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Does the Spring Bear Hunt Make ‘Cents?’

By Mike Commito

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Telephone: (807) 343-8956
E-mail: northernpolicy@northernpolicy.ca
Website: www.northernpolicy.ca

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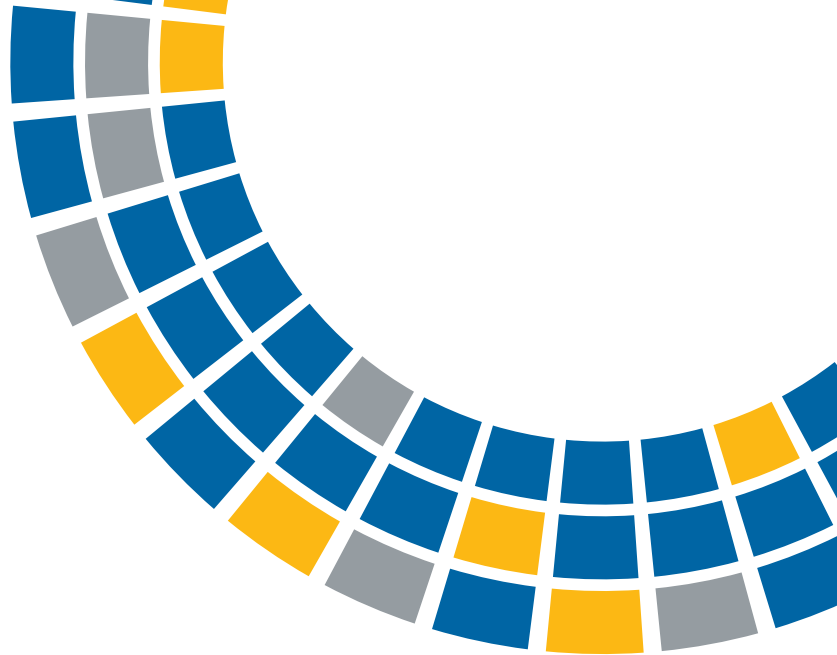
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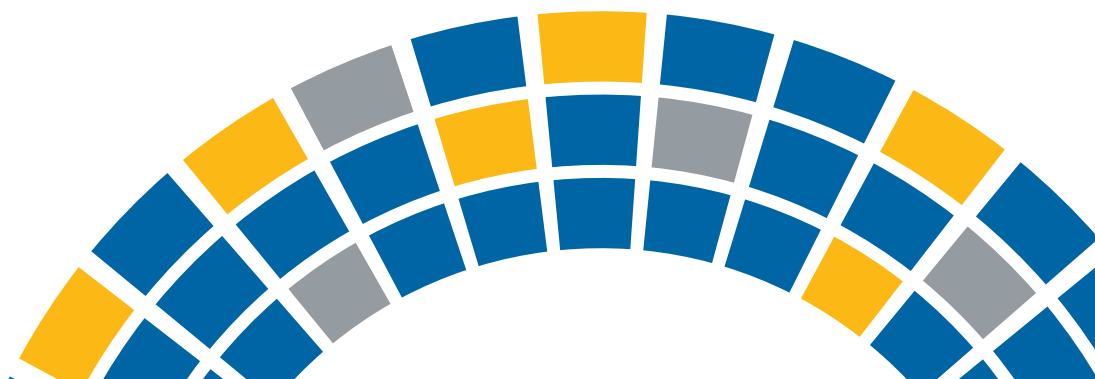
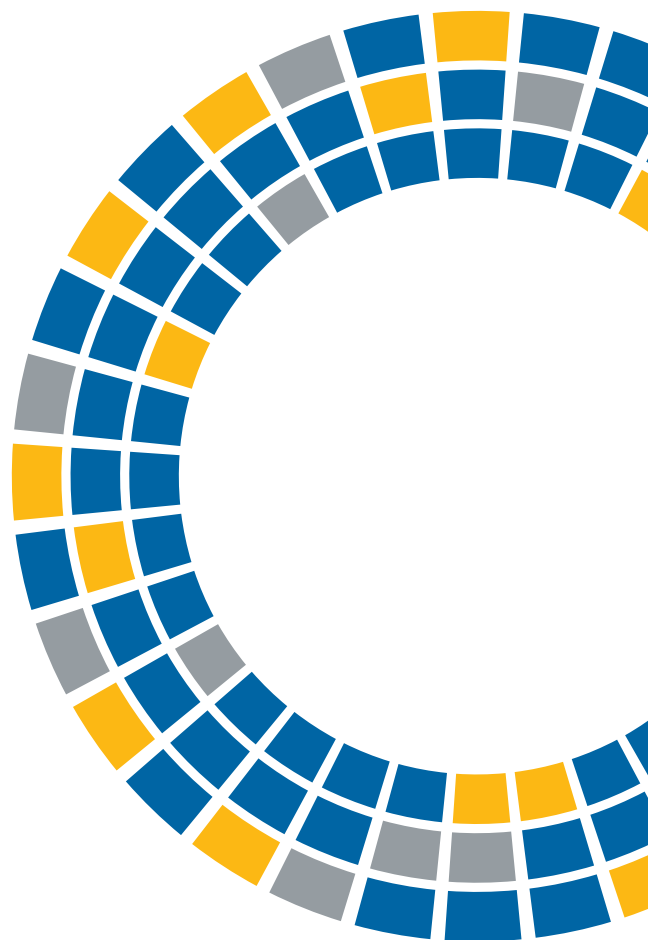
About the Author

Mike Commito



Dr. Mike Commito joined Northern Policy Institute as a policy analyst in June 2015. He has over seven years of experience in researching and writing about the history of natural resource management questions that affect northern Ontario, ranging from forestry to wildlife management.

