources found within their
269 territories (Pineau et al. 2017). Federal authority is exercised directly only where waterways are
270 interprovincial or international, although such waterways will in practice be jointly managed.
271 Federal authority is also exercised indirectly through the National Energy Board which regulates
272 energy exports and has limited jurisdiction over inter-provincial trade in energy. Accordingly, it
273 is Provincial governments through their control licenses for hydropower production and royalty
274 regimes that essentially control the development of hydropower potential across Canada and
275 control is exercised through a variety of Provincial Ministries and Agencies. As a consequence,
276 the rules governing hydropower development and management vary by province and invariably
277 reflect the importance of hydropower in the economic development of the province as a whole.
278 Thus, the 1960s saw provincially driven expansions of hydropower systems with politicians
279 actively supporting hydropower with the aim of making electrical utilities a cornerstone of the
280 provincial economy that would promote the growth of secondary industrial manufacturing
281 activity.

282
283 Federal regulation impacts hydropower operations principally through environmental regulation,
284 and all relevant Federal regulations must be adhered to by all hydropower companies,
285 particularly those applied under the auspices of Canadian Environment Assessment Act that are
286 designed to minimize project construction impacts, or those applied under the auspices of the
287 Fisheries Act designed to protect fish and fish habitat. Additional regulations may be enacted at
288 the Provincial level depending on the socioecological values of various jurisdictions. Many
289 regulatory requirements are shared between the Federal and Provincial governments, so joint

290 review panels may be formed to expedite review processes. Prior to 2019, at the successful
291 completion of the environmental review process an ‘authorization’ to operate indefinitely was
292 issued, although renovations or additional construction required new authorization. Since 2019,
293 the revised *Fisheries Act* has included language permitting the Federal government to suspend,
294 modify, or cancel an authorization under certain conditions.

295
296 The primary Federal legislative acts affecting the development and operation of hydropower in
297 Canada are the *Canadian Environmental Assessment (CEA) Act*, the *Fisheries Act* and the
298 *Species at Risk Act*. The *CEA Act* ensures that an appropriate assessment of all potential
299 environmental consequences is completed for a project, with the objectives of ensuring
300 environmentally sustainable development and minimizing the consequences of the project for
301 affected socioecological systems. An important component of the *CEA* is accounting for the
302 cultural and socioeconomic impacts of development on aboriginal peoples. *The Fisheries Act* has
303 a general emphasis on protecting fish habitat and fisheries productivity (*No person shall carry on*
304 *any [...] activity that results in serious harm to fish (death of fish or any permanent alteration to,*
305 *or destruction of, fish habitat) that are part of a commercial, recreational or Aboriginal fishery,*
306 *or to fish that support such a fishery; Section 35(1)). Under the Act, the Minister of Fisheries*
307 *may also request incorporation of fish passage structures or methods, screens or diversions at*
308 *water intakes, and the release of adequate quantities of water if they consider that doing so is*
309 *necessary to ensure the free passage of fish or the prevention of harm to fish and fish habitat.*
310 Design and construction issues are the major driver of Federal regulations in Canada (e.g.
311 reservoir size, total dam footprint, head height), with operational regulations generally being
312 covered at the Provincial level under the auspices of water management plans. Provincial
313 regulations, however, may also limit or restrict work around water. For example, Ontario’s
314 *Public Lands Act* has a land use planning process that allows the Ministry of Natural Resources
315 and Forestry to reject or accept a proposal based on its environmental consequences. Overall, the
316 regulatory scheme for hydropower constructions in Canada is most likely to halt projects if they
317 impact aboriginal communities, critical fisheries or fish habitat, migratory birds, or endangered
318 species listed under the *Species at Risk Act*, which must be adhered to under all circumstances
319 Notably, and despite the environmental oversight of hydropower development, gaining and
320 sustaining public acceptance of large energy projects has become increasingly difficult in

321 Canada, with increased levels of protest and public opposition in the media being observed. And
322 while most such activities have focused on hydrocarbon projects, large hydropower projects such
323 as BC Hydro's Site C have faced similar treatment.

