

# Identifying regime transitions for water governance at the Yellow River Basin, China

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## Key Points:

- An Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI) was devised to identify regime shifts in water governance practices.
- The study interprets the transformation of water governance within a rapidly evolving large river basin -the Yellow River Basin.
- A novel approach was developed to analyze interconnections between water governance, hydrosocial transition, and human-water relationships.

## Abstract

Water governance determine “who gets water, when, and how” in most large river basins. Shifts in water governance regimes from natural to social-ecological or “hydrosocial” carry profound implications for human wellbeing; identifying regime changes in water governance is critical to navigating social-ecological transitions and guiding sustainability. We characterized water governance along with the three main aspects - stress, purpose, and allocation - to develop a quantitative Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI) at a basin scale. Applying the IWGI to the rapidly-changing Yellow River Basin (YRB) in China clarifies shifts in water governance between massive supply, transformation governance, and adaptation-oriented regimes. In the YRB, the underlying causes of regime shifts were increasing water supply and demand before the governance transformation and re-allocation and regulation after the change. The IWGI offers a comprehensive and straightforward approach to linking water governance regimes to sustainability, providing valuable insights into hydrosocial transitions.

## Plain Language Summary

Missing governance means missing sustainability. However, the lack of a comprehensive but straightforward approach to identifying the changes in water governance presents a challenge for efforts to underpin it. Therefore, we choose indicators for the corresponding aspects (water stress, water services purpose, and water allocation) and combine them into an integrated water governance index (IWGI) to analyze long-term changes in a large river basin.

## 1 Introduction

Water, being “at the centre of the planetary drama of the Anthropocene”, is essential not only for earth system processes but also in supporting development and human wellbeing (Gleeson, Wang-Erlandsson, et al., 2020; Gleeson, Wang-Erlandsson, et al., 2020). As an integral part of earth system governance, successful water governance requires a deep understanding of changes in the complex relationships between humans and water (Ahlström et al., 2021; Biermann et al., 2012; Steffen et al., 2020). Human activities stemming from our reliance on water have profoundly modified the natural water cycle, resulting in rivers that are dominated by a hybrid of social and natural drivers (Sivapalan et al., 2012; D. Qin et al., 2014; Abbott et al., 2019). Facing transitions from natural to human-dominated regimes, many big river basins worldwide (which are hot spots of civilization and economic growth) are urgently in need of more effective water governance (Best, 2019; Di Baldassarre et al., 2019).

Water governance encompasses the political, social, economic, and administrative systems that regulate water use and management, dictating “who gets water, when and how” (Lasswell, 2018; Allan, 2001). In this context, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) suggests that water governance determines water usage across three core aspects: “When and what water to use?” (stress), “How does water provide different services for human wellbeing?” (purpose), and “Who can use water equally and efficiently?” (allocation) (Maria Jacobson et al., 2013). Research into index-based water governance assessment generally fall into two categories: those that focus on water systems, and those that concentrate on governance systems. On one hand, studies on governance systems typically employ a qualitative assessment to demonstrate what practices influence water governance, e.g., the OECD framework (OECD, 2018). For quantitative studies, due to the lack of comprehensive and detailed information on key components for water governance assessment, these studies often resort to proxy datasets of human activities to create simpler indices (Varis et al., 2019; Huggins et al., 2022). On the other hand, studies focusing on water systems utilize intuitive indices to encapsulate the outcomes of governance, like the most widely concerned -water stress has been far developed by incorporating human’s regulation step by step. Specifically,

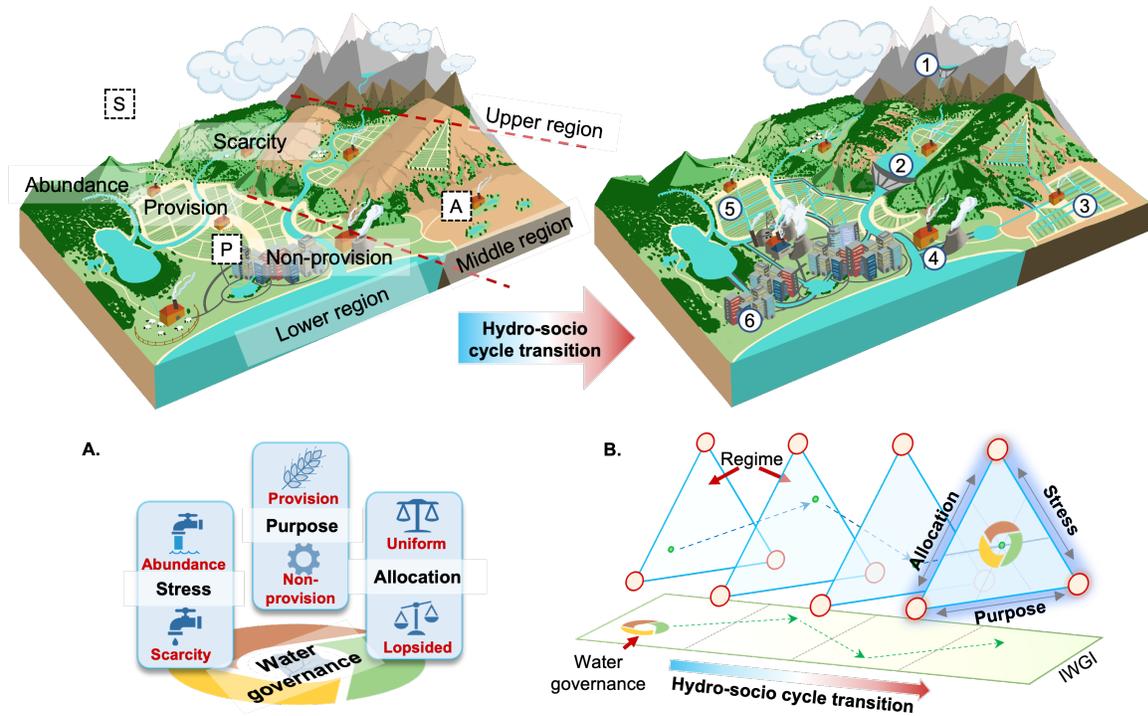
71 traditional water stress index only demands and supply (Gleick, 1996), water scarcity index  
72 by involving storage (Damkjaer & Taylor, 2017), and the even more integrated SFV-index  
73 includes flexibility (Y. Qin et al., 2019). Despite their usefulness, these water stress indices  
74 tend not to provide a comprehensive characterization of water governance, as they over-  
75 look the social aspect of water usage, i.e., the purpose and allocation of water use. As a  
76 solution, we propose an integrated water governance index (IWGI) that factors in regional  
77 water use allocations and sectoral water use purpose, thereby offering a more comprehensive  
78 quantification of governance outcomes.