Mike is a graduate of Laurentian University with a B.A. (2008) and a Masters (2010) in History. He recently completed his PhD in Canadian history from McMaster University.



Introduction

In November 2013, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources¹ proposed a spring bear hunt pilot program as a way to enhance public safety and mitigate human-bear conflicts in Northern Ontario. Running from May 1 to June 15 in 2014 and 2015, the pilot program was the first spring bear hunting to take place in the province since it was indefinitely cancelled in 1999. The two-year project focused on the eight wildlife management units (WMUs) adjacent to the North's five largest population centers: North Bay, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, Timmins, and Thunder Bay.

These five areas, which are the most densely populated cities in the North, have historically reported significant human-bear conflict, leading some to question the true intent of the provincial government's motivations (Walkom, 2014). Animal welfare activists have called the spring bear hunt cruel and unnecessary, citing that the timing of the hunt needlessly puts mother bears and cubs in jeopardy. Noted gameshow host celebrity and animal activist, Bob Barker, weighed in on the issue, calling it "legalized slaughter" (Romans, 2014). Others, including biologists, have also taken issue with the pilot program, dismissing the government's public safety argument and claiming that the science suggests human-bear conflicts are often the result of bears seeking out alternative food sources, at times when natural items may be unavailable, and cannot be remedied by increased hunting pressure (Hamr et al, 2015).

Conversely, a great many also welcomed the announcement. Some saw it as a legitimate way to deal with bear numbers while others, largely members of the hunting community, saw it as a positive overture that the spring bear hunt could be returning to the province in its previous capacity (Coyle, 2014). In the short-term, however, many were still dissatisfied because the pilot project was limited to resident hunters and therefore would not provide an economic stimulus to the north by recruiting non-resident tourist hunters.² Nevertheless, many have embraced the spring pilot program in its

current form, choosing to see it as the thin edge of the wedge.

With the pilot now over, the provincial government is left with several options. Will they implement a new pilot project, reinstitute the spring bear hunt with a non-resident component, or shelve it indefinitely? Preliminary information from January 2015 revealed that 847 hunters killed 193 bears in the first season of the pilot project (CBC, 2015). Information from the 2015 pilot season is not yet available, but many are already pushing for the government to reintroduce the hunt in a full capacity. Bruce MacDonald, an outfitter in Temagami wants to see the pilot "extended for a few years and then maybe opened up to foreign tourists" (CBC, 2015 May). More recently, the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters (OFAH) echoed this sentiment, suggesting that "proper black bear management in Ontario requires both spring and fall hunting" (OFAH, 2015). The organization's senior wildlife biologist, Mark Ryckman, has also gone on record to state that "we're [the OFAH] pushing for the full reinstatement of the spring bear hunt as it existed" (Steel, 2015).

The current provincial government or future governments will need to maneuver carefully around the spring bear hunt issue. Reintroducing it as a public safety program is likely to elicit derision from the scientific community, because it will not reduce human-bear conflicts, which are primarily driven by natural food shortages. Presenting it as an economic stimulus may also draw criticism from individuals and groups that believe animals should not be treated as resources. Looking at the spring bear hunt from an historic and economic perspective, *the provincial government should reintroduce the spring bear hunt with a non-resident component on a trial basis because of the economic benefit it will bring to Ontario.* This initiative would not conflict with the long-term viability of the species, as the provincial black bear population could sustain the additional hunting pressure. There are potential pitfalls to this policy, because even if the return of the spring bear hunt may not threaten the long-term viability of Ontario's black bears, the timing of the season does provide an increased risk to mother black bears and their cubs. As a result, the potential economic benefit that this hunt could provide must be weighed in concert with the social and political fallout that could arise from reimplementing.

1 Following the June 2014 general election, the provincial government changed the title of the Ministry of Natural Resources to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry.

2 A non-resident hunter in Ontario is defined as an "individual whose primary residence is not in Ontario or has not lived in the province for at least 6 consecutive months of the immediately preceding 12 months." <http://www.ontario.ca/travel-and-recreation/hunting-licence-non-residents-ontario>

A Brief History of Spring Bear Hunting in Ontario

Spring bear hunting has been a contentious issue for Ontario since the mid-1990s but it has a much longer history. It dates back to 1937 when the provincial government implemented a spring season for non-resident hunters, primarily from the United States, as a way to encourage tourism and keep the black bear population in check. Ontario residents were also able to hunt black bears, provided they had a valid gun license, but at this time only non-residents were obligated to purchase a seasonal license. As spring bear hunting increased in popularity amongst non-resident hunters, the province shifted towards a bounty program for residents from 1942 to 1961. Under the law, this system made black bears vermin and provided some Ontarians with a financial incentive to kill them.³

After the Second World War ended, non-resident enthusiasm for the sport continued to climb but the province did not officially designate the black bear as a game animal until 1961. At this point the bounty system was discontinued, bears were afforded more protection as a game species, and resident and non-resident hunting was subjected to more regulatory oversight. Throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, black bear hunting in Ontario, especially during the spring season, became synonymous with the non-resident tourist hunter.

The provincial government formally recognized the importance of non-resident black bear hunters to the tourism and outfitting industry in 1987 when it passed legislation that required non-resident hunters to use the services of a licensed outfitter when hunting bears in Ontario; thereby obligating them to inject additional money into the provincial economy. This additional spinoff was not limited to accommodations and hunting services, it also included campsite fees, food, travel, hunting supplies, taxidermy/butchering, and export fees for the animal. (Commuto, 2015). In 1989 the Ministry also introduced Bear Management Areas (BMAs) to better regulate non-resident harvest on Crown land. Tourist operators were now assigned specific sections of land, known as BMAs, where they could provide exclusive hunting services to non-residents. As part of this agreement, outfitters paid the government an annual license fee of \$2 per kilometer squared based on the size of their BMA (Armstrong, 2003). While this seems nominal, some Bear Management Areas are huge and this still represented a new stream of revenue, albeit small, for the government.

