

Identifying regime transitions for water governance at a basin scale

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Abstract

In many large river basins, water governance regimes from natural to social-ecological or ‘hydrosocial’ situations profoundly change who gets water, when, and how. Therefore, identifying changes in governance regimes is critical to understanding the transition and guiding the efficient and sustainable use of water. We combined three main dimensions of water governance (supply, purpose and allocation) to develop a quantitative Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI) that can detect regime shifts in water governance at a basin scale. Applying the index to a rapidly-changing large river basin (the Yellow River Basin, China) describes how water governance shifts between three regimes over half a century (massive supply regime; governance transformation regime; and adaptation oriented regime, respectively). Our application of the IWGI offers a comprehensive and straightforward way to link the shifts in water governance to environmental, economic, social and political factors. Moreover, as a potentially widespread transition schema for water governance regimes, the different governance challenges that occurred at different phases of the transition of the Yellow River also suggest potentially helpful guidelines on the governance of big river basins in general.

Keywords: Regime shifts, Water governance, Transformation, Sustainability

1 Introduction

Water, being “at the centre of the planetary drama of the Anthropocene” [16], is essential not only for earth system processes but also in supporting the economic development and human well-being. Human activities stemming from our reliance on the water have profoundly modified the natural water cycle, resulting in rivers dominated by a hybrid of social and natural tendencies [1, 16, 26, 34, 39]. Facing this transition, many

big river basins worldwide (which are hot spots of civilization and economic growth) are urgently in need of successful water governance for sustainability [4, 13, 14]. As an integral part of a proposed earth system governance framework, water governance requires a deep understanding of changes in the complex relationships between humans and water [6, 13, 41].

Governance is essentially about “who gets what, when and how”. Specifically, water governance refers to the political, social, economic,

and administrative systems that influence the use and management of water. For water resources in populated areas, missing governance means missing sustainability, and a first important step in understanding transitions toward successful water governance is identifying the different regimes. [42]. Corresponding to “who gets what, when and how”, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) suggests three key dimensions of water use are decided by the water governance directly: “When and what water to use?” (stress), “How water provides different services to well-beings?” (purpose), and “Who can use water equally and efficiently?” (allocation) [23, 30, 42].

As a temporary stable state in structure, function, and dominant controls, a specific regime of water governance maintains by concreted intertwines within human-water systems (such as management, institutions, and exploitations) [8]. However, large and persistent changes in key properties may lead to a loss of systematical stability, potentially resulting in a regime shift with impacts on system outcomes and widespread cascading effects [18, 36]. Therefore, as both signals and consequences of substantive changes in human-water systems, regime shifts align with changing three key dimensions of water governance (stress, purpose, and allocation), sometimes leading to new challenges in sustainability [23, 30, 42]. First, water stress depends not only on climate (with increasing scarcity and uncertainty in many regions) but also on the increasingly insatiable demands from economic activities such as irrigation and industry; water storage can resolve some but not all of these issues [19, 35, 44]. Second, the purpose of how water services human well-being is to consider trade-offs between consumptive uses (e.g., drinking and food production) and non-consumptive uses (e.g., energy production) [15, 24, 29]. Third, the allocation of water across the whole basin is influenced not only by regionally socio-economic and environmental context but also by systematically regulating resources [37, 40]. Despite regime shifts in water governance related to substantive changes in any of the three dimensions, separately considering their intertwines within human-water systems can lead to holistic failure in governing water. The lack of a comprehensive but straightforward approach to identifying changes in water governance regimes

challenges sustainability, and filling this gap can well align human and water systems (Figure 1).