79 The impetus for developing this new index lies in the evolving practices of water gov-  
80 ernance driven by a blend of social and natural influences. Firstly, climate change impacts  
81 on current water yield, coupled with escalating demands from economic activities and the  
82 need for water storage development, intensify water stress (Y. Qin et al., 2019; Wada et al.,  
83 2014; Huang et al., 2021). Secondly, the purpose of water in serving human well-being is  
84 witnessing a shift in trade-offs. The balance between provisioning uses (such as drinking  
85 water and food production) and non-provisioning uses (like energy production) is tilting,  
86 reflecting changes in societal needs and values (J. Liu et al., 2017; Flörke et al., 2018; Jaeger  
87 et al., 2019). Thirdly, the allocation of water across a basin is not solely determined by  
88 regional socio-economic and environmental contexts but is also increasingly influenced by  
89 systematic regulations (Schmandt & Kibaroglu, 2021; Speed & Asian Development Bank,  
90 2013). As we transition towards a human-dominated regime, these three interlinked aspects  
91 -stress, purpose, and allocation, are undergoing substantial changes. Assessing them sep-  
92 arately could lead to systematic failures in water governance, highlighting the need for a  
93 more integrated approach in evaluating water governance practices.

94 A critical step in understanding the successes and failures of water governance is to iden-  
95 tify the different regimes that underpin it (Kjellén et al., 2015; Grafton et al., 2013). Regimes  
96 of water governance, the general guidelines of governing practices, arise within linked human-  
97 water systems (based on management, institutions, and exploitation) to create local equi-  
98 libria in social-ecological structures and functions (Falkenmark & Wang-Erlandsson, 2021;  
99 Bressers & Kuks, 2013; Loch et al., 2020; Pahl-Wostl, 2007). For example, under a human-  
100 dominated regime, reservoirs make water stress easier to be alleviated because of flexibil-  
101 ity; growing energy and industrial demands make water services purposes lopsided to non-  
102 provisioning sectors; conveyance systems make water allocation more planned (Figure 1 A)  
103 However, the lack of a comprehensive but straightforward approach to identifying changes  
104 in water governance regimes represents a challenge for efforts to enhance the sustainability  
105 of water resource use. Filling this gap, which is the aim of this paper, is essential for the  
106 appropriate alignment of human and water systems.

107 The Yellow River Basin (YRB), which contains the fifth-largest and most sediment-  
108 rich river in the world, needs integrated water governance because of geological and human  
109 history (Mostern & Horne, 2021; Best, 2019; Wu et al., 2020). Since the 1960s, governance  
110 practices such as reservoirs, levees, and conservation measures have contained the issues  
111 troubled by thousands of years of high sediment loads (S. Wang et al., 2016; S. Song et  
112 al., 2020). However, new challenges such as decreased streamflows and water depletions  
113 occurred in more recent times, followed by different water governance practices like water  
114 use regulation and water transfer across basins (S. Wang et al., 2019). Today, it is still im-  
115 possible to completely solve water stress, trade-offs between ecosystem services, or lopsided  
116 development in different regions in the YRB to the satisfaction of all actors (Wohlfart et  
117 al., 2016). Governance challenges induced by environmental, economic, social, and political  
118 factors have resulted in YRB being among the most intensively-governed large river basins  
119 worldwide (Nickum & Shaofeng, 2021). Identifying regime shifts in water governance within  
120 the YRB can thus provide crucial insights into rapidly-changing big river basins and how  
121 governance may respond to meeting challenges to their sustainability.

122 Here, we depict three aspects of water governance -stress, purpose and allocation with  
123 corresponding indicators (see methods) and thus develop an Integrated Water Governance



**Figure 1.** A. Identifying the water governance regimes in transitions of a hydrosocial cycle with an integrated water governance index (IWGI). Water stress (S), purposes of water services (P), and water allocation (A) are three aspects to be considered. For example, reservoir construction (① and ②) can relieve local water stress; The development of intensive irrigated agriculture (③) and growth of energy industrial demand (④) will change the purpose of water use; The water delivery system controls water allocation (⑤ and ⑥) within the basin system. B. Therefore, the methodology is to combine three aspects' corresponding indicators, and then an abrupt change of the IWGI can indicate a regime shift in water governance.