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment when opposition to spring bear hunting emerged during the 1990s in Ontario but *Globe and Mail* columnist, Michael Valpy, undoubtedly advanced the conversation when he began devoting space to the topic intermittently from 1993 to 1995.⁴ After Valpy had penned several diatribes against the spring hunt, prominent individuals such as industrialist Robert Schad and organizations that included the Animal Alliance of Canada, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (now Ontario Nature), and the International Fund for Animal Welfare entered the fray and banded together to get the hunt repealed.

The subsequent campaign focused on the ethics of baiting, but most importantly, on hunters' frequent misidentification of the sex of bears, leading to the accidental but illegal shooting of lactating sows (mother bears). Once orphaned, the overwhelming majority of cubs, still dependent on their mothers, succumbed to the conditions, a fate that opposition groups viewed as unnecessarily cruel. Using an array of propaganda from postcards to billboards and organized marches, groups opposing the hunt started pressuring the government to make a change. Despite the growing opposition, the Ministry of Natural Resources maintained that the spring season remained "the best time to hunt bears."⁵

But by late 1998, after years of protest, it was clear that the spring bear hunt issue was not going away for the provincial government. Not wanting to have to deal with a potential distraction in an election year, then Premier Mike Harris formally announced on 15 January 1999 that the Ministry would place a moratorium on the activity, largely to assuage concerns about the frequency of cub orphaning (Mackie, 1999). The response in Northern Ontario was overwhelmingly negative. Members of the hunting community, primarily outfitters and guides, cried foul, calling the decision politically motivated. Hugh Carlson, president of the Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters Association (NOTO) at the time argued that the decision "is clearly not a biological issue, it's an emotional one, it's a political one" (Girard, 1999). Up to 400 outfitters were hit by the sudden cancellation and communities in Northern Ontario lost the tourist dollars associated with the hunt, which had generated direct revenues in the millions each year. Roxann Lynn, owner of Moose Horn Lodge in Chapleau, recalled the impact on her business,

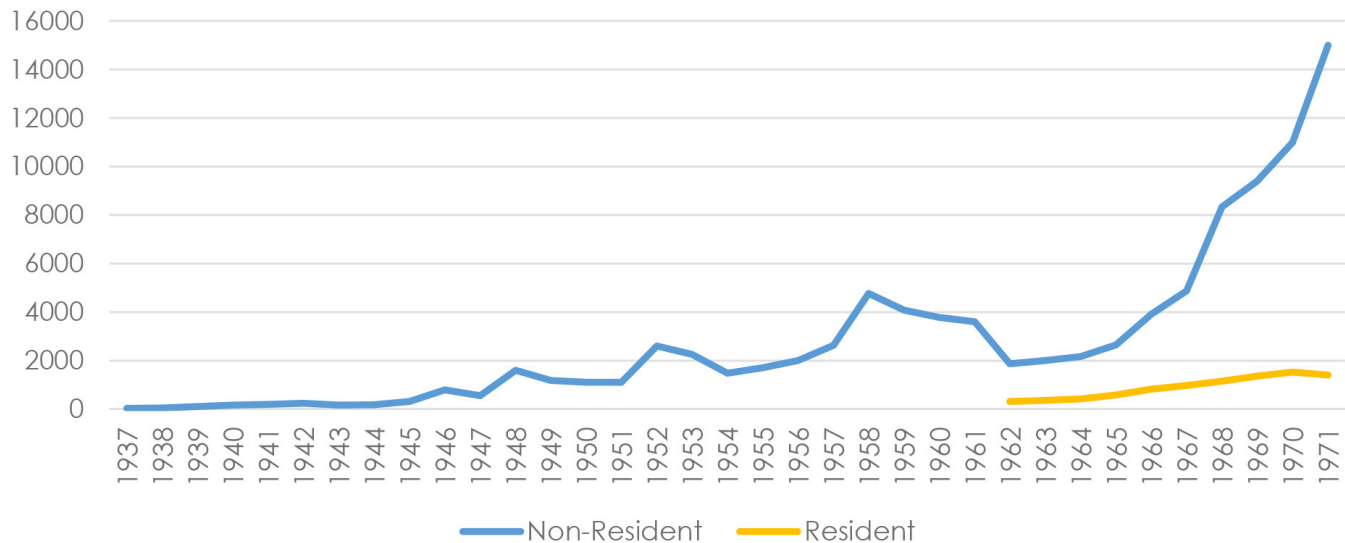
3 The bounty could only be claimed in agricultural and semi-agricultural areas in the province. Adult bears were worth \$10 and after 1946, cubs could be claimed for \$5.

4 Valpy's first column on the subject was, "It's like shooting bears in a barrel," *Globe and Mail*, 10 March 1993, A2.

5 Archives of Ontario, RG 1-8, Correspondence of the Ministry of Natural Resources, Spring Bear Hunt Letters, Temporary Box (B819594).

Figure 1

Number of Non-Resident and Resident Spring Bear Hunting Licenses Sold in Ontario, 1937-1971



Source: Compiled from the Ontario Department of Game and Fisheries annual reports, 1937-1946 and Department of Lands and Forests annual reports, 1946-1961 and Division of Fish and Game, 1961-1971.

telling the Timmins Press that approximately 30 to 40 hunters, from the United States, travelled to her lodge each spring to bear hunt and she estimated that each hunter spent \$2,000 (USD)⁶ during their week-long hunting trip in the north (Kelly, 1999). In a season where outfitters, such as Lynn, booked 30 hunters, this could have represented nearly \$80,000 USD to their business in a span of six weeks.

