

# Virtual groundwater transfers from overexploited aquifers in the United States

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**The High Plains, Mississippi Embayment, and Central Valley aquifer systems within the United States are currently being overexploited for irrigation water supplies. The unsustainable use of groundwater resources in all three aquifer systems intensified from 2000 to 2008, making it imperative that we understand the consumptive processes and forces of demand that are driving their depletion. To this end, we quantify and track agricultural virtual groundwater transfers from these overexploited aquifer systems to their final destination. Specifically, we determine which US metropolitan areas, US states, and international export destinations are currently the largest consumers of these critical aquifers. We draw upon US government data on agricultural production, irrigation, and domestic food flows, as well as modeled estimates of agricultural virtual water contents to quantify domestic transfers. Additionally, we use US port-level trade data to trace international exports from these aquifers. In 2007, virtual groundwater transfers from the High Plains, Mississippi Embayment, and Central Valley aquifer systems totaled 17.93 km<sup>3</sup>, 9.18 km<sup>3</sup>, and 6.81 km<sup>3</sup>, respectively, which is comparable to the capacity of Lake Mead (35.7 km<sup>3</sup>), the largest surface reservoir in the United States. The vast majority (91%) of virtual groundwater transfers remains within the United States. Importantly, the cereals produced by these overexploited aquifers are critical to US food security (contributing 18.5% to domestic cereal supply). Notably, Japan relies upon cereals produced by these overexploited aquifers for 9.2% of its domestic cereal supply. These results highlight the need to understand the teleconnections between distant food demands and local agricultural water use.**

teleconnections | groundwater depletion | virtual water | trade | food security

**G**lobalization has strengthened and expanded connections between socioeconomic systems and distant resources, by enabling consumer demand in one location to be fulfilled with production and resource use in another. The distant interactions between people and places are commonly referred to as “teleconnections” (1), which represent a specific case of the complex interactions that arise between coupled human and natural systems (2). These nonlocal interactions are increasingly widespread and lead to unanticipated outcomes with profound implications for resource consumption and sustainability (3). The global food trade system is a clear example of a teleconnected system that connects local resource use with distant consumer demands. Agricultural production is a particularly water-intensive sector of the economy (4–6), such that trade of agricultural products connects local water use for irrigation to the end consumer of the commodity, in a “virtual water trade” (7, 8). In this paper, we seek to understand how distant food demands are linked with nonsustainable local agricultural water use.

Groundwater plays a critical and ubiquitous role in human society (9), providing an estimated 36, 42, and 27% of global domestic, agricultural, and industrial water uses, respectively (10). Population growth, socioeconomic development (4, 9), and, to a lesser extent, climate change (4, 11), are expected to increase future demand for groundwater resources. Unsustainable groundwater withdrawals will limit future groundwater availability (12–15), with implications

for food security (16), because ~40% of global irrigated agriculture relies upon groundwater. Importantly, ~42% of irrigated agriculture in the United States, one of the largest food producers and the largest exporter globally, depends on groundwater (17). Furthermore, groundwater depletion will affect the ability of urban areas, over half of which are located in water scarce basins (18), to meet normal water demands and cope with climate variability, against which groundwater acts as a buffer (9).

The Central Valley (CV), High Plains (HP), and Mississippi Embayment (ME) aquifer systems (mapped in Fig. 1) enable agricultural production that is critical to local economies and contributes to US and global food security. In 2007, roughly one-fifth of the \$300 billion agricultural industry in the United States came from these aquifer regions (19, 20). The lands overlying the CV (52,000 km<sup>2</sup>), HP (450,000 km<sup>2</sup>), and ME (202,000 km<sup>2</sup>) make up 8% of US land area yet comprise 16% of US cropland. More than 17 million people live within the boundaries of these three aquifers. In addition, 25.7% of all US irrigation and livestock withdrawals and 61.1% of all groundwater irrigation and livestock withdrawals come from these three aquifers (17). Despite their importance, these aquifers are being managed unsustainably; 67% of US groundwater depletion from 1900 to 2008 and 93% of groundwater depletion from 2000 to 2008 is attributed to these three aquifers (21).