124 Index (IWGI) by equally weighting them, to indicate results from water governance (see  
 125 Figure 1 B). Then, by applying the index to a typical rapid-changing big river basin (the  
 126 YRB), we show how IWGI helps detect and describe complicated water governance regimes  
 127 comprehensively but straightforwardly. Following synthetic analyses of the changes in water  
 128 demand, supply, economic outcomes, and institutions, we interpret the leading causes of the  
 129 regime shifts. Finally, we propose a general regime transition schema that offers a practical  
 130 guideline for a coordinated approach to exploring the challenges faced by big river basin  
 131 governance.

## 132 2 Materials and Methods

133 To develop a comprehensive and straightforward approach to identifying water govern-  
 134 nance regimes. First, we constructed the Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI) based  
 135 on three aspects (Stress, Purpose, and Allocation, see Figure 1). Then, we analyzed the  
 136 changes in the IWGI from 1965 to 2013 using change point detection methods. The normal-  
 137 ized indicator for each dimension affects the IWGI by changing trends and contributions.

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## 2.1 Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI)

As shown in the framework Figure 1, the IWGI combines the three aspects (Stress, Purpose, and Allocation) of water governance:

$$Transformation \propto S * P * A \quad (1)$$

We selected an indicator ( $I_x$ ,  $x = S$ ,  $P$ , or  $A$ , corresponding to stress, purpose, and allocation, respectively) to quantify the aspects effectively. Then, the above equation was transformed into a natural logarithm to facilitate calculation:

$$Transformation \propto \ln(I_S) + \ln(I_P) + \ln(I_A) \quad (2)$$

Then, the Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI) is an average of the normalized indicators  $I'_x$ :

$$IWGI = (I'_S + I'_P + I'_A)/3 \quad (3)$$

where  $I'_x$  is calculated by Min-Max normalization of  $I_x$  (thus ranges from zero to one):

$$I'_x = (I_x - I_{x,\min}) / (I_{x,\max} - I_{x,\min}) \quad (4)$$

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Since the IWGI essentially comprises by three aspects' indicator with same weights, its prerequisite is to keep the same data source for each indicator throughout time, to ensure time series continuity. However, vary data sources can be used when estimating the specific indicator or cross different indicators, which makes IWGI a flexible framework for substituted indicators.

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### 2.1.1 Indicator of stress (IS)

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We used the scarcity-flexibility-variability (SFV) water stress index proposed by Y. Qin et al. (2019) to evaluate water stress. This indicator integrates the share of runoff being consumed, the share of consumption in these inflexible categories and the historical variability of runoff weighted by storage capacity (Y. Qin et al., 2019), where impacts from both management measures and climate changes are included. The SFV-index, which has many applications, is the most comprehensive index of water stress we know (Y. Qin et al., 2019).

Based on the hydrological and economic context of YRB, four second-level regions are divided (Source Region, Upper Region, Middle Region, and Lower Region, see *Supporting Information Section S1*). For the whole YRB, the indicator of water stress  $I_S$  is the average of all regions' SFV-index:

$$I_S = \frac{1}{4} * \sum_{i=1}^4 SFV_i \quad (5)$$

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Where  $SFV_i$  is the scarcity-flexibility-variability (SFV) index of region  $i$ . By taking water flexibility and variability into account, the SFV focus more on dynamic responses to water resources in a developing perspective, which is a valid metric of temporal changes in water stresses (Y. Qin et al., 2019). To apply this method, we need to combine three metrics: scarcity, flexibility and variability. In all the equations following,  $R_{i,avg}$  is the average runoff in region  $i$ ,  $RC_i$  is the total storage capacities of reservoirs in the region  $i$ ,  $R_{i,std}$  is the standard deviation of runoff in the region  $i$ .

First, for scarcity,  $A_{i,j}$  is the total water use as a proportion of regional multi-year average runoff volume in year  $j$  and region  $i$  (in this study, four regions in the YRB, *Supporting Information Section S1*):

$$A_{i,j} = \frac{WU_{i,j}}{R_{i,avg}} \quad (6)$$

Second, for flexibility,  $B_{i,j}$  is the inflexible water use  $WU_{inflexible}$  (i.e. for thermal power plants or humans and livestock) as a proportion of average multi-year runoff, in year  $i$  and region  $j$ :

$$B_{i,j} = \frac{WU_{i,j,inflexible}}{R_{i,avg}} \quad (7)$$

Finally for variability, the capacity of the reservoir and the positive effects of storage on natural runoff fluctuations are also considered.

$$C_i = C1_i * (1 - C2_i) \quad (8)$$

$$C1_{i,j} = \frac{R_{i,std}}{R_{i,avg}} \quad (9)$$

$$C2_i = \frac{RC_i}{R_{i,avg}}, \text{ if } RC < R_{i,avg} \quad (10)$$

$$C2_i = 1, \text{ if } RC \geq R_{i,avg} \quad (11)$$

Finally, assuming three metrics (scarcity, flexibility and variability) have the same weights, we can calculate the *SFV* index after normalizing them:

$$V = \frac{A_{normalize} + B_{normalize} + C_{normalize}}{3} \quad (12)$$

$$a = \frac{1}{V_{max} - V_{min}}; \quad (13)$$

$$b = \frac{1}{V_{min} - V_{max}} * V_{min} \quad (14)$$

$$SFV = a * V + b \quad (15)$$

### 158 **2.1.2 Indicator of purpose (IP)**

To quantify purpose  $I_P$ , we used provisioning purpose shares (PPS) of water use as an indicator. While provisioning purpose water use ( $WU_{pro}$ ) includes domestic, irrigated, and livestock water uses, non-provisioning purpose water use ( $WU_{non-pro}$ ) includes industrial and urban services water uses. We calculated the PPS by:

$$PPS = \frac{WU_{pro}}{WU_{pro} + WU_{non-pro}} \quad (16)$$

159 In this study, we consider livestock water use, rural and urban domestic water use,  
160 and agricultural water use as provisioning water because they directly service for survival.  
161 Others are non-provisioning: services and industrial water use because they mainly service  
162 the economy.