In 2002, a task force, known as the Nuisance Bear Review Committee (NBRC) was created by the government in order to investigate claims that the cancellation of the spring hunt led to an increase in the

bear population and a spike in the number of human-bear conflicts. The Committee's report, released in August 2003, found no connection between the cancellation of the hunt and increases in human-bear conflicts. Moreover, it concluded more broadly that spring bear hunting does not "control, limit or reduce levels of nuisance activity by black bears" (Nuisance Bear Review Committee, 2003). Nevertheless, the NBRC did advocate for a partial re-instatement of the spring bear hunt for socioeconomic reasons but this recommendation never came to pass. The ecological (real or perceived) and economic issues stemming from the 1999 moratorium remains contentious for many in the North who are still seeking some form of redress.

⁶ It should be noted that in 1999 the United States dollar was worth \$1.4857 CAD, which meant that outfitters booking clients in American dollars were taking home considerably more money (Antweiler, 2015).

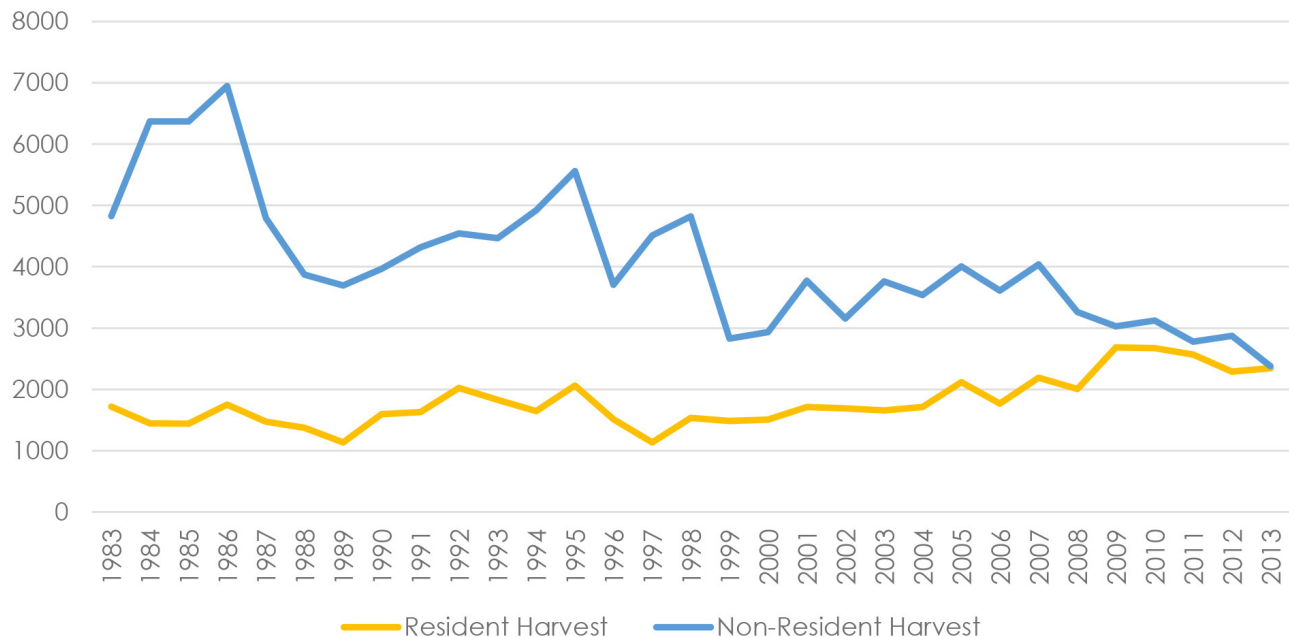
Could Ontario's Black Bears Sustain Additional Hunting Pressure?

In 2009 the Ministry of Natural Resources official estimate of the black bear population in the province was 75,000 to 100,000, but more recent research led by Dr. Martyn Obbard has now pushed the abundance estimate higher to approximately 85,000 to 105,000 black bears.⁷ This number indicates a robust black bear population and Ontario boasts the second largest in

Canada, behind only British Columbia (Taylor, 2006). In terms of harvest thresholds, the Ministry of Natural Resources has previously stated that the sustainable annual provincial harvest rate is roughly 10 percent of the population (*Backgrounder*, 2009). It is important to note that the population dynamics of black bears are quite different in distinct forest zones. As a

Figure 2

Estimated Black Bear Harvest by Resident and Non-Resident Hunters in Ontario, 1983-2013



Source: Figures were provided by the Wildlife Section of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry. (Harvest numbers are estimates based on extrapolations from provincial bear hunter questionnaires and are therefore subject to statistical error. Harvest numbers have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Hunter questionnaires have been mandatory for non-residents since 1987 and voluntary for residents until 2005).