As an informative example, we focus on the Yellow River Basin (YRB, see *Appendix* Methods S1 and Figure S1 for details), the fifth-largest river in the world. With drastically anthropogenic intervention, the YRB experienced the most intense water governance challenges in China, leading to long-standing sustainability barriers. Since the 1960s, the implementation of conservation measures, regulation reservoirs, and levee constructions have contained the issues caused by high-sediment loads [45, 50]. However, water over-use has led to depletions of the over-burdened river, creating new challenges and new governance practices, including water use regulation and water transfer across basins [51]. Today, it is still impossible to completely solve water stress, trade-offs between ecosystem services, or lopsided development in different regions in the YRB; -“who gets water, when and how” is still an open question for sustainable water governance [47, 48]. However, confronting governance challenges induced by environmental, economic, social, and political factors, numerous governance practices have led the YRB to be among the most drastically-governing large river basins worldwide. Identifying regime shifts in water governance within the YRB can thus provide crucial insights into rapidly-changing big river basins and how governance may respond to meeting challenges to their sustainability.

Here, we use the three core dimensions (stress, purpose and allocation) and corresponding indicators of water governance to develop an Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI) that can detect and describe changes in water governance at a basin-scale (see Figure 1 and methods). Then, by applying the index to a typical rapid-changing big river basin (the YRB), we show how to analyze the complicated regimes of water governance and their leading causes in a comprehensive but straightforward way. Finally, we propose a general regime transition schema as a practical guideline for a coordinated approach to exploring the challenges faced by big river basin governance.

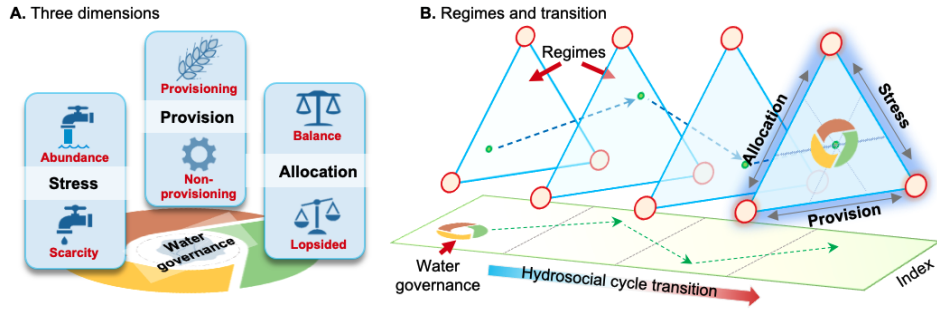


Fig. 1 A framework for identifying the water governance regimes and transitions of a hydrosocial cycle. **A:** water governance has three key dimensions (stress, purpose and allocation), each of which has two potential directions (denoted in red) when changing. (1) “stress” of water shifts between scarcity and abundance; (2) weighting “purpose” of water between consumptive services or non-consumptive uses; (3) “allocation” changes between balanced or lopsided. **B:** along with a transition of hydrosocial water cycle, water governance shifts in line with the three dimensions. Combining corresponding indicators, an abrupt change of the IWGI thus indicates a regime shift in water governance.