### 163 **2.1.3 Indicator of allocations (IA)**

164 To describe allocations  $I_A$ , we designed an indicator based on entropy, called Allocation  
165 Entropy Metric (AEM), which measures the degree of evenness in water allocation:

$$I_A = AEM = \sum_{i=1}^N -\log(p_i) * p_i \quad (17)$$

166 where  $p_i$  is the proportion of regional water use in  $i$  to water use of the whole basin  
167 (here,  $N = 4$  considering divided regions in the YRB, see *Supporting Information S1*).

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## 2.2 Change points detection

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We applied the Pettitt (1979) approach to detect change-points of IWGI within continuous data, since this method has no assumptions about the distribution of the data (Pettitt, 1979). It tests  $H_0$ : The variables follow one or more distributions with the exact location parameter (no change) against the alternative: a change point exists. Mathematically, when a sequence of random variables is divided into two segments represented by  $x_1, x_1, \dots, x_{t_0}$  and  $x_{t_0+1}, x_{t_0+2}, \dots, x_T$ , if each segment has a common distribution function, i.e.,  $F_1(x)$ ,  $F_2(x)$  and  $F_1(x) \neq F_2(x)$ , then the change point is identified at  $t_0$ . To achieve the identification of change point, a statistical index  $U_{t,T}$  is defined as follows:

$$U_{t,T} = \sum_{i=1}^t \sum_{j=t+1}^T \text{sgn}(X_i - X_j), 1 \leq t < T \quad (18)$$

where:

$$\text{sgn}(\theta) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } \theta > 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } \theta = 0 \\ -1 & \text{if } \theta < 0 \end{cases} \quad (19)$$

The most probable change point  $\tau$  is found where its value satisfies  $K_\tau = \max |U_{t,T}|$  and the significance probability associated with value  $K_\tau$  is approximately evaluated as:

$$p = 2 \exp\left(\frac{-6K_\tau^2}{T^2 + T^3}\right) \quad (20)$$

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Given a certain significance level  $\alpha$ , if  $p < \alpha$ , we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that  $x_\tau$  is a significant change point at level  $\alpha$ .

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For robustness, we tried different change points detection methodologies (Matteson & James, 2014; Killick et al., 2012; Bai, 1997; Keogh et al., 2001) and the results are close (see *Supporting Information S4* and Table S2). We used  $\alpha = 0.001$  as the threshold level of the p-value, meaning that the probability of a statistically significant change-point judgment being valid was more than 99.9%. We divided the series into two at that point and analyzed each series separately until all significant change points were detected. Though two break points in the main text with  $\alpha = 0.001$ , the threshold from 0.0005 to 0.05 does not affect our results, and the change points we identified are robust (see Figure S6).

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## 2.3 Datasets

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For calculating IWGI, three datasets were used: reservoirs, measured runoff, and water uses. The reservoir dataset was collected by S. Wang et al. (2019), which introduced includes the significant new reservoirs built in the YRB since 1956. Among all the reservoirs, YRCC labelled the “major reservoirs” which were constructed mainly for regulating and managing (see <http://www.yrcc.gov.cn/hhyl/sngc/>). In addition, annual measured runoff data was collected from the Yellow River Sediment Bulletin (<http://www.yrcc.gov.cn/nishagonggao/>) and four controlling stations are measuring different reaches of the Yellow River (see Supporting Informations Section S1). The water resources use dataset was from National Long-term Water Use Dataset of China (NLWUD) published by Zhou et al. (2020), which includes water uses, water-consuming economic variables, and water use intensities by sectors the prefectures level. We determined the prefectures belong to the YRB by filtering the NLWUD dataset with a threshold of 95% intersected area.

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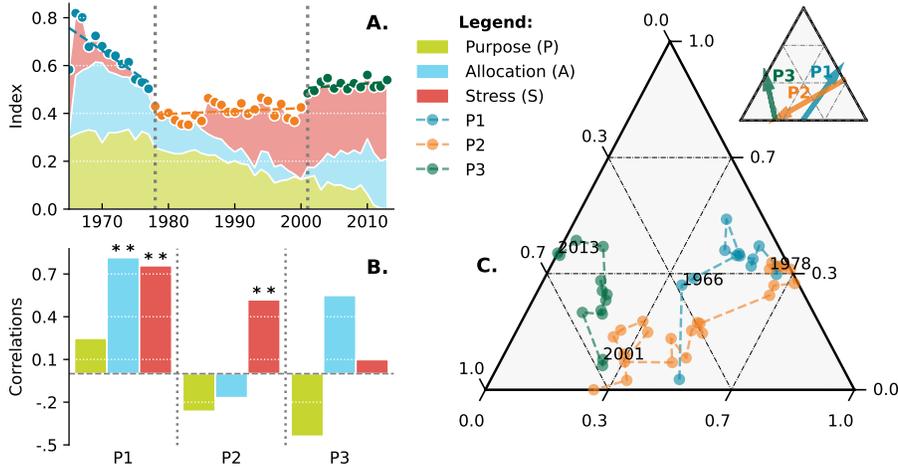
For analyzing its causes of changing water, irrigated area, gross added values of industry and services, and water use intensities data were also from NLWUD dataset (Zhou et al., 2020). Besides, two water governance policies datasets are used: laws data and “big events” documents dataset. Data of laws were collected from Yellow River Water Conservancy

204 Commission (2010), which reviewed all important laws at the basin scale related to the  
 205 Yellow River from the last century. The original documents of “big events” related to the  
 206 Yellow River come from the YRCC, the agency at the basin scale, which recorded and  
 207 compiled these events (<http://www.yrcc.gov.cn/hhyl/hhjs/>).

