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Crowding, Public Image, and Bureaucracy: Issues in the Montana Outfitting Industry

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Abstract

Outfitters provide guiding services to individuals for their hunting and fishing experiences. Little is known about the individuals employed in this industry and the issues they must contend with. This research took a qualitative approach to data collection and identified issues in the Montana outfitting industry. Data were obtained from a statewide mail survey of licensed outfitters. Analysis revealed four major issues affecting the outfitting industry in Montana. These issues included negative public perceptions of outfitters, strained relations with resident sportsmen, overregulation of the outfitting industry, and problems associated with too many outfitters working in the state.

Keywords: fishing, guiding, hunting, Montana, natural resources, outdoor recreation, outfitters

1.0 Introduction

Outfitters are outdoor recreation service providers who help individuals with their hunting, fishing, and other outdoor experiences such as summer wilderness pack trips. Despite the prevalence of these individuals in the outdoor recreation industry, scant research has been directed toward the study of outfitters and the outfitting industry (Adams, 2000; Greer, Miller, & Yeager, 1999, Hussain, Munn, Grado, & Henderson, 2008; Nickerson, Oschell, Rademaker, & Dvorak, 2007).

Outfitting activities are common in rural areas of the world where natural resources are abundant, including parts of North America as well as Africa where safaris are popular (Baker, 1997; Bryant, 2004; Bryant & Forsyth, 2005; Dowsley, 2009; Dunk, 2002; Garland, 2008; McGrath, 1996). Hunting guides have been used in the United States since the nineteenth century (Herman, 2005; Johnston, 2007; Jones, 2010; Lowrey, 1986; Randall, 1960; Rattenbury, 2008). Lowrey (1986, p. 2) provided a detailed description of occupational duties performed by Maine guides:

Renowned as an expert woodsman, the Maine guide took clients—or “sports”—into the deep woods in search of quarry and adventure. The guide served both as adviser and servant; he showed his sports areas where fish, deer, and bear could be found, suggested methods that would lead to a successful hunt, cooked meals, prepared camp, fixed equipment, and paddled or poled the canoe into the wilderness. The guide, a unique regional adaptation to the rising national interest in hunting and outdoor life in the late nineteenth century, became an institution in the northern woods and a key component of interior Maine’s tourist industry.

Hunting and fishing outfitters now provide guiding services in rural regions of the U.S. (Eliason, 2008; Hussain et al., 2008; Wright & Sanyal, 1998). Montana law (Montana Code Annotated, 2009a) defines an outfitter in the following manner:

“Outfitter” means any person, except a person providing services on real property that the person owns for the primary pursuit of bona fide agricultural interests, who for consideration provides any saddle or pack animal; facilities; camping equipment; vehicle, watercraft, or other conveyance; or personal service for any person to hunt, trap, capture, take, kill, or pursue any game, including fish, and who accompanies that person, either part or all of the way, on an expedition for any of these purposes or supervises a licensed guide or professional guide in accompanying that person.

Outfitters assist their customers by sharing techniques for fishing and hunting, and their responsibilities also include providing clients with food, transportation, lodging, and equipment (Dickson, 2010; Dizard, 2003; Donihee, 1996; Hussain et al., 2008; Lowrey, 1986). Since they may not be knowledgeable about the wildlife and geography of a given area, nonresident hunters and anglers are especially likely to benefit from the services provided by outfitters (Adams, 2000; Dizard, 2003; Donihee, 1996; Wright et al., 1998).

While fishing and hunting are popular outfitting activities, individuals also utilize the services of outfitters for other recreational activities such as rafting (Hjerpe & Kim, 2007), mountaineering (Davidson, 2008), trips into wilderness areas (Gray, 1992; Roggenbuck, 2000), and wildlife watching (Knight, 2009). Prior research on guides and outfitters has examined other topics such as economic impacts of outfitters (Adams, 2000; Hjerpe et al., 2007; Hussain et al., 2008) and the social psychology of guides (Holyfield & Jonas, 2003; Sharpe, 2005).