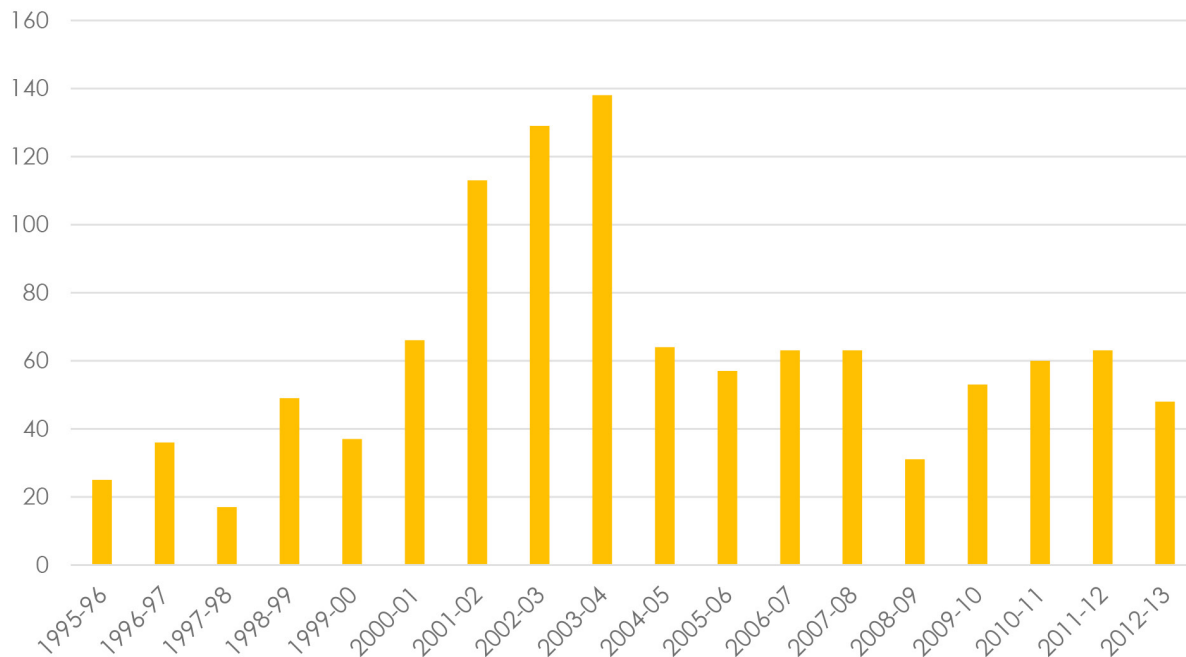
7 The estimate of 85,000 to 105,000 is based on a multi-year project (2004-2011) where Dr. Martyn Obbard, Dr. Eric Howe, and Dr. Christopher Kyle developed WMU-specific abundance estimates over the huntable range of black bears in Ontario using DNA analysis of hair samples from barbed-wire hair traps. The following articles detail the design and analytical approach to this project but do not explicitly reference the abundance estimate of 85,000 to 105,000. The paper that references this estimate is currently in preparation and will be published in the future. Please see, Martyn E. Obbard, Eric J. Howe, and Christopher J. Kyle, "Empirical comparison of density estimators for large carnivores," *Journal of Applied Ecology* 47 (2010): 76-84 and Eric J. Howe, Martyn E. Obbard, and Christopher J. Kyle, "Combining data from 43 standardized surveys to estimate densities of female American black bears by spatially explicit capture-recapture," *The Society of Population Ecology* 55 (June 2013): 595-607.

result, while the 10 percent harvest rate is generally applicable across the province, it could be too high in certain parts of Ontario's Boreal Forest region, so it is important to keep stock of these local variances in terms of acceptable harvest rates.⁸ In the eight years leading up to the spring bear hunt cancellation, it was estimated that an average of 6,783 bears were harvested annually by resident and non-resident hunters. Roughly 60 percent of this annual harvest was

8 Part of ongoing email-discussion that the author had with a research scientist in the Wildlife Research and Monitoring Section of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry.

Figure 3

Estimated Number of Black Bears Harvested by Trappers in Ontario, 1995-2012



Source: Figures were provided by the Wildlife Section of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry. (These numbers include bears that were shot or trapped under a trapping license. End-of-season trap reporting for black bears has been mandatory since 1998-99).

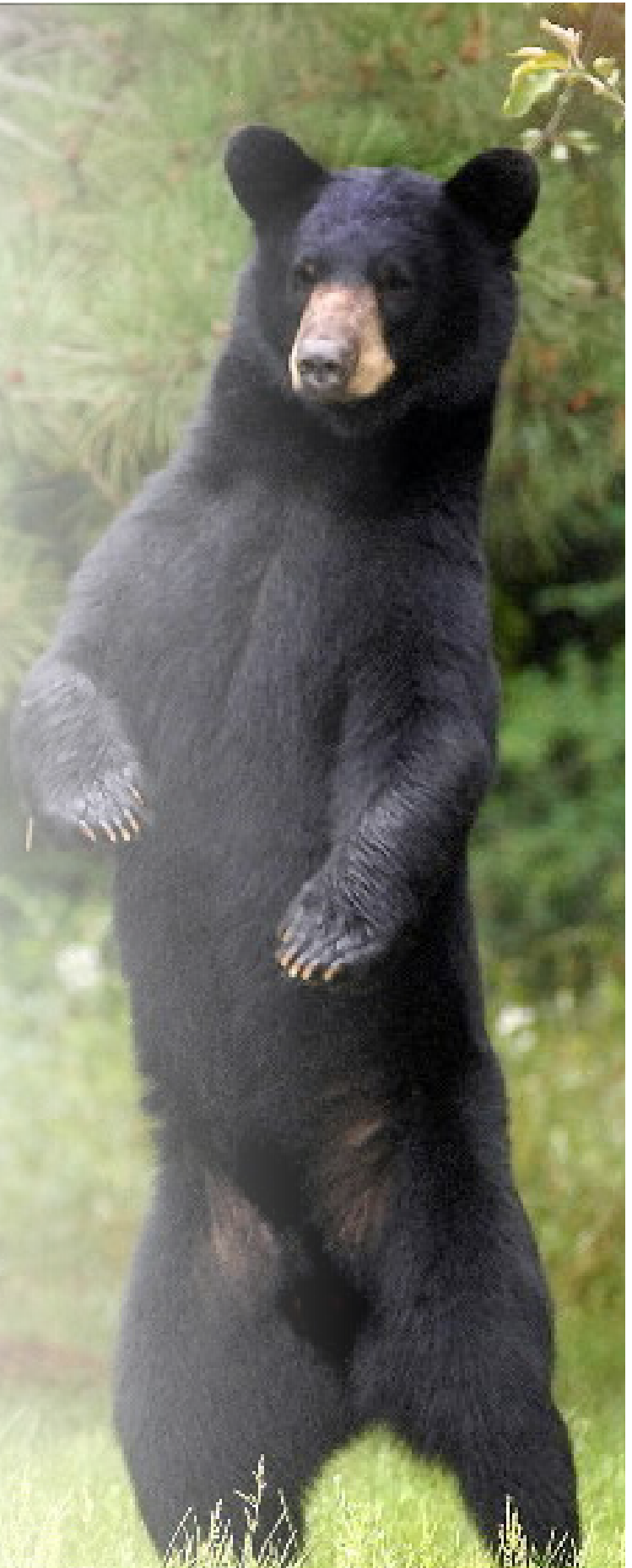
taken during the spring hunting season, primarily by non-resident hunters (*Backgrounder*, 2009). Going back through the last fourteen seasons from 1999 to 2012, the estimated combined legal harvest for trappers and hunters is 75,754 black bears. This gives an expected annual average of 5,411 and therefore places Ontario in an acceptable harvest range of 5-6 percent of the total population.⁹ From 1999 to 2013, 62 percent of the estimated black bear harvest were taken by non-resident hunters. Even in the absence of a spring season, the non-resident tourist hunter still remains the most significant driver of black bear hunting harvest in the province.