Much is understood about local food production and groundwater use in the HP, CV, and ME aquifer systems. It is now imperative to begin to evaluate the consumption side of the story and determine where these resources are being demanded if we are to better understand opportunities to slow their over-exploitation (22). To this end, we comprehensively quantify and trace virtual groundwater transfers from these aquifers to their destination of final use. To our knowledge, this is the first time this has been done and represents an important first step in

## Significance

**Irrigated agriculture is contributing to the depletion of the Central Valley, High Plains, and Mississippi Embayment aquifer systems. Agricultural production within these aquifer regions comprises a significant portion of the domestic and international cereal supply; thus, potential food security implications arise if production significantly decreases to bring groundwater withdrawals within sustainable limits. For the first time to our knowledge, this study tracks and quantifies the food and embodied groundwater resources from these aquifer systems to their final destination and determines the major US cities, US states, and countries that are currently most reliant upon them. Tracing virtual groundwater transfers highlights the role of distant demands on local groundwater sustainability and the fact that aquifer depletion must be considered within its global context.**

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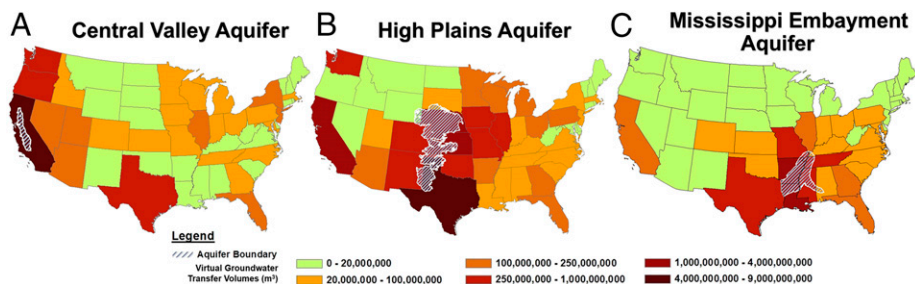
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the evaluation of consumption flows of critical groundwater resources. In this paper, we use high-resolution empirical data on domestic food transfers within the United States in 2007 (23, 24) and link this with port-level data on international exports (25). Additionally, we use national statistics on agricultural production (19) and irrigation (17) and modeled estimates of virtual water content (26, 27) to quantify virtual transfers of critical groundwater resources (refer to *Materials and Methods* and *SI Materials and Methods*). This approach enables us to identify the locations that are most responsible for—and currently most reliant upon—depletion of the HP, CV, and ME aquifers.

## Results and Discussion

**Total Virtual Groundwater Transfers.** According to the US Geological Survey (17), irrigation withdrawals from the HP, ME, and CV systems totaled 23.38 km<sup>3</sup>, 13.59 km<sup>3</sup>, and 9.34 km<sup>3</sup>, respectively (refer to the size of the circles in Fig. 2). Of these agricultural withdrawals, ~27% is lost to irrigation inefficiencies and return flows, and the rest is virtually embodied within crops and livestock (i.e., directly used for crop growth or livestock production). The groundwater footprint of a commodity is the volume of water that is virtually embodied throughout the production process of that commodity, which is also referred to as the virtual groundwater content [i.e., the volume of groundwater per commodity unit (*VGC*); refer to *Materials and Methods*]. Note that *VGC* varies by commodity and aquifer (Table 1). The total volume of virtual groundwater transfers (*VGT*; refer to *Materials and Methods*) across all aquifers is comparable to the capacity of Lake Mead (35.7 km<sup>3</sup>), the largest surface reservoir in the United States. Between 45% (HP) and 58% (CV) of agricultural groundwater withdrawals that are virtually transferred are not used within the states overlying the aquifers, but are transferred either elsewhere within the United States or exported abroad. The vast majority of *VGT* remains within the United States, with 9% exported abroad.

**Domestic Virtual Groundwater Transfers.** The annual volume of *VGT* between states overlying the aquifers is 16.9 km<sup>3</sup>, which is comparable to the annual average flow volume of the Colorado River into Lake Mead (~18 km<sup>3</sup>/y). There are 7.30 km<sup>3</sup>, 3.24 km<sup>3</sup>, and 3.47 km<sup>3</sup> transferred out of the HP, CV, and ME aquifer boundaries, respectively, which remains within the United States. This equates to 4 (CV, ME) to 10 (HP) times more groundwater being transferred out of the aquifer regions to other domestic locations than is being withdrawn for local municipal and industrial purposes combined.