208 Finally, we calculated the IWGI from 2001 to 2017 (the latest) in the Supporting  
 209 Information Section S4 for robustness test with another water use dataset from Yellow  
 210 River Water Resources Bulletin (<http://www.yrcc.gov.cn/zwzc/gzgb/gb/szygb/>).

### 211 3 Results

#### 212 3.1 Water governance regimes

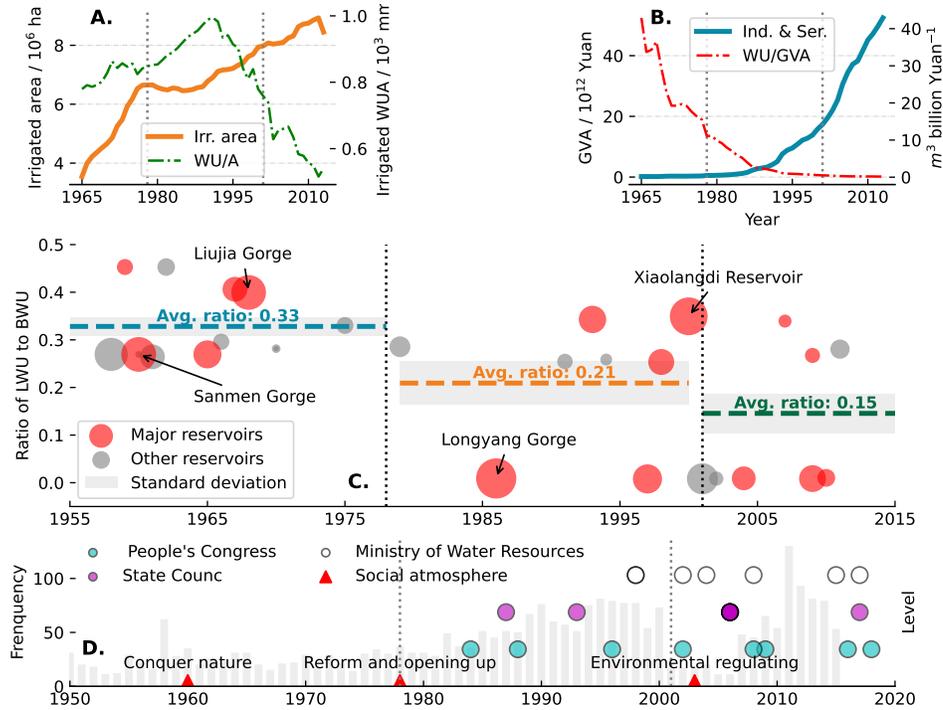


**Figure 2.** Changes in the IWGI index and corresponding water governance regimes: P1: 1965 ~ 1978, P2: 1979 ~ 2001, and P3: 2002 ~ 2013. **A**, detecting change points of IWGI and contributions from each indicator. Two significant change points ( $p < 0.001$ ) occurred in 1978 and 2001. **B**, correlation of trends between the IWGI and the indicators. **C**, across three indicators, changing components of the IWGI, whose directions shifts between different regimes.

213 Two significant change points divide the changes in the IWGI into three periods, with  
 214 different contributions from three aspects (Figure 2A). In the first period (P1, 1965 ~ 1978),  
 215 the IWGI decreased rapidly. While the indicator of purpose and allocation contributed more  
 216 to the IWGI (49.45% and 34.95% on average, respectively), the remarkable downward trend  
 217 correlates significantly ( $p < 0.01$ ) to the decreasing allocation and stress indicators (Fig-  
 218 ure 2B). In the second period (P2, 1979 ~ 2001), the increasing stress indicator significantly  
 219 ( $p < 0.01$ ) contributed to the upward IWGI, while the allocation and purpose indicators  
 220 played negative roles in changing the IWGI. During the third period (P3, 1995 ~ 2013),  
 221 while the stress indicator kept its most prominent share in contributions (57.11% on aver-  
 222 age), the increased allocation indicator and decreased purpose indicator changed the regime.  
 223 Taken together, the overall features of the three aspects in different periods are relative to  
 224 a directional change in the combination of three aspects (Figure 2C).

#### 225 3.2 Causes of the regime shifts

226 The underlying causes of changes in the IWGI are different in the two regime shifts.  
 227 Changing water demands and supply were critical to the shift between P1 and P2. As



**Figure 3.** Causes of water governance regime shifts in the YRB. **A.** Changes in the total irrigated area (orange line) and water use intensity ( $WU/A$ , water use divided by the irrigated area, the green dot line). **B.** Changes in gross values added (GVA) of industry and services (blue line) and their water use intensities ( $WU/GVA$   $WU$  divided by the GVA, the red dot line). **C.** Completed time of each new reservoir and their located region’s water use (LWU) percentages as a proportion of the total basinal water use (BWU) at that time. Dashed lines denote average of these percentages in different regimes. Red circles (Major Reservoirs) denote the reservoirs mainly for managing and regulating the whole basin. The size of each circle indicates the magnitude of its water storage capacity. **D.** Social atmosphere\* (red triangles) and national-level governance policies (the circles, different colours denote signed by different state agencies). The light grey bars count official documents related to the YRB on a basinal scale (the Yellow River Events). \* Here, “social atmosphere” refers to the sociocultural context in which people live or in which something happens, including the culture that the individual was educated or lives.