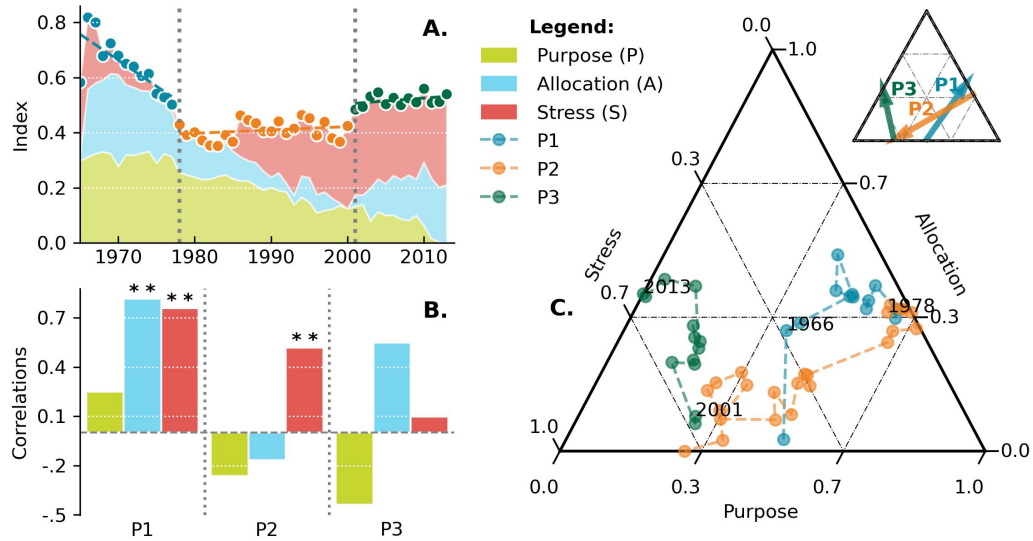


Fig. 2 Changes in the IWGI index and corresponding water governance regimes: P1: 1965-1978, P2: 1979-2001, and P3: 2002-2013. **A,** detecting change points of IWGI and contributions from each indicator. Two significant change points ($p < 0.01$) occurred in 1978 and 2001. **B,** correlation of trends between the IWGI and the indicators. **C,** across three indicators, changing components of the IWGI, whose directions shifts between different regimes.

2 Results

2.1 Water governance regimes

Two significant breakpoints divide the changes in the IWGI into three periods, with different contributions from three dimensions (Figure 2A). In the first period (P1, 1965-1978), the IWGI decreased rapidly. While the indicator of purpose and allocation contributed more to the IWGI (49.45% and

34.95% on average, respectively), the remarkable downward trend correlates significantly ($p < 0.01$) to the decreasing allocation and stress indicators (Figure 2B). In the second period (P2, 1979-2001), the increasing stress indicator significantly ($p < 0.01$) contributed to the upward IWGI, while the allocation and purpose indicators played negative roles in changing the IWGI. During the third period (P3, 1995-2013), while the stress indicator kept its biggest share in contributions (57.11% on

average), the increased allocation indicator and decreased purpose indicator changed the regime of IWGI.

The ternary shows overall features of the three dimensions in different periods, where each regime shift is relative to a directional change in the combination of three dimensions (Figure 2C). Throughout P1, the IWGI shifts paralleled the left axis because the Purpose indicator barely changed, and the other two changed in similar trends. Analogously, as the stress indicator is unchanged during the P3, the IWGI shifts paralleled with the right side of the axis while the other two changed in opposite trends. The regime then experienced a long-distance shift during the P2, as three indicators simultaneously changed their contribution ratios to IWGI. The three different periods corresponded to three distinct water governance regimes: a massive supply regime (P1: 1965-1978), a governance transforming regime (P2: 1979-2001), and an adaptation oriented regime (P3: 2002-2013).

2.2 Causes of the regime shifts

The underlying causes of changes in the IWGI are associated with various factors but are different in the two regime shifts. The expansion of irrigated areas and the economic growth of industry and services were critical to the change in purpose between P1 and P2. During the massive supply regime (P1), the area of irrigated agriculture in the YRB expanded rapidly at a rate of $0.25 \times 10^6 \text{ ha/yr}$ (Figure 3A), and irrigation water was the dominant water use (81.56% of the total water use in 1965, and 83.17% in 1978 *SI Appendix* Fig. S3). Entering the transformation governance regime (P2), however, the expansion of irrigated areas slowed down, and industry and services gradually took off, with more water demands (Figure 3A and B), leading to an 8% reduction in the proportion of irrigation water use (*SI Appendix* S3).

From P2 to P3, the efficiency of water use changed obviously. Not only irrigated areas keep their slow expansion in the adaptation oriented regime (P3) (Figure 3A), but industry and urban services also assumed a more vital economic role (represented by Gross Added Values, GVA) (Figure 3B). However, because of more efficient technology and better water conservation practices (*SI Appendix* Fig. S4), both experienced

significant declines in water use for a unit irrigated area or unit production (Figure 3A and Figure 3B). As a result, the differences between sectors of water use reduced while the total water stress remained stable during P3 (*SI Appendix* Fig. S3).