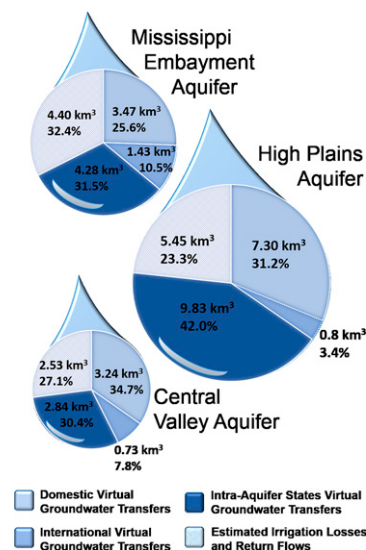
Urban areas are key recipients of *VGT*. Cities in California receive the largest share of domestic *VGT*: Los Angeles and San Francisco–Oakland receive 12.7% of all *VGT*. San Francisco–Oakland, Los Angeles, and Sacramento are the recipients of 40.5% of all *VGT* from the CV. To put the transfer volumes in perspective, around 3.4 km<sup>3</sup> of water was physically transferred in 2007 from the Sierra Nevada Mountains to Los Angeles via the Los Angeles Aqueduct system; in that same year, 1.76 km<sup>3</sup> of groundwater from the CV aquifer system was virtually transferred to Los Angeles solely in agricultural commodities.

The CV and ME aquifer systems both have one or two metropolitan areas that receive relatively large shares of *VGT* (Fig. 3). However, this is not the case for the HP aquifer system, where

the transfers are more dispersed. This is likely because the HP aquifer system extends across much of the central United States, where there are more than one or two major cities or ports that would be viable principal consumption or transfer locations. This may also be due to the fact that cereals comprise a large share of agricultural production in the HP, which can be stored and widely distributed, compared with the large quantify of fresh items produced in the CV, such as vegetables and meat (Fig. 4).

With increased intersectoral demands for water, economic development, and climate change, water is projected to become more scarce in many locations (28). Conflicts have arisen between rural and urban areas, US states, and countries regarding renewable surface water allocations. Reallocation of water from rural agriculture to urban uses is a politically charged issue but a growing trend nonetheless (29, 30). These results demonstrate that water use in rural areas already largely serves urban areas by providing food (i.e., virtual water flows to cities through food commodities).

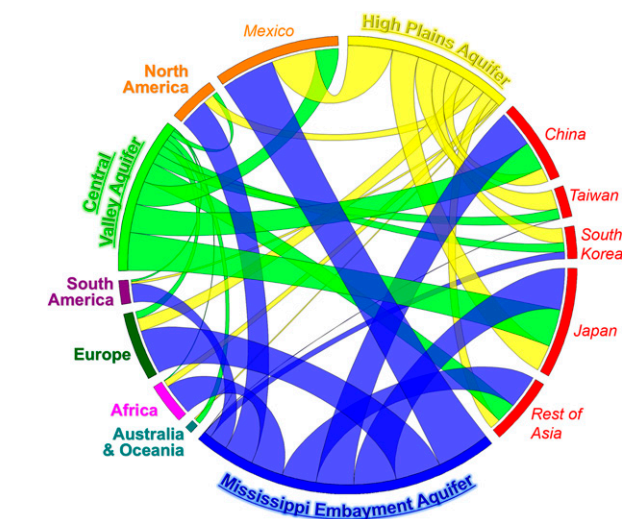
Fig. 1 highlights that domestic *VTG* are predominantly to population centers, wealthy areas, and between areas that are close in distance, as we would expect from the gravity model of trade (31). Because large volumes of water are virtually transferred within the United States, the socioeconomic and environmental challenges in both sending and receiving locations should be considered in future water supply discussions. Going forward,



**Fig. 2.** Consumption of overexploited aquifers in the United States. The size of each circle indicates the volume of groundwater withdrawals for agriculture from each aquifer as given by the US Geological Survey. In 2005, 23.38, 13.59, and 9.34 km<sup>3</sup> of groundwater was withdrawn for irrigation from the HP, ME, and CV aquifer systems, respectively. Each circle shows the proportion of groundwater withdrawals that goes to irrigation losses and return flows, intraaquifer state transfers, domestic transfers, and international exports. The ME aquifer ships the largest proportion abroad (10.5%), compared with 3.4% in the HP and 7.8% in the CV.







**Fig. 5.** International virtual groundwater transfers from overexploited aquifers in the United States. The size of the outer bar indicates the total virtual groundwater export volume for the ME aquifer (blue), HP aquifer (yellow), and CV aquifer (green). Aquifer origin volume is indicated with links emanating from the outer bar of the same color. Export destination volume is indicated with a white area separating the outer bar from links of a different color. The countries and regions that import the most virtual groundwater are provided. The links are scaled relative to the volume of virtual groundwater exported. This figure was created with network visualization software available at [circo.ca](http://circo.ca), developed by ref. 44.

the United States if we are to effectively slow their depletion. In this paper we quantified and traced virtual transfers of critical groundwater resources from the HP, CV, and ME aquifers. This is the first study, to our knowledge, to track virtual groundwater transfers to the final destination using high-resolution empirical data on food commodity transfers. This is an important first step toward empowering producers, consumers, water planners, and decision makers, by linking understanding of local production withdrawals with new knowledge on the virtual transfers of groundwater resources.

