**Native People** 

Supports natural control of water and believe there is a need to increase understanding of Great Lakes natural system before considering any water flow restrictions

Non Riparian Recreation

A divided group with boaters favoring maintaining high water levels while the remainder prefer lake fluctuation. Generally support diversion to protect beaches and to maintain water levels.

Riparians

Support controlling water fluctuation to stabilize water levels and support using the Chicago diversion as an emergency release valve. Lake Superior riparians opposed diversion while middle lakes riparians favor diversion. Opposition to water diversion for economic development purposes.

**Transportation** 

While there are a variety of subcategories in this group, they generally favor high water levels and do not support efforts by government to manage water levels.

Government (Non-federal) Generally favors natural water level fluctuation, concerned about Chicago diversion precedent, but favor intra basin water transfers.

As is apparent from the general summary of interest groups in Table 1, the region is divided over the issue of water diversion because of the variety of impacts that high or low water levels will have on each group, not to mention the overall environmental impact of permanently lowering the lake levels. However, the division of the opinion primarily arise over whether or not opposition to water diversion should be unconditional. The general concerns of the groups who appear to unconditionally oppose water diversion are fears of permanently lowering lake levels and the economic and environmental consequences that would follow such a lowering. Those groups who are not unconditionally opposed to water diversion seem to be more concerned about maintaining high water levels for economic reasons.

Although this divided opinion may seem to be an obstacle to devising any type of regional diversion policy, one must take into account not only the formal positions of each group but also identify specific conditions and scenarios where the stakeholders could find

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>The three groups most likely to support some form of out of basin diversion (agriculture, riparians, and non-riparian recreational groups) are not considered to be as powerful in the water diversion debate from a political standpoint as other actors such as transportation, electric power, and environmental groups (See generally The Water Network "Institutions...." report cited in footnote 36).