324

325 **Norway: A Synopsis of the Production and Regulatory Regime**

326

327 *History*

328

329 Most Norwegian hydropower (approx. 90 %) is publicly owned (by state, county municipalities
330 or municipalities). The first hydropower plant in Norway began operation in 1885 in Skien
331 (Tellefsen et al. 2020). New projects developed steadily in the following decades, with the
332 construction of hydropower plants playing a critical role in development of industrial and
333 economic growth in Norway (Meld.St.25 2016-2016, p. 30). In 1909, the Norwegian Parliament
334 implemented a licensing system which both secured national control over hydropower resources
335 and provided an institutional framework for their management (Auestad et al. 2018). State
336 control was strengthened in 1921 with the establishment of a government agency, now called the
337 Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate (NVE), that over time grew to have
338 scientific, advisory and supervisory responsibilities for Norwegian river systems and the
339 production of electricity in general (Auestad et al. 2018). Beginning in the 1950s and lasting for
340 nearly 30 years, there was an intense period of hydropower development, which slowed as
341 conflicts between hydropower development and environmental concerns escalated. The Mardøla
342 conflict in the summer of 1970 represented a significant turning point for Norwegian
343 hydropower development with the mobilization of a broad social coalition opposed to further
344 large-scale hydropower development. Although the project was completed, one outcome of the
345 conflict was an increased emphasis on the ecological consequences of hydropower development,
346 with the Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate undertaking a number of large-
347 scale applied research projects that focused on the environmental effects of hydropower (Auestad
348 et al. 2018). The Alta-Kautokeino project similarly had a large impact on Norwegian
349 hydropower development and came to be the largest single environmental controversy in
350 Norwegian history (MacDougald 2008). In addition to worries about its effects on Atlantic
351 salmon (*Salmo salar* Linnaeus 1758) populations and local sources of income, concerns

352 coalesced around the loss of control over culturally important lands which belonged to the
353 indigenous Sami people (MacDougald 2008).

354

355 These large political conflicts ultimately led to the creation of the Master Plan for Water
356 Resources aimed at making hydropower development more predictable (NVE 2020). Potential
357 for development is also regulated through national plans for protecting water courses from
358 hydropower development, with four plans having been developed between 1973 and 1993
359 (Halvorsen, et al. 1998) and a final supplement plan issued in 2005.

360

361 *Production*

362

363 Around 94% of the energy production in Norway comes from hydropower and the total mean
364 annual production is estimated at 135 TWh (NVE, 2020). The topography and climate of
365 Norway are well suited for hydropower production given the steep terrain and high annual
366 precipitation and that approximately 40% of the Norwegian landmass lies more than 600 metres
367 above sea level (Graabak et al. 2017). Thus, the main part of the Norwegian system (around
368 80%) consists of high head plants with storage reservoirs at higher elevations connected via
369 tunnels to power plants at lower altitudes. The configuration uses the large elevation difference
370 between intake and turbine and results in smaller production discharges as compared to
371 traditional run-of-the-river power plants. Run-of-the-river plants that utilise large river
372 discharges and a relatively low head are mainly found in the larger rivers of south-eastern
373 Norway. One notable effect of the reliance on high-head structures is that the majority of
374 Norwegian hydropower plants are underground with powerhouse turbines and generators housed
375 in mountain caverns linked to the reservoir and outlet point with tunnels. Reliance on high-head
376 structures also skews the distribution of hydropower plant size toward smaller sizes (<10MW),
377 1175 plants falling in the 0-10MW size range, 255 plants in the 10-100MW range and 80 power
378 plants larger than 100MW responsible for 80% of total hydropower production (Thaulow et al.
379 2016).

380

381 The Norwegian hydropower system has more than 1000 reservoirs with a storage capacity of
382 about 85 TWh (Graabak et al. 2017), which represents about 50% of the European storage

383 capacity (Lehner et al. 2005; Tellefsen et al. 2020). The capacity makes the Norwegian power
384 system very flexible and capable of adapting quickly to the variable market demands for
385 electricity. Initial connections to the broader Scandinavian market were undertaken in the 1960s,
386 largely as a means of offsetting the variations in reservoir inflows that occurred between wet and
387 dry years (Tellefsen et al. 2020). Interconnection with the continental European market has since
388 developed with the aim of using Norwegian hydropower capacity as a battery for balancing the
389 production capabilities of European renewable energy sources. In 1991, the Norwegian Energy
390 Act deregulated the energy market and electricity is now traded through the Nordic power
391 exchange, Nord Pool, with the Nordic market having expanded with connections to Germany
392 and the Netherlands. With the transition to a renewable energy system, the flexibility of the
393 Norwegian system has been proposed as a battery for balancing intermittent European renewable
394 resources through increased connection with Europe (Graabak, et al. 2016). In such a system,
395 energy could be imported to Norway during periods of high production and low prices in the
396 European market to facilitate pumping to higher reservoirs in the Norwegian system as a means
397 of storing generation potential for periods of high demand and low production in Europe
398 (Charmasson et al. 2018).

