

Supplementary material

Table S1: Comparison of water demand and supply for Guadalajara, León and Los Altos (Source: CEA Jalisco, 2018; INEGI 2015; SAPAL, 2018; SIAPA, 2017; UNOPS, 2017)

	Population ¹	Total water supplied and per capita	Water source	Over-exploitation of aquifers ²
León	1.58 million	2.56 m ³ /s (81 hm ³ /year) 140 l/cap/d	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Aquifers 2.42 m³/s (76.6 hm³/year) 95.3% – Palote Dam 0.13 m³/year (4.2 hm³/year) 4.7% 	Deficit in Valle de León and Romita aquifers = 177 hm ³ /year
Guadalajara³	4 million	9.97 m ³ /s (313 hm ³ /year) 207 l/cap/day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lake Chapala 5.97 m³/s (188.5 hm³/year) 60% – Aquifers 2.72 m³/s (85.8 hm³/year) 27% – Calderón Dam 1.1 m³/s (35.4 hm³/year) 11% – Local springs 0.14 m³/s (4.6 hm³/year) 2% 	Deficit in Atemajac and Toluquilla aquifers = 84.5 hm ³ /year
Los Altos	0.8 million	4.6 m ³ /s (146 hm ³ /year) 493 l/cap/d	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Groundwater 1.49 m³/s (46.9 hm³/year) – Surface water 3.14 m³/s (99 hm³/year) 	Deficit in 17 aquifers = 155 hm ³ /year

1. This data is from 2015, the latest official data available.
2. The overexploitation counts all aquifer users, including agriculture and industry.
3. We consider only the municipalities of Guadalajara, Zapopan, Tonalá and Tlaquepaque.

References

- CEA Jalisco: Disponibilidad Media Anual De Aguas Subterráneas En Acuíferos Del Estado De Jalisco De Acuerdo Con Lo Publicado En El Diario Oficial De La Federación (DOF) El Día 4 De Enero De 2018. Available at: <https://www.ceajalisco.gob.mx/contenido/acuiferos/> (Accessed: 28 May 2018), 2018.
- INEGI: Encuesta intercensal 2015. Available at: "https://www.inegi.org.mx/programas/intercensal/2015/default.html", 2015.
- SAPAL: Agua Potable. Available at: <http://www.sapal.gob.mx/servicios/aguapotable> (Accessed: 20 May 2018), 2018.
- SIAPA: Informe de Actividades Anual 2017. Available at: http://www.siapa.gob.mx/sites/default/files/doctrans/informe_de_actividades_-_anual_2017.pdf, 2017.
- UNOPS: 12. Análisis de las demandas hídricas en la cuenca. Available at: <http://201.131.6.193:8001/JaliscoSostenible/informe/>, 2017.

Table S2. Detailed information on the key actors in the conflict.

Actor	Sector	Position
Universidad de Guanajuato	Academy	Although the university has not released any public position on the project, many of their academics and research groups have position themselves against the project, arguing that

		the project is not a reliable solution for León's water scarcity.
Acción Colectiva	NGO	This NGO's area of influence is Guanajuato and promotes democratization of decision-making on water resources. They are against the project because they see it as an imposition.
Guanajuato's government and State water authorities	Government	This actor has been consistently lobbying for the project throughout many administrations since the 90s.
León municipality and SAPAL	Government	This is León's water utility and have publicly declared to be in favour of the Zapotillo project as central to the city's future water security.
Guanajuato's business associations	Social actor	Most of Guanajuato's business associations have publicly declared their support for the Zapotillo project, arguing that it is instrumental for León's development.
ITESO (Jesuit University of Guadalajara)	Academy	This university has publicly released their position against the project, arguing that it is not based on principles of Integrated Water Resources Management nor respect to human rights, and that Mexican society should transit to a new water management approach based on demand management, instead of large infrastructure.
Universidad de Guadalajara	Academy	This university has publicly released their position against the project, arguing that the project is unfeasible based on the increasing water scarcity and higher temperatures in the donor basin, as well as the absence of an environmental management plan of the region.
Temacapulín	Social actor	As one of the central actors of the conflict, Temacapulín's representatives have always been against the Zapotillo dam to protect their communities from displacement.
IMDEC	NGO	IMDEC is an actor that has been supporting the affected communities of Temacapulín, Acasico and Palmarejo.
Colectivo COA	NGO	This NGO specializes in legal support for affected communities of large projects. As such, they have provided legal support to Temacapulín, Acasico and Palmarejo.
Animal farmers' associations of Los Altos	Social actor	Many associations from Los Altos have publicly been against the water transfer, arguing that the region is already affected by water scarcity.
Observatory	Social actor	Although from recent creation, the Observatory has been adamantly against the water transfer, arguing that the donor basin is already affected by water scarcity and that the region is the most important producer of animal protein in the country.
Universidad Panamericana	Academy	This university has publicly released their position in favour of the project, arguing that it is key to the water security for Guadalajara, León and Los Altos.
Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara	Academy	This university has publicly released their position in favour of the project, arguing that domestic use has priority over other kind of uses.
Chamber of the industry of construction of Jalisco	Social actor	This actor has publicly released their position in favour of the project, arguing that the benefit of the majorities should prevail over the benefit of the minorities.
College of civil engineers of Jalisco	Social actor	This actor has publicly released their position in favour of the project, arguing that it is the only feasible solution to guarantee water supply to Guadalajara, León and Los Altos.
SIAPA	Government	Guadalajara's water utility has publicly declared its support to the project as a key element in the city's water security.
Jalisco's government and State water authorities	Government	Its position has changed over time from supporting different configurations of the Zapotillo project, but always supported the project.

Conagua	Government	The official position has changed from implicitly favoring the project to being neutral when the latest administration took over.
IMTA	Government	The official position has changed from implicitly favoring the project to being neutral when the latest administration took over.
Municipality of Cañadas de Obregón	Government	This is the municipality where the Zapotillo dam is located. Because the duration of local administrations lasts only three years, there has been many administrations throughout the conflict. Some majors have shown support for the communities of Temacapulín, Acasico and Palmarejo, while others have remained neutral, or at least with low profile.