Based on the current provincial abundance estimates, Ontario's black bears could withstand the additional hunting pressure that would be introduced through the restoration of a spring bear hunt. However, black bears are long-lived mammals with low reproductive rates and population dynamics are sensitive to over-harvest because of these unique life history characteristics. As a result, management considerations must be weighed

carefully in order to ensure the long-term viability of the animal, particularly since "population growth rate is most affected by mortality/survival rates of adult females" (*Backgrounder*, 2009). One of the chief concerns about a spring season is the potential for cub orphaning. The orphaned cub issue resonates with many people in the province and this was, indisputably, the determining factor that led to the cancellation of the hunt in 1999. While it is illegal to shoot a female bear that is accompanied by a cub during the spring season, females may appear at a hunting site without their cubs. As a result, hunters may misidentify the sex of the animal and inadvertently kill a mother bear, leaving the cubs orphaned and significantly increasing their mortality rate (Morrison, 1996). Given the vulnerability of cubs during the spring season and the importance of females to population recruitment, any reinstitution of a spring season should be a male only harvest. While misidentification may still invariably occur, the penalty for killing females, especially lactating sows, should be significantly increased under the *Fish and Wildlife Conservation Act*. Moreover, it is recommended that the province revisit some of the suggestions made by the 2003 Nuisance Bear Review Committee Report, which have been adapted to create potential safeguards for a prospective spring hunting season. These suggestions should include:

⁹ It is important to note that harvest figures are based on extrapolations from provincial bear hunter questionnaires. These questionnaires have been mandatory for non-resident and resident hunters since 1987 and 2006, respectively. These numbers are by no means definitive and are therefore also subject to statistical error. Mandatory end-of-season reporting for trapping has been required by law since 1998-99.

- *Developing and implementing a mandatory black bear hunting education course.* This would provide prospective hunters with the proper education and tools to distinguish male and female black bears and also offer additional information on hunting regulations, techniques, and safety. It could be modelled on Ontario's existing course for turkey hunting.
- *Requiring hunters to pursue black bears over bait, particularly suspended bait sites.* While some see the tactic of baiting as an ethical and sporting conundrum, it could provide hunters with a better opportunity to identify the sex of a black bear. In 2008 Dr. Martyn Obbard and a team of researchers published a study that examined the potential benefits that suspended baiting could provide in this capacity. They concluded that the proportion of female harvest was similar at both suspended and grounded bait sites but paired with an education course, suspended baiting could have merit.
- *Scaling back the fall bear hunt.* The autumn season was previously extended in 1999 and 2004 to assuage hunters and outfitters after the spring hunt cancellation. The upcoming fall season runs for 11 weeks (August 15 to October 31) in most WMUs in northern Ontario and 11-12 weeks (September 1 or 8 to November 30) in WMUs in southeastern and southwestern Ontario that offer black bear hunting opportunities. If a spring season is reintroduced, the fall bear hunt should be scaled back to avoid the potential for overhunting. It is therefore recommended that the length of the fall season should be reassessed, particularly the start date, in order to limit the amount of sustained hunting pressure on the animal.



The Economics of Spring Hunting

History has demonstrated that non-resident bear hunting, primarily individuals from the United States, has been big business for outfitters and guides in Northern Ontario, particularly during the spring season (1937-1998). In the wake of the moratorium in 1999, resident and non-resident hunters have participated in extended fall seasons. The most recent data from the Ministry has placed the number of resident and non-resident hunters in 2012 at 16,378 and 4,843 respectively. Based on the cost of licenses for the 2012 season, this amounts to an estimated \$1,825,693 in license sales alone. From 1999 to 2012, resident hunters spent \$6.5 million and non-resident hunters spent \$16.4 million on fall bear hunting licenses. With just a cursory look at licensing sales, it is clear that non-residents are still injecting the most money into the province when it comes to bear hunting.