399
400 Another important component in the Norwegian system are transfers and brook intakes where
401 smaller rivers and streams are taken into the tunnels and transferred to reservoirs or directly to
402 the power plants. Over the last decades, several hundred small hydropower plants (<10 MW)
403 have been built with a total estimated production potential of 10.7 TWh. Most of these have very
404 little to no storage capacity but are still of the high head type (Figure 2D) where the production is
405 mainly controlled by the head.

406
407 An effect of the high head power plants that use long intra-basin transfer tunnels and brook
408 intakes (Figure 2A and 2D) is that a considerable parts of natural river reaches are bypassed by
409 the tunnel systems, resulting in reduced river flows over long distances in many rivers. Some of
410 larger Norwegian hydropower systems also use inter-basin transfer where water is transferred
411 between river basins leaving the donor basin with a permanent reduction in runoff downstream
412 of the point from where water is transferred.

413

414 *Regulation and Permitting*

415

416 The technical potential for hydropower in Norway is estimated to be 212 TWh, of which 132 is
417 constructed and 50 is protected due to environmental concerns (Meld.St.25 2016-2016, p. 158).
418 Approximately 70 % of Norwegian watersheds and 15 of the 20 highest waterfalls are currently
419 affected by hydropower (Norwegian Environment Agency 2020). Due to the high cultural and
420 economic value of Atlantic salmon, mitigating environmental effects of hydropower in Norway
421 has mainly been concentrated on salmon rivers and there is now a well-developed tradition for
422 collaboration between hydropower companies, nature managers and scientists. Approximately 32
423 % of Norwegian salmon populations are found in rivers regulated for hydropower (Anon. 2018).
424 Environmental mitigation targeting other riverine species or lake (reservoir) ecosystems,
425 however, are less developed. Since 2007, Norway has implemented the EU Water Framework
426 Directive (WFD) and is committed to achieving “good ecological status” in all waterbodies.

427

428 Regulation and management of hydropower production in Norway involves a number of
429 different ministries and directorates, the most important of which are: the Norwegian Water
430 Resources and Energy Directorate (NVE) and the Norwegian Environment Agency (NEA). The
431 legal framework under which hydropower is developed is complex, with regulations enshrined in
432 a number of parliamentary acts, the most important of which include: the Watercourse
433 Regulation Act (1917), the Water Resources Act (2000), the Planning and Building Act (1965-
434 2009) and the Water Framework Directive (2006). To operate a hydropower plant, a licensee
435 must have a hydropower license that depends on the size and age of the facility, i.e. large
436 hydropower projects > 10MW, small hydropower projects <10 MW installation, and revisions
437 that apply to the terms and conditions of older hydropower licenses. All licensing must be
438 transparent and include sufficient opportunity for public consultation, meaning that considerable
439 time and resources are usually devoted to the process of obtaining a licence.

440

441 The licence grants permission to develop and run both the power station and any associated dam
442 and includes conditions and rules for operation and specific requirements for the mitigation of
443 environmental impacts (Thaulow et al. 2016). All license conditions must meet the requirements
444 of the Water Framework Directive which focus on the biology and chemistry of the affected

445 waters, but can be broader if tailored to meet local social and environmental concerns as outlined
446 under Norwegian legislation. For example, licenses regulate how much water can be stored in, or
447 released from, reservoirs with the aim of limiting the maximum and minimum water levels,
448 although there is no consideration given to how rapidly or frequently water level fluctuates
449 within these limits and/or the ecological consequences of fluctuating water levels. Some power
450 producers operate with environmental restrictions that set minimum flows, environmental flows
451 and reservoir level restrictions. However, in 2013 less than 15% of hydropower affected rivers
452 had minimum flow restrictions, and a review of 187 watersheds operating under historical
453 regulations indicated that 54% of those did not have any environmental restrictions (Sørensen
454 2013).