The vast majority (91%) of *VGTs* remains within the United States. Cereal production using groundwater from the HP, CV, and ME aquifers contributes to 18.5% of US cereal supply and 8.6% of US cereal exports. Because these aquifers are critical to domestic food security and trade interests, policy makers in the United States may want to consider implementing policies that properly value these groundwater reserves, particularly because they may represent a strategic domestic water source in the future. Decision makers may want to reconsider current measures that exacerbate common pool aquifer depletion, and, instead, explore opportunities to value these aquifers for their risk mitigation potential under an uncertain future. A relatively small fraction of the *VGTs* are international; however, cereals produced by these aquifers comprise a significant fraction of the cereal supply of some recipient countries, such as Taiwan, Japan, and Panama. Countries that are reliant upon these aquifers can determine their potential vulnerability to global price increases associated with eventually slowing groundwater extraction in productive locations. Policy makers in these countries may consider diversifying the sources of their food supply to mitigate supply chain risk.

One unintended consequence of the current landscape of economic and trade policies has been the overexploitation of groundwater reserves in the United States. Under an uncertain climate future, in which rain-fed agriculture is likely to experience more droughts and extreme climate events, groundwater resources may become more valuable. This buffer value of groundwater—along with other nonextractive values that promote ecosystem services—is not currently incorporated into the calculation of the costs and benefits of groundwater extraction. To better

determine the welfare tradeoffs and guide policy, the costs and benefits accrued along the entire value chain of this teleconnected system need to be taken into account. This includes the value of groundwater resources—both now and in the future—as a food security buffer to variable surface water supplies. Such an analysis must recognize that there are competing goals and multiple objectives related to water resources use, and that decision makers often work at spatial and temporal scales vastly different from those necessary to address global sustainability challenges.

## Materials and Methods

**Food Transfer Data.** Data on food transfers (in tons) were collected from the Commodity Flow Survey (CFS) for the year 2007 (23). Bilateral food transfer data are provided for 123 CFS areas within the United States and for seven agricultural commodity groups [as defined by the SCTG (23)]. These commodity groups are listed in Table 1.

Port-level export data were collected from the US Census Bureau (25). Harbors of the United States were spatially linked with CFS areas ([SI Materials and Methods](#)). Food transfers were traced from CFS areas overlying the aquifers to US ports, and then to international export destination. Overland agricultural exports to Canada and Mexico were obtained from the US Department of Agriculture (42) because only air and vessel modes of export were provided within the ref. 25 dataset.

**Virtual Groundwater Content Estimates.** The virtual water content (VWC) refers to the total water required for crop evapotranspiration and incorporation within the product divided by the crop yield (Eq. 1):

$$VWC = \frac{ET + IW}{CW}, \quad [1]$$

where  $ET$  refers to crop evapotranspiration (cubic meters),  $I/W$  refers to water incorporated within the harvested crop (cubic meters), and  $CW$  refers to crop weight (tons). The  $VWC$  is composed of two components: green and blue  $VWC$ , which correspond to rainfall and surface and/or groundwater, respectively. The  $ET$  and  $I/W$  of the green  $VWC$  is attributed to rain water, whereas the  $ET$  and  $I/W$  of the blue  $VWC$  ( $BVWC$ ) is from surface water and/or groundwater sources. This study focuses on the unsustainable groundwater component of  $BVWC$ , the  $VGC$ .