228 the dominant water demand during the P1, the area of irrigated agriculture in the YRB  
 229 expanded rapidly at a rate of  $0.25 * 10^6$   $ha/yr$  (Figure3 A), simultaneously supported by  
 230 increasing supply through the construction of reservoirs. Ensuing the P2, however, the  
 231 expansion of irrigated areas slowed down, and industry and services gradually took off  
 232 (Figure3 A and B). Then, the efficiency of water use changed obviously from P2 to P3. Not  
 233 only did irrigated areas continue to expand slowly during the P3 (Figure3 A), but industry  
 234 and urban services also assumed a more vital economic role (represented by Gross Added  
 235 Values, GVA) (Figure 3 B). Because of increased efficiency, however, they both experienced  
 236 significant declines in water use for a unit irrigated area or unit production (Figure 3 A and  
 237 Figure 3 B). As a result, the differences between sectors and regions in water use reduced  
 238 while the total water stress steadily remained high during the P3 (Figure 2A).

239 Environmental and social contexts, governance policies played roles in all three periods.  
 240 We calculated the ratios of regional and basinal water use for each reservoir (R/B ratio)  
 241 (Figure 3C), with a higher ratio representing a potential role in water supply rather than  
 242 basinal regulations. Under the banner of “conquering nature” most of the reservoirs were

243 built in regions with high water demands during the P1 (R/B ratios were significantly higher  
 244 ( $p < 0.01$ , see Figure 3C)). Ensuing the P2, the number of new reservoirs decreased but  
 245 boosted their role in water regulating and management (more red circles in Figure 3 C, and  
 246 larger water conveyance variability in Supporting Informations Figure S8). Basin policies  
 247 significantly increased, rigorously controlled the allocation of water (Figure 3D,  $p < 0.01$ ).  
 248 During the P3, authorities proposed more national-level water governance policies under  
 249 the guidance of the national strategy “environmental regulation” (Figure 3D). The regime  
 250 shift from P1 to P2 is in line with the increasing water supply and demands; while driven  
 251 by regulatory policies and efficiency enhancement under stable water stress from P2 to P3.

## 252 4 Discussion

253 Water governance gradually becomes a national or international concern from a pri-  
 254 marily local concern because large river basins are critical sources of ecosystem services,  
 255 economic development, and human well-being (Best, 2019; Best & Darby, 2020). As tele-  
 256 coupling raises additional water governance challenges in an increasingly tightly-connected  
 257 world, regime shifts in water governance align with different human-water relationships (Díaz  
 258 et al., 2019). The process echoes how societies have been proposed to change governance  
 259 practices by enhancing their adaptive capacity in the hydrosocial cycle (Loch et al., 2020;  
 260 Turton, 1999), and the IWGI quantitatively identifies this transition. It is vital for scien-  
 261 tists and decision-makers to recognize the changing governance challenges because models,  
 262 institutions, engineering, and approaches developed under one regime are not necessarily  
 263 applicable under a different regime (Reyers et al., 2018).

264 In the case of the YRB, our results show that there have been three distinct governance  
 265 regimes; we named them: a massive supply regime (P1: 1965 ~ 1978), a governance trans-  
 266 forming regime (P2: 1979 ~ 2001), and an adaptation oriented regime (P3: 2002 ~ 2013)  
 267 (Figure 2 and Table 1). These regime shifts, as comprehensive outcomes of complex human-  
 268 water interactions, are coincidentally well presented by several well-known and dominated  
 269 social atmospheres in China (Table 1). The social atmospheres refers to the sociocultural  
 270 context in which people live or in which something happens, underlying the direction of  
 271 practices of water governance during a regime, despite lack of strict causality evidence.

272 During the massive supply regime (1965 ~ 1978 in the YRB), water governance tended  
 273 to boost water supply for services (mainly provisioning purposes then -livestock and crops)  
 274 by constructing reservoirs and channels (Figure 3 B). As the Chinese slogan “human will  
 275 conquer nature” suggested then, however, the enhancement of water supply did not align  
 276 with irreversible changes in the human-water relationship; it drastically increased water  
 277 demand with little consideration for ecological conservation (Zhou et al., 2020). The rapid  
 278 expansion of irrigated farmland and water diversion facilities in the same decade brought  
 279 the overburdened YRB close to a critical point (Figure 3), where increasing supply to meet  
 280 demand was impractical (Loch et al., 2020). Use of over 80% of the surface water since  
 281 1972 has led to frequent river depletion, causing additional ecological issues such as wetland  
 282 shrinkage and declines in biodiversity (S. Wang et al., 2019). In addition, since water stress  
 283 also limited the growing industrial economy, the existing modes of water governance led to  
 284 a social-ecological crisis (Wohlfart et al., 2016).