455
456 Licences issued after the 1970s usually include general terms and conditions which allow NVE
457 to impose environmental regulations aimed at avoiding or minimize the negative environmental
458 effects of hydropower. Such regulations are typically aimed at controlling loss of biological
459 diversity, mitigating reservoir impoundment effects (i.e., sedimentation, water quality, modified
460 hydrological regimes), or ensuring fish passage migration and river habitat connectivity. Some
461 mitigation regulations, however, have been implemented for the benefit of landscape and other
462 important societal values (Thaulow et al. 2016). While most of the environmental regulations are
463 managed by NVE, those directly targeting fish, ecology and outdoor life are managed by the
464 Norwegian Environment Agency and the County Governors (OED 2012). Although many
465 watersheds do not have such general terms and conditions yet, this is expected to change due to
466 the ongoing process of revising the terms of hydropower licenses. The terms of more than 400
467 licenses in 187 watersheds are expected to be opened for revision before 2022, with the main
468 goal being the improvement of river and watershed environmental conditions. Nevertheless, the
469 over-arching aim will be to ensure a sustainable balance between environmental considerations
470 and the goal of minimizing the power production losses (Sørensen 2013).

471

472 **Conclusions**

473

474 Geographically separated and dominated by generation design differences that owe much to their
475 respective geographies, Brazil, Canada and Norway would appear to have few similarities in

476 terms of their experiences with, and concerns for, hydropower generation. Such a conclusion,
477 however, would not account for the similarities in their histories of development, particularly the
478 role that hydropower has played in the development of each countries resource and industrial
479 base. Such a conclusion would also overlook the social conflicts that have determined, and are
480 determining, the course of hydropower developments in each country. Endowed with great
481 hydropower potential, each country has recognized its importance as an engine of economic
482 growth and latterly as a source of "clean" energy. And there are growing connections between
483 the countries, for example, Norway's leading hydropower producer Statkraft has recently made
484 significant investments in Brazilian Hydropower having purchased 450 MW of capacity with
485 plans to continue its operations in Brazil. Such investments will bring with them technology
486 transfers, including those developed elsewhere to help ensure the ecological integrity and
487 sustainability of generation projects. Accordingly, the comparison and contrast of existing
488 studies regarding hydropower development in the three countries, as here, should contribute both
489 to the debates about "green energy" and the development of a consensus about how hydropower
490 can continue to best contribute to its production.

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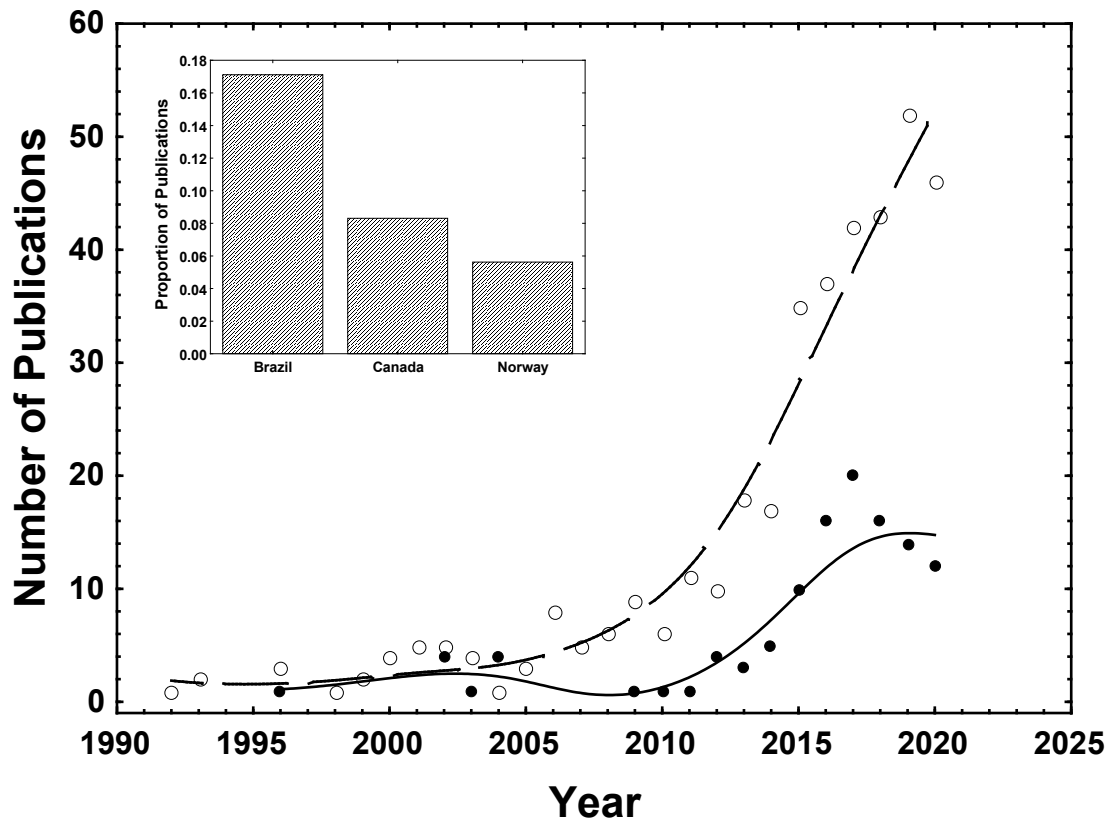
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637 Figure 1: Annual number of peer-review papers published between 1990-2020 (dashed line) as