**SCTG 02 and 03.** State-level estimates of *BVWC* for items within SCTG commodity groups 02 and 03 were collected from ref. 27. Note that ref. 27 presents conservative estimates of *BVWC* because evapotranspiration only is considered and return flows are excluded. County-level irrigation withdrawals from the US Geological Survey (USGS) in the year 2005 were used to calculate the fraction of irrigation supplies from groundwater (*GF*) for each irrigated crop produced within aquifer boundaries. County-level production data (19) were used to determine a production-weighted average *VGC* across items within an SCTG commodity group:

$$VGC_{SCTG,CFS} = \frac{\sum_c BVWC_{C,CFS} \times GF_{CFS} \times P_{C,CFS}}{P_{SCTG,CFS}}, \quad [2]$$

where *VGC* refers to virtual groundwater content, *BVWC* refers to blue virtual water content, *GF* refers to groundwater fraction, and *P* refers to agricultural production (tons). Subscripts *C*, *SCTG*, and *CFS* refer to commodity item within SCTG commodity group, SCTG commodity group, and CFS area, respectively *SCTG 06 and 07*. All methods follow those of SCTG commodity groups 02 and 03, but now production-based weights are modified. Categories SCTG 06 and 07 are composed of processed and milled goods, but the production volumes of the individual products are not available. However, the product composition of SCTG 06 and 07 can be estimated based on the production of the primary crops within the CFS area that are used in the production of the processed goods. To avoid overestimating exports of virtual groundwater embodied in SCTG 06 and 07, the processed goods that require primary crops not produced within the CFS area are not given weight in the SCTG category's overall VGC, whereas products whose primary inputs are crops widely grown in CFS area are weighted according to production data. This approach discounts the exports of processed commodities whose primary crops are not grown locally.

**SC7G 04.** The feed VGC was calculated in conjunction with the livestock and meat VGC. Feed requirements per head of the primary livestock raised within the aquifer areas [i.e., cattle, equine, goats, hogs, sheep, chickens (layers and broilers), turkeys, pheasants, and quail] were collected from ref. 43. The number of livestock head produced and sold in 2007 was collected from ref. 19. The feed requirement per head of livestock was multiplied by the number of head sold to arrive at feed requirements. The amount of feed imported into the CFS area was subtracted from the CFS area's feed requirement to get the total feed that needed to

be produced within the CFS area. The vast majority of required feed (97%) was produced locally. It was assumed that SCTG 04 consists of the same feed composition as the feed required for livestock inside the CFS area. To determine VGC of feed, the required tonnage of each crop within the feed composition was multiplied by its VGC and then summed to get the total volume of virtual groundwater of feed. The total virtual groundwater volume attributed to feed was divided by the total tonnage of the feed crops to get the feed VGC for each CFS area.

**SCTG 01 and 05.** The volume of virtual groundwater of the required feed was divided by the total tonnage of livestock to get the feed component of the VGC of animal production within each CFS area. The required water for drinking and for servicing of livestock (from ref. 43) was multiplied by the fraction that was taken from groundwater (17) to get the amount of groundwater used per head of each animal. This was then multiplied by the number of each animal sold in 2007 (19) to get the volume of groundwater required for drinking and servicing for each animal type. The required groundwater volume for each animal type was summed and then divided by the total animal tonnage to get the component of the animal production VGC within each CFS area attributed to drinking and servicing. This was added to the corresponding VGC of feed production to arrive at the total VGC for all livestock sold from within the CFS area boundaries. The VGCs differ between SCTG 01 and SCTG 05 because the virtual groundwater volume is divided by the live animal tonnage for SCTG 01, whereas it is divided by the edible fraction (per ref. 26) for SCTG 05. In this way, the VGC corresponding to SCTG 01 and SCTG 05 are weighted by the tonnage sold or butchered of each animal type within the CFS area:

$$VGC_{SCTG,CFS} = \frac{(FR_{CFS} - FI_{CFS}) \times VGC_{SCTG04,CFS}}{P_{SCTG,CFS}} + \frac{\sum_e WR_{C,CFS} \times GF_{CFS} \times P_{C,CFS}}{P_{SCTG,CFS}} + \frac{\sum_e SR_{C,CFS} \times GF_{CFS} \times P_{C,CFS}}{P_{SCTG,CFS}}, \quad [3]$$

where *FR* refers to feed requirement (tons), *FI* refers to imported feed (tons), *WR* refers to livestock water requirement (cubic meters per ton), and *SR* refers to livestock servicing requirement (cubic meters per ton). All other acronyms and subscripts follow those above.

**VGTs.** The food transfer data were multiplied by the virtual groundwater content to arrive at virtual groundwater transfers:

$$VGT_{SCTG,O,D} = VGC_{SCTG,O} \times FT_{SCTG,O,D}, \quad [4]$$

where *VGT* indicates virtual groundwater transfer (cubic meters), *VGC* indicates virtual groundwater content (cubic meters per ton), and *FT* indicates food transfers (tons). Subscripts *SCTG*, *O*, and *D* indicate food commodity group, origin CFS area, and destination, respectively. In this way, *VGT* volumes are tracked from aquifer areas to their final destination.

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