Finally, environmental context, social transformation and policies played roles in all three regimes. We calculated the ratios of regional and basinal water use for each reservoir (R/B ratio) (Figure 3C), with a higher ratio representing a potential role in water supply rather than basinal regulations. Under the guiding ethos of “conquering nature”, most of the reservoirs were built in regions with high water demands during the massive supply regime (R/B ratios were significantly higher, see Figure 3C, $p < 0.01$), when natural water resources were also relatively abundant (*SI Appendix* Fig. S5). Since the transformation governance regime (P2), the number of new reservoirs decreased significantly and significantly increased basinal policies rigorously controlled the allocation of water (e.g., the “87 Water Allocation Scheme”) (Figure 3D, $p < 0.01$ and *SI Appendix* Fig. S6). In the adaptation oriented regime, authorities proposed more national-level water governance policies under the guidance of national strategy “environmental regulation” (Figure 3D). The regime shift from P1 to P2 is in line with the increasing water supply and demands; while driven by regulatory policies and efficiency enhancement under stable water stress from P2 to P3.

3 Discussion

3.1 Challenges along with the transition

Our results show that there have been three distinct but sequential governance regimes within the YRB: a massive supply regime (P1: 1965-1978), a governance transforming regime (P2: 1979-2001) and an adaptation oriented regime (P3: 2002-2013). Furthermore, shifts between these regimes were caused by different environmental, economic, social or political drivers, deciding who gets water, when and how. The process echoes how social systems can change water governance regimes by enhancing their adaptive capacity. However, the IWGI quantitatively identifies and reveals that