Given the rising number of individuals who are participating in outdoor recreation activities and making competing demands on natural resources, knowledge regarding the activities and viewpoints of diverse stakeholder groups is essential for natural resource agencies and outdoor recreation planners as they manage activities in a changing social and political milieu (Dunk, 2002; Granfield & Colomy, 2005; Haggerty & Travis, 2006; Robbins, 2006; Robbins & Luginbuhl, 2005; Wright et al., 1998).

1.1 The Study Site: Montana

Montana can be characterized as a large, rural state. In terms of human population, it is one of the smallest states with just over one million residents. Recent decades have witnessed change in the social fabric of communities as newcomers are migrating to the state and not only purchasing ranches but also bringing different values (Haggerty et al., 2006; Hines, 2007; Robbins, Meehan, Gosnell, & Gilbertz, 2009).

Montana possesses abundant natural resources and a spectacular landscape (Ellard, Nickerson, & Dvorak, 2009; Merriam, 1989; Randall, 1960; Wilton & Nickerson, 2006). Wildlife issues such as wolf and bison management are important in the state politically and receive considerable attention at both the local and national levels (Bidwell, 2010; Brownell, 1987; Haggerty et al., 2006; Kelley, 2001; Robbins, 2006; Robbins et al., 2005; Scarce, 1998; Scarce, 2005; Shanahan, McBeth, Tigert, & Hathaway, 2010). Hunting and fishing are popular recreational activities in Montana (Eliason, 2008; U.S. Department of the Interior, 2006b; Wright et al., 1998). The state has large populations of a wide array of game species sought after by hunters such as mule deer, whitetail deer,

elk, moose, bighorn sheep, rocky mountain goats, black bears, mountain lions, and wolves (Fletcher, 1929; Koch, 1941; Randall, 1960). The state's lakes and reservoirs contain numerous fish species and provide for a diversity of angling experiences. Montana has rivers that provide world class trout fishing, including the Beaverhead, Big Hole, Bighorn, Madison, Missouri, Stillwater, and Yellowstone.

Despite its abundance of natural resources, Montana jobs in general are among the lowest paying in the United States (Fritz, 2002; Malone, Roeder, & Lang, 1991). Scholars have noted that the outfitting industry makes important contributions to the statewide economy and travel industry as well as to the economies of small rural communities in the state (Nickerson & Dubois, 2008; Wilton & Nickerson, 2006).

1.2 Theoretical Perspective

To explore issues in the outfitting industry, this study was guided by a symbolic interaction theoretical perspective (Capek, 2006; Granfield et al., 2005; Lawson, Lawson, & Leck, 2005; Leong, 2010; Scarce, 1998; Shaffir & Pawluch, 2003). Symbolic interaction is concerned with the meanings of events in peoples' lives (Shaffir et al., 2003). Shaffir et al. (2003, p. 906) described how this perspective helps us to understand the meaning of work, and stated:

...symbolic interactionism provides a way to understand, from the perspective of those who do it, the meanings that work has in their lives. It is an approach that concerns itself with the significance we attach to the work we do, the rewards we derive from it, the obstacles and problems we confront in doing it, the goals and ambitions we have for it, and the context that it provides for so many of our social interactions.

One important area that has not been explored is contemporary issues affecting individuals employed in the outfitting industry. Such issues have to do with problems or controversies that impact the lives of those who work in this occupation. Outfitting is a traditional rural occupation in an increasingly urban, postmodern society (Borgmann, 2000). The past several decades have witnessed significant social change with respect to behaviors, values, and laws associated with hunting and fishing in American society (Freyfogle & Goble, 2009; Heberlein, 1991; U.S. Department of the Interior, 2006a).

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe contemporary issues in the Montana outfitting industry. The present knowledge base about outfitters and outfitting is limited. Given the economic and cultural importance of outfitting and hunting and fishing activities in the state, there