638 obtained from the Web of Science using the search terms "hydro-power" and

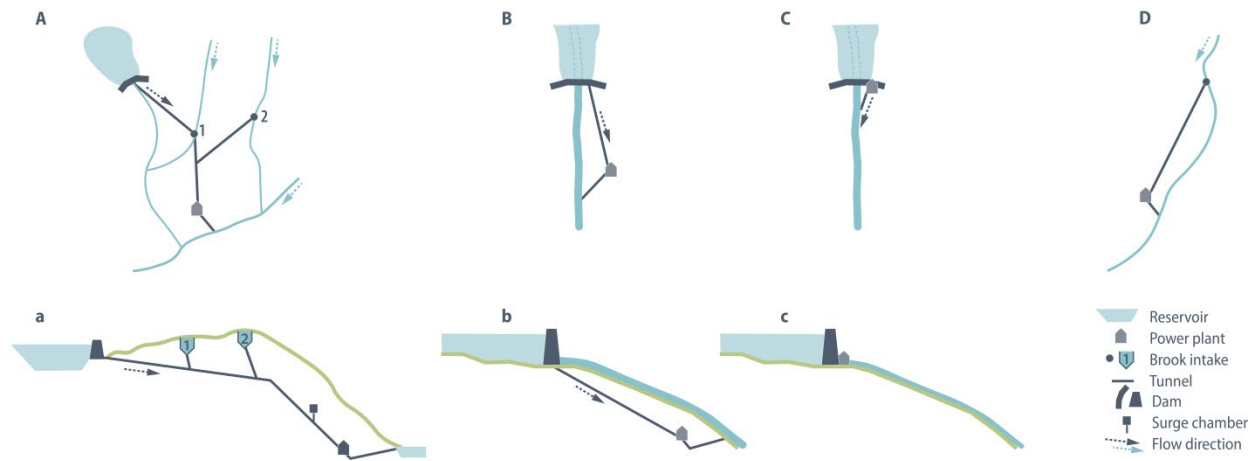
639 "environmental impacts" and the same trend (solid line) for Brazil, Canada and Norway

640 combined depicting the recent exponential rise in research efforts focused on the

641 environmental impacts of hydropower. Inset shows the relative proportion of all papers

642 published that focus on hydro-power issues in Brazil, Canada and Norway.

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Figure 2: Schematic bird's eye (upper case) and cross-sectional (lower case) views of the different possible hydropower configurations that dominate in Brazil, Canada and Norway. A,a) High head system with reservoir and river intakes and underground power plant common in Norway; B,b) Medium head power plant with river reservoir and underground power plant also common in Norway and Canada; C,c) Run-of-the-river power plant with power house at the dam common in Brazil and Canada; and, D) High head power plant with no storage, typical for small hydropower systems in all countries. Legend, lower right corner, defines the key features of hydropower stations.