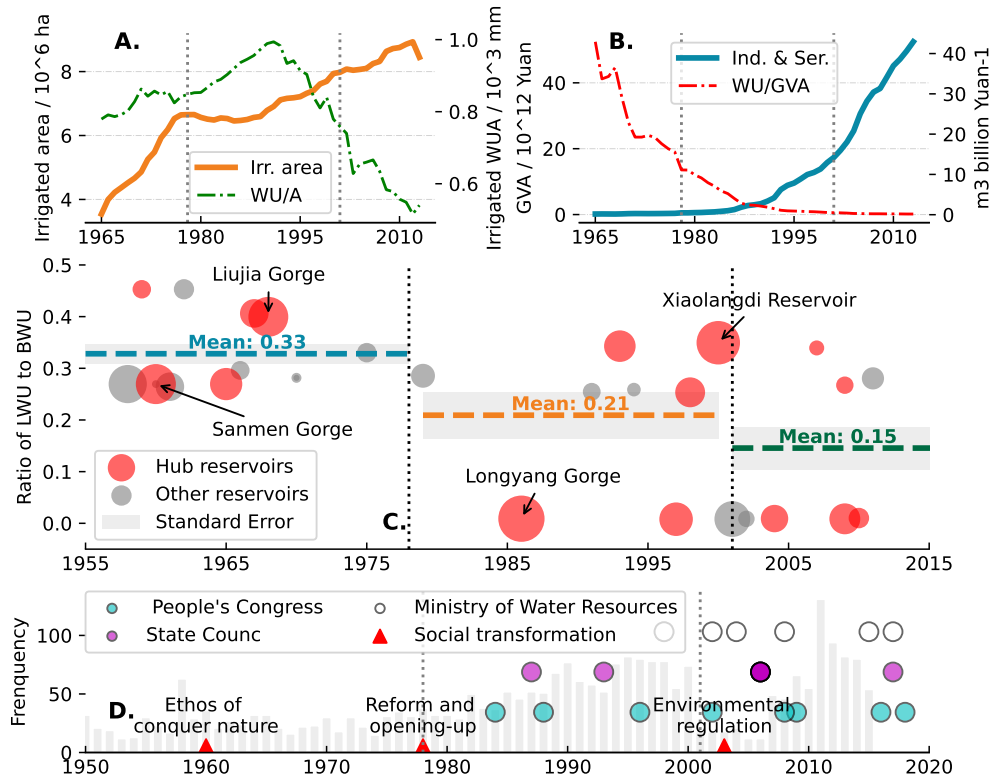


Fig. 3 Causes of water governance regime shifts in the YRB: environmental change, economic growth and efficiency changes, social transformation, and governance policies. **A.** Changes in the total irrigated area (orange line) and water use intensity (WU/A , water use divided by the area, the green dot 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. Red circles denote the reservoirs mainly for managing and regulating the whole basin. The size of each circle indicates the magnitude of its water storage capacity. Some crucial reservoirs include (1) Xiaolangdi reservoir and Sanmen Reservoir, which were constructed mainly for managing sediments; and (2) Impoundments at Liujia Gorge, Longyang Gorge, which was constructed mainly for managing floodwater discharge and water regulation. These named reservoirs are significant for the whole basin rather than local development. **D.** Social transformations (red triangles) and national-level governance policies (the circles, different colours denote signed by different state institutions, see *SI Appendix* Table S2). The light grey bars year-by-year show the frequency of official documents related to the YRB at a basinal scale (see *SI Appendix* Table S3).

abstract pattern, thus characterizing the transition of water governance in detail for the first time. It is important to note that each indicator or cause changes gradually, but emerging regime shifts move water governance along with the hydrosocial water cycle at a basin scale. As a result, the water governance challenges were primarily economic and environmental at the beginning of the

trajectory and social and policy-related towards the end (Figure 4 C and D).

During the massive supply regime with lower water stress (1965–1978 in the YRB), water governance thus tended to boost water supply for services (mainly provisioning purposes then - livestock and crops) by constructing reservoirs and channels. As the popular slogan “man will conquer nature” suggested, however, the enhancement of