To calculate how much total cash is being pumped into the provincial economy by resident and non-residents hunters, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry has previously distributed

socioeconomic hunter questionnaires (Provincial Mail Surveys). Using returned responses and extrapolations from total license sales, the Ministry estimates the total expenditures (including license fees) made by all hunters. The last survey from the spring bear hunt era, 1997, estimated that residents spent \$5.1 million and non-residents spent \$25.2 million in both the spring and fall seasons for a combined total of \$30.3 million (Backler and Graveline, 2003). Since the cancellation, surveys carried out in 1999 and 2000 reveal a drop in total black bear hunting expenditures. In the first season without a spring bear hunt (1999), the Ministry estimated that non-resident expenditures had dropped by almost half, down to \$14.3 million, from the previous survey conducted in 1997. That year, resident and non-resident hunters spent a combined \$20.5 million, almost \$10 million less than the last available estimate. A 2000 survey yielded similar results, estimating that residents spent \$6.1 million and non-residents spent \$15.5 million for a combination of \$21.6 million (Backler and Graveline, 2003).

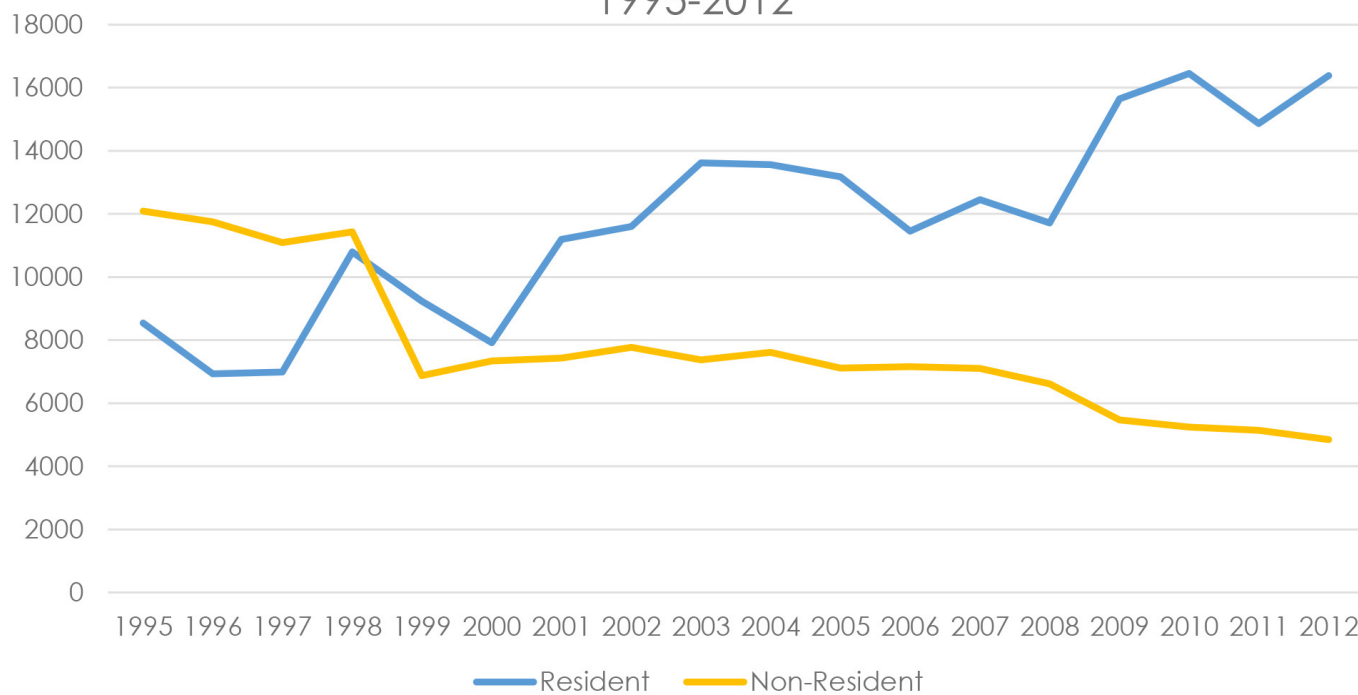
Figure 4

Ontario Black Bear Resident and Non-Resident License Sales, 1995-2012



Source: Figures were provided by the Wildlife Section of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry. The author's calculations are based on the total number of licenses sold each season and the value of each license from year to year.

Figure 5

Total Black Bear Hunters (Spring and Fall) in Ontario,
1995-2012

Source: Figures were provided by the Wildlife Section of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry.

The most recently available Provincial Mail Survey, from 2002, found that resident hunters spent \$8.8 million on black bear hunting while non-residents spent more than double that at \$18.1 million. On a per capita basis this breaks down to an average of \$864 spent by each resident hunter and a whopping \$2,280 by non-resident hunters.¹⁰ As a result, while resident participation in Ontario black bear hunting has significantly increased over the last ten years, non-resident hunters have historically, and continue to be, the most valuable clientele to northern Ontario's tourist and guiding industry. Recent trends have shown that the popularity of fall bear hunting amongst residents has increased

considerably and while they do not contribute to the provincial economy on the same scale as non-residents, they represent a large market that has gone untapped since 1998. Based on the longstanding historical patronage of non-resident hunters in both the spring and fall bear hunting seasons, and renewed resident interest, it is probable that the return of a province-wide spring hunt with a non-resident component would generate additional revenue in the millions for the province.¹¹ As *The Chronicle-Journal* recently noted, it could be a "tourism boost in the making" (*Chronicle-Journal*, Aug. 12, 2015).

¹⁰ Results from the 2002 Provincial Mail Survey were obtained from the Wildlife Section of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry.

¹¹ All dollar figures in this paragraph are reported in Canadian dollars

Social Importance of Black Bears

“Historical opposition to spring hunting in Ontario also shows that a great number of people value the black bear from a non-economic perspective. For many, this social significance is not derived from the animal's importance as a game species. Instead, black bears are seen as an essential part of Ontario's natural ecosystem and the bear's presence enhances experiences in the wilderness.”