285 The start of the governance transforming regime (P2: 1979 ~ 2001) coincided with  
 286 rising competition for water use after the “reform and opening-up” (Figure 3 C). The results  
 287 from the YRB mirror those of the theoretical analysis: continuous increases in water demand  
 288 when the basin’s total supply is stable can follow substantial changes in governance regime  
 289 and a rapid enhancement in overall social adaptive capacity (Loch et al., 2020). As a  
 290 pioneer in shifting governing institutions, the YRB triggered institutional changes during  
 291 this regime. These include, for example, slowing the growth of irrigated acreage and leading  
 292 water-saving infrastructure (Figure 3); creation of China’s first water quota scheme, and  
 293 the creation of a preliminary cross-boundary water transfer plan (Z. Wang & Zheng, 2019;

**Table 1.** Brief summary of regime transitions for water governance at the Yellow River Basin

Time	Closet social atmosphere*	Regime	Main trait
1965 – 1978	1960s: Conquering nature	massive supply regime	boost water supply for services (mainly provisioning purposes then -livestock and crops) by constructing reservoirs and channels
1979 – 2001	1978: reform and opening-up	governance transforming regime	triggered institutional changes for rapid enhancement of overall social adaptive capacity to severe water stresses
2002 – 2013	2002: Environmental regulating	adaptation-oriented regime	adapting to stable high water stress with trade-offs between water-dependent regions and sectors

\* Here, social atmosphere refers to the sociocultural context in which people live or in which something happens, including the culture that the individual was educated or lives.

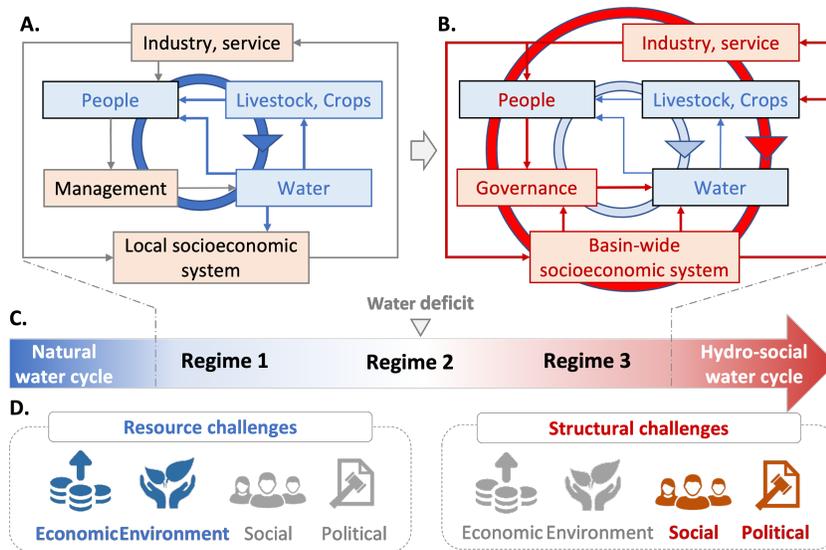
294 Long et al., 2020; Nickum & Shaofeng, 2021). Consequently, although water stress remained  
 295 and increased (due to reducing streamflow and flexibility), the last depletion of the Yellow  
 296 River in 1999 led to a climax in this transformation in water governance (Z. Wang & Zheng,  
 297 2019).

298 The ensuing adaptation-oriented regime (P3: 2002 ~ 2013) involved a significant soci-  
 299 etal shift in adapting to stable high water stress. Partially because of changed climate (Han  
 300 et al., 2023; Y. Liu et al., 2020), the runoff of the YRB was significantly lower than before  
 301 when the overall water uses remained stable, which was an important reason for the rise  
 302 of water stress in this stage (Supporting Informations Figure S2 and Figure S3). Socio-  
 303 economic trade-offs between water-dependent regions and sectors, however, played a more  
 304 important role in this regime, so water governance had to achieve efficient water allocation  
 305 while balancing different demands in the face of limited water supply (Dalin et al., 2015;  
 306 C. Song et al., 2022). Widespread reconstruction of resources in different industries and  
 307 regions led to calls for adaptation in water governance, using the urgent requirements of  
 308 adjusting rigid quota shares from the previous regime as an example (Z. Wang & Zheng,  
 309 2019). Many national-level governance practices were proposed under the regime because  
 310 the absence of such policies to support high-quality development became new a structural  
 311 challenge for water governance (Konar et al., 2019).

312 In general, water governance of the YRB is among the most prominent example in  
 313 the widespread transition to a hydrosocial cycle -“improving supply, transforming govern-  
 314 ance, and enhancing adaptation”. To support water use in early stage (Figure 4 A),  
 315 strategies tend to manage natural water cycle in order to maintain the provisioning (larger)  
 316 and non-provisioning water (less). At the later stage (Figure 4 B), emphasis is govern-  
 317 ing across the whole basin, water governance practices are adaptively designed to meet  
 318 the increasing needs of the socio-economic system and carried out. With the above gradu-  
 319 ally shifting, the emergence of different regimes drives water governance challenges at a  
 320 basin-scale: these were primarily economic and environmental before the transformation,  
 321 but social and policy-related towards the end (Figure 4) (Singh et al., 2019; Porcher &  
 322 SAUSSIÉ, 2019). The Yellow River basin’s challenges as an example, represented by the  
 323 shift in national narratives from conquering nature for economy and eliminating pollution  
 324 to stressing of harmonious human-water, increased the importance of administrative mea-  
 325 sures in resolving water-related disputes. It demonstrates again that highly-controlled and  
 326 developed basins (especially for transboundary rivers) must resolve structural challenges,  
 327 such as water disputes or lack of equity, and may be in urgent need of novel flexible, efficient  
 328 sociopolitical governance structures (UNEP-DHI et al., 2016; Mirumachi, 2015). Linking  
 329 regime shifts to the governance challenges, the implementation of IWGI thus offers a com-

330 prehensive and straightforward way to interpret the intertwines between water governance  
 331 and the hydrosocial transition.