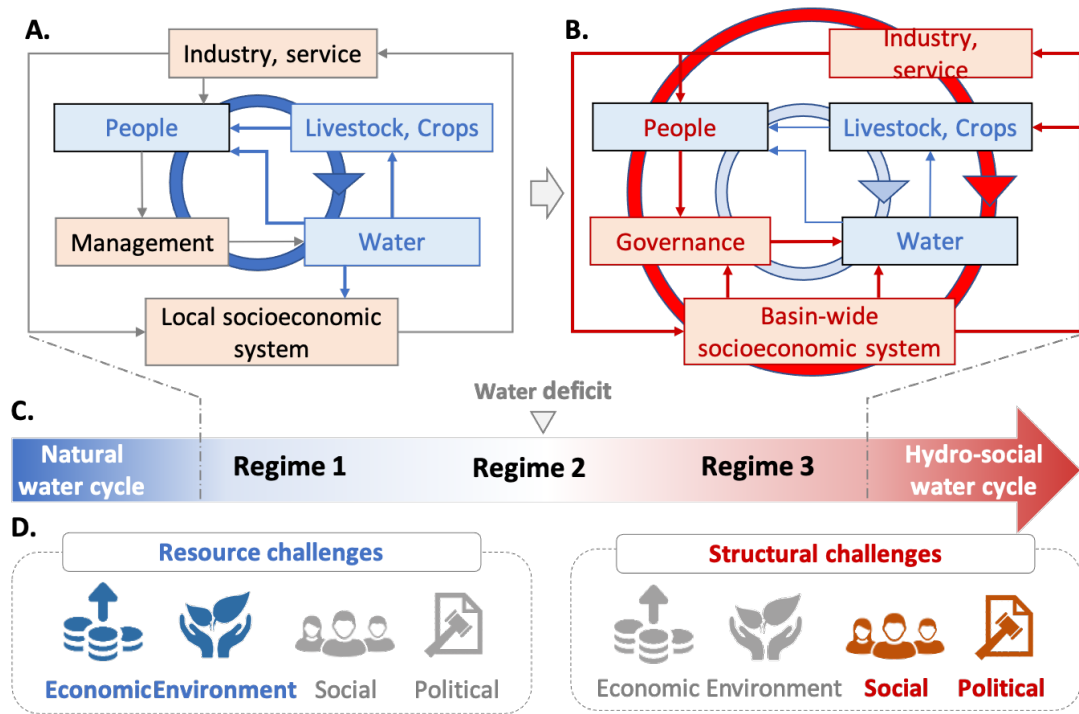


Fig. 4 Transition schema in hydrosocial cycle and water governance regimes. The natural water cycle dominates blue pathways, while socio-economic feedback dominates red pathways. **A. Early phase.** As socio-economic systems develop, non-provisioning water demand increases; simultaneously, increased adaptive capacity by engineering allows people to manage water resources to alleviate the water stress. **B. Late phase.** With further human interventions, 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 (in the YRB, they are massive supply regime, transformation governance regime, and adaptation oriented regime). 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 in the early phase and social and policy challenges in the late phase.

water supply aligned with little consideration of the irreversible changes in the human-water relationship, thus drastically increasing water demand with little consideration in basinal conservation. [53]. The rapid expansion of irrigated farmland and water diversion facilities in that decade brought the overburdened YRB close to the critical point, where keeping increasing supply to meet the unlimited demand is impractical. As a result, the over 80% surface water use then led to river depletions frequently since 1972, with ecological issues, such as wetlands shrinkage and declines in biodiversity. In addition, as the water stress also limited the industrial economy in the ascendant, the existing modes of water governance led to a social-ecological crisis and challenged sustainability rigorously [49].

The start of the governance transforming regime (P2: 1979-2001) coincided with the rising

competition for water use after the “reform and opening-up”. The results in the YRB keep in line with the suggestions from the theoretical analysis: continuous increases in water demand when the basinal total supply is stable can follow substantial changes in governance regime and the rapid enhancement in overall social adaptive capacity. Being a pioneer in shifting governing institutions, the YRB triggered a series of changes in “who gets water, when and how” during this regime: slowing growth of irrigated acreage; leading water-saving infrastructure; China’s first water quota scheme; The preliminary cross-boundaries water transfer plan and so on [46]. Consequently, though water stress remained and increased (mainly led by reducing streamflow and flexibility), the last depletion of the Yellow River in 1999 added a footnote to the climax of this transformation in water governance.

Finally, it came into an adaptation-oriented regime (P3: 2002-2013), when drastically shifting in societies occurred with stable water stress. Socio-economic trade-offs between water-dependent regions and sectors played a more important role in this regime, so water governance had to achieve efficient water allocation while balancing different purposes in the face of limited water supply [11]. Reconstruction of resources widespread in different industries and regions was calling for adaptation in water governance, where the urgent requirements of adjusting the rigid quota shares from the previous regime can be an example. Like this, many national-level governing practices were proposed under the regime because the absence of such policies with the social dilemma of high-quality development became new structural challenges for water governance [25].