Beyond the economics of spring bear hunting, the black bear also carries a social importance in the region. For indigenous peoples, black bears often hold incredible value inside and outside the realm of hunting. While not all First Nations hunt black bears, the animal is universally venerated and usually occupies a significant position in their culture. Recently, philosopher Michael Pomedli has studied the importance of bears to the Anishinaabeg. He suggests that bears have been notable figures that are replete with meanings that range from ceremonial, symbolic, medicinal to celestial (Pomedli, 2014). First Nations who traditionally hunted black bears often did so in the early spring as they believed that was the best time to eat it and with the animals often still near their dens they could determine the location of the bear and increase their chance of success (Rockwell, 1991). Aboriginal hunters still pursue bears in the spring but this varies from nation to nation as some societies will not hunt black bears during any time of year because of the animal's importance to their culture.

Historical opposition to spring hunting in Ontario also shows that a great number of people value the black bear from a non-economic perspective. For many, this social significance is not derived from the animal's importance as a game species. Instead, black bears are seen as an essential part of Ontario's natural ecosystem and the bear's presence enhances experiences in the wilderness.

It is important to remember that wildlife management decisions, particularly those about hunting, should not be made in a vacuum. Although the black bear has economic value for the province, it is necessary to consider the wider impact of these policies beyond the hunting community. Ontario is home to almost 13 million people, the overwhelming majority of whom do not hunt, but still assign value and importance to black bears in a myriad of ways. As the province's chief steward, the MNRF must implement policy that will derive the greatest value from the natural resources, but also ensure their long-term viability for their highly diverse population of constituents.

Recommendations

Above all, Ontario's black bear management program needs to adhere to the guiding principles laid out in the province's 2009 proposal for enhanced management: "Black bears have an intrinsic value within natural ecosystem and positive socio-economic value when managed by sustainable use principles" (Framework, 2009). Regardless of the economic potential that they possess, black bears need to be managed in perpetuity so that they remain an integral part of Ontario's rich natural heritage.

Based on the available data, it is recommended that the Ontario government should implement a spring bear hunt with a non-resident component on a trial basis because:

- It will generate millions of dollars annually for the province and would be a boon to many communities in northern Ontario where there is a strong outfitting industry.
- The province's black bear population is robust enough to sustain additional hunting pressure. Bringing back the spring hunt on an indefinite measure provides the Ministry with more flexibility in order to study the impact of the hunt and ensure that it is not adversely affecting local black bear populations.
- The provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland and Labrador all offer annual spring black bear hunting opportunities.

Increased safeguards and educational initiatives, proposed on pages 10-11, can be used to minimize negative outcomes on female bears and cubs during the spring season. The government should also give consideration to reinvigorating the Bear Wise program as educational and outreach initiatives, which are just

"Based on the available data, it is recommended that the Ontario government should implement a spring bear hunt with a non-resident component on a trial basis."

as important to management as regulated harvesting. Education is a powerful tool and it is essential that the Ministry strive to maintain a framework that promotes coexistence in the long-term. By providing Ontarians with the resources to better understand and appreciate black bears, they will be better equipped to coexist with bears across the North. The government's pilot program was implemented under the guise of public safety, suggesting that black bears were increasingly becoming a threat to people in Northern Ontario. Black bears are smart, large, and powerful animals that are capable of being dangerous, but conflating the spring bear hunt with public safety promotes a misunderstanding of the animal that has ramifications beyond the hunting season. If the province is to implement a spring hunt, then it should be to provide additional recreational and subsistence hunting opportunities for Ontarians, as well as drawing economic benefits for the province. This prospective hunting season should not be used as a substitute for more comprehensive management and the government of the day needs to recognize this moving forward.

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Who We Are

Internally, Northern Policy Institute seeks to be as “lean” as possible with much of the work contracted out to experts in the fields under consideration. This approach avoids the risks associated with large bureaucratic organizations. It also allows Northern Policy Institute to flexibly respond across a wide range of issues while also building up in house and regional expertise by matching bright young minds on temporary placements and project specific work with talented experts who can supply guidance and coaching.

Some of the key players in this model, and their roles, are as follows:

Board: The Board of Directors sets strategic direction for Northern Policy Institute. Directors serve on operational committees dealing with finance, fundraising and governance, and collectively the Board holds the CEO accountable for achieving our Strategic Plan goals. The Board's principal responsibility is to protect and promote the interests, reputation, and stature of Northern Policy Institute.

CEO: Recommends strategic direction, develops plans and processes, and secures and allocates resources to achieve it.

Advisory Council: A group of committed individuals interested in supporting, but not directing, the work of Northern Policy Institute. Leaders in their fields, they provide advice on potential researchers or points of contact in the wider community.

Research Advisory Board: A group of academic researchers who provide guidance and input on potential research directions, potential authors, and draft studies and commentaries. They are Northern Policy Institute's formal link to the academic community.

Peer Reviewers: Ensure specific papers are factual, relevant and publishable.

Authors and Research Fellows: Provide independent expertise on specific policy areas as and when needed.

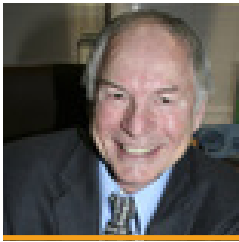
Standing engagement tools (general public, government stakeholders, community stakeholders): Ensure Northern Policy Institute remains responsive to the community and reflects THEIR priorities and concerns in project selection.

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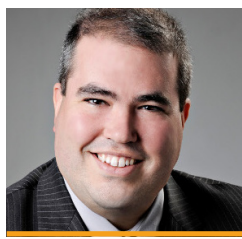
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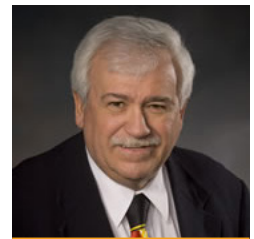
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