332 Future’s tightly intertwined socio-hydro interactions can lead water governance chal-  
 333 lenges even more complex and comprehensive, combining resources issues and structural  
 334 barriers (Huggins et al., 2022). For example, climate change may alter water scarcity levels  
 335 and make it more difficult to effectively use water due to extreme climate events, strength-  
 336 ening water stress and threatening infrastructures (J. Liu et al., 2017; Di Baldassarre et al.,  
 337 2019). Additionally, adapting to climate change could lead to transformations (Sachs et al.,  
 338 2019; Barnes et al., 2020), prompting a reevaluation of governance strategies of social water  
 339 usage (purpose and allocation) which is being increasingly altered by current regime transi-  
 340 tions. It may be difficult to exhaust what is considered in a good watershed governance  
 341 strategy, but the IWGI at least gives us a sense of where the a river basin is heading and  
 342 how challenged.



**Figure 4.** Transition schema in hydrosocial cycle and water governance regimes. The natural water cycle dominates blue pathways, while socio-economic feedback dominates red. The large circular arrows indicate the social and hydrological processes that dominate in different stages. Provisioning water includes water used by human, livestock and crops while non-provisioning water includes used by industry and service. The processes expressed in the graph mainly include: Water supports people in provisioning ways or influence/influenced socioeconomic systems as non-provisioning ways; People manage/govern water system based on their well-beings. The gray thick arrow represents weaker process, while the red arrow represents more significant one. **A.** As socio-economic systems develop, non-provisioning water demand increases; simultaneously, increased adaptive capacity by engineering allows people to manage water resources to alleviate water stress. **B.** With further growing socio-economic systems, trade-offs between provisioning-purpose and non-provisioning water use become prominent; a basin-wide socio-economic system requires more organized water governance. Thus, **C. the hydrosocial water cycle transition** correlates with the water governance regime shifts. The transformation governance regime shift occurs following the water deficit, with the rapid growth of adaptive capacity. **D. Water governance challenges** Through the transitional regimes, water governance faces primarily economic and environmental challenges but social and policy challenges later.

343 One of the main limitations in the approach is the lack of multi-sources data in long-  
 344 term period worldwide, which means there is still a gap between comprehensively identifying  
 345 and applying the IWGI widely. We propose that all water governance issues, however, can  
 346 change “who gets water, when and how” so monitoring such an integrated index is essential,  
 347 even use simpler indicators. We suggest that choices of indicators for different aspects can  
 348 be adopted according to available datasets -e.g., replace the SFV-index (IA) with simpler  
 349 scarcity index or proportion-based purpose indicator (IP) by complicated one. Another  
 350 limitation is the lack of latest datasets which is coherent with the historical datasets, so our  
 351 analysis had to discontinued in 2013 despite potential shifts existing. As a supplement, we  
 352 examined IWGI framework with fewer datasets from different source in recent decades where  
 353 showing no significant regime changes (supplementary Figure 4). Therefore, we suggest  
 354 IWGI framework can be applied with adaptive indicators and flexible time series according  
 355 to accessible datasets in future studies.

356 In today’s world, regime shifts from natural to human-dominated seem likely to be-  
 357 come increasingly widespread; comprehensive strategies to address governance challenges  
 358 will have to become the core of complex human-water systems (Cumming & von Cramon-  
 359 Taubadel, 2018; Cumming et al., 2014; Jaeger et al., 2019). Although river basins have  
 360 shown improvements in water management technologies and water use efficiency, many are  
 361 still approaching local, regional, and planetary boundaries where human-water systems may  
 362 collapse (Gleeson, Cuthbert, et al., 2020; Wang-Erlandsson et al., 2022). A deeper under-  
 363 standing of governance that incorporates ideas of non-linear regime shifts and transforma-  
 364 tions should help shift the focus of governance towards maintaining the resilience of the  
 365 basin’s social-ecological system and improving its sustainability (Falkenmark et al., 2019).

## 366 5 Conclusion

367 Focusing on “who gets water, when and how”, three aspects of water governance change  
 368 along with the hydrosocial cycle transition: water stress, water services purpose, and wa-  
 369 ter allocation. We developed an Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI) to detect  
 370 regime shifts in water governance by integrating them. Applying the IWGI to a rapidly-  
 371 changing large river basin (the Yellow River Basin, China), we interpret how water gover-  
 372 nance shifts between three regimes over half a century. During the massive supply regime  
 373 (P1: 1965 ~ 1978), water governance tended to boost water supply by constructing reser-  
 374 vairs and channels in the YRB. Then, the start of the governance transforming regime  
 375 (P2: 1979 ~ 2001) coincided with rising competition for water use and led to institutional  
 376 changes like water-saving improvements, water quota policies, and cross-boundary water  
 377 transfer plans. Last, adaptation-oriented regime (P3: 2002 ~ 2013) with stable high wa-  
 378 ter stress resulted in trade-offs and joint regulating between water-dependent regions and  
 379 sectors. Our approach quantitatively identifies the general schema for water governance  
 380 regimes in the YRB, in line with previous theoretical analysis with a representative transi-  
 381 tion process. Linking regime shifts to the underlying causes, the implementation of IWGI  
 382 offers a comprehensive and straightforward way to interpret changes in intertwines of water  
 383 governance, hydrosocial transition, and human-water relationships.

## 384 Open Research Section

385 All data used or analyzed during this study, including the reservoirs dataset, mea-  
 386 sured runoff, water uses datasets, laws, and big events are available under CC-BY 4.0  
 387 license (S. Song, 2023). Figures were made with Matplotlib version 3.7.1 (Hunter, 2007)  
 388 and python-ternary version 1.0.8 (Harper, 2015). These open sourced softwares are avail-  
 389 able under the Matplotlib license at <https://github.com/matplotlib/matplotlib> and  
 390 the MIT license at <https://github.com/marcharper/python-ternary>, separately.

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