In general, the shift between the governance regimes advances in parallel with the trajectory of the hydrosocial cycle (Figure 4A, B and C). The transition from biophysical control to social and institutional control of ecosystem dynamics may become increasingly widespread in social-ecological systems as increasing anthropogenic impacts gradually change the world [5, 9, 10]. With intensive anthropogenic intervention, the YRB may be the most prominent example in this general transition of water governance - “improving supply, transforming governance, and enhancing adaptation” The transition regimes identified here also echo the two kinds of major water governance challenges globally (resource challenges and structural challenges, Figure 4 and *SI Appendix* Fig. S9) [33, 38]. Our analysis suggests that the early phase of transition often leads to resource-focused challenges that result from economic and environmental change, while structural challenges dominate the later phases of governance in social and political aspects. Resource challenges, represented as water shortage and water supplying difficulties, are mainly faced by undeveloped and developing basins [2, 15, 27]. Alternatively, highly-controlled and developed basins (especially for transboundary rivers) must mainly resolve structural challenges, such as water disputes or lack of equity, and maybe in urgent need of novel flexible, efficient sociopolitical governance structures [22, 22, 37, 43]. Typically, resource and structural challenges occur sequentially during the transition of water governance

within the YRB. From the perspective of the core dimensions emphasized by the UNDP for water governance, our proposed schema connects governance challenges and the transformation of large river basins toward a hydrosocial water cycle.

3.2 Implications, limitations, and future directions

Water governance gradually becomes a national or international concern from a primarily local concern because large river basins are critical sources of ecosystem services, economic development, and human well-being. As the ubiquitous tele-coupling is rising additional water governance challenges in the tighter connected world, the transition of hydrosocial cycle and regime shifts align with different human-water relationships. Within the growing hydro-social cycle, the IWGI index depicts the increase of the adaptive capacity and sketches the transitional water governance regimes in a relatively straightforward but comprehensive way. It is important for scientists and decision-makers to recognize the changing governance challenges because models, institutions, engineering, and approaches developed under one regime are not necessarily useful under a different regime In the case of the YRB, an essential institution of water quota in the governance transforming regime became rigid during the enhanced adaptation phase. On the contrary, additional water from the ambitious cross-basins water diversion project, which originated in the phase of massive supply, can play an even more crucial role in today’s enhancing adaptation phase. Overall, applications of IWGI can induce a straightforward understanding of the water governance in the transition of the hydrosocial cycle, as descriptions from some previous conceptual frameworks suggested for all large-scale basins worldwide.

One of the main limitations of applying IWGI is abundant data availability for a long-term period. For example, we used the stress-flexibility-variability (SFV index) here, one of the most comprehensive indexes, as an indicator of the water stress dimension. With other indicators, therefore, we obtained various datasets in the YRB: water use in different regions and sectors, streamflows in different reaches, reservoir capacity and completion time, with furthermore information in social, economic, and institutional for interpretation. It

means still a gap between the comprehensively identifying and widespread application of IWGI. However, we assumed that all water governance issues are relative to “who gets water, when and how”, so water stress, purposes of water services, and water allocation patterns matter. We suggest that choices of the indicators for the dimensions can be adapted according to available datasets as the intertwines between the underlying components are much more crucial in understanding the transition of governance regimes.

For today’s world, water-related challenges remain one of the major gaps in our progress towards sustainability, while development-first strategies are still a dominant guideline in many places and maybe in opposition to improving governance [19, 28, 52]. Although most large river basins have shown improvements in water management technologies and water use efficiency along with development, freshwater use is still approaching planetary boundaries where human-water systems may collapse [3, 12, 21]. [17]. In the future, without successful governance, complicated governance structures dominated by hydrosocial water cycles may result in less flexible water use and undermine the resilience of social-ecological systems at a basin-scale [20, 26, 35]. From these perspectives, we need more flexible and comprehensive strategies to address governance challenges because the core problems are dynamic and complex [6, 7, 31, 41]. A deeper understanding of governance that incorporates ideas of non-linear change, regimes, and transitions should help to shift the focus of governance towards maintaining the resilience of the basin’s social-ecological system and improving its sustainability.

4 Conclusion

Three dimensions of water governance changes along with the hydrosocial cycle transition: water stress, services purpose, and water allocation, affecting “who gets water, when and how”. By integrating them, we developed an Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI) to detect regime shifts in water governance. Applying the index to a rapidly-changing large river basin (the Yellow River Basin, China) describes how water governance shifts between three regimes over half a

century (massive supply regime; governance transformation regime; and adaptation oriented regime, respectively). Our approach quantitatively identifies the general schema for water governance regimes in the YRB, in line with previous theoretical analysis with a representative transition process. Linking regime shifts to the underlying causes, the implementation of IWGI offers a comprehensive and straightforward way to interpret changes in intertwines of water governance, hydrosocial transition, and human-water relationships.

5 Methods

To develop a comprehensive and straightforward approach to identifying water governance regimes. First, we constructed the Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI) based on three dimensions (Stress, Purpose, and Allocation, see Figure 1). Then, we analyzed the changes in the IWGI from 1965 to 2013 using change point detection methods. The normalized Indicator for each dimension affects the IWGI by changing trends and contributions.

5.1 Integrated Water Governance Index (IWGI)

As shown in the framework Figure 1, the IWGI combines the three core dimensions (Stress, Purpose, and Allocation) of water governance. Each dimension keeps two directions, and we assumed the hydrosocial cycle aligns with one of them, respectively:

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

We selected an indicator (I_x , $x = S, P$ or A , corresponding to stress, purpose, and allocation, respectively) to quantify the dimensions 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 the average of the normalized indicators I'_x :

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

where:

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

Indicator of stress

We used the scarcity-flexibility-variability (SFV) water stress index proposed in Qin et al., 2019 to evaluate water stress (SFV_i) as the Indicator in a particular region i [35]. This metric takes into account management measures (such as the construction of reservoirs) and the impact of changes in the industrial structure of water use on the evaluation of water scarcity (see *SI Appendix* Methods S4 for details). For the whole YRB, the indicator of water stress I_S is the average of all regions' SFV-index:

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

Where SFV_i is the SFV-index for region i , and $i = 1$ to 4 refers SR, UR, MR, and DR (see *SI Appendix* Methods S1 Definition of study area).

Indicator of purpose

To quantify purpose I_P , we used Non-Provisioning purpose Shares (NPS) 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 NPS as:

$$NPS = \frac{WU_{pro}}{WU_{pro} + WU_{non-pro}} \quad (6)$$

Indicator of allocations

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

$$I_A = CEM = \sum_{i=1}^N -\log(p_i) * p_i \quad (7)$$

where p_i is the water proportion of region i to the whole basin (N regions in sum). The YRB is divided into 4 regions (i.e., $N = 4$) according to the natural and socio-economic backgrounds (see *SI Appendix XX*).

5.2 Change points detection

With no assumptions about the distribution of the data, we applied the Pettitt (1979) approach of change-point detection to detect a single change-point in hydrological time series with continuous data [32]. 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:

$$U_{t,T} = \sum_{i=1}^t \sum_{j=t+1}^T \text{sgn}(X_i - X_j), 1 \leq t < T \quad (8)$$

where:

$$\text{sgn}(\theta) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } \theta > 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } \theta = 0 \\ -1 & \text{if } \theta < 0 \end{cases} \quad (9)$$

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

$$p = 2 \exp \left(\frac{-6K_\tau^2}{T^2 + T^3} \right) \quad (10)$$

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

We used $\alpha = 0.001$ as the threshold level of the p-value (see *SI Appendix* Methods S5 for Sensitivity analysis), meaning that the probability of a statistically significant change-point judgment being valid was more than 99.9%. Since this method can only return one significant change point, we divided the series into two at that point and analyzed each series separately until all significant change points were detected.

5.3 Datasets

In order to calculate IWGI from 1965 to 2013, we need to calculate multiple indicators and sub-indicators. All the datasets used are listed in the *SI Appendix* table S1. A detailed description of the data is provided in the supplementary materials *SI Appendix* Methods S2.

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- Conflict of interest/Competing interests (check journal-specific guidelines for which heading to use)
- Ethics approval
- Consent to participate
- Consent for publication
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Appendix A Section title of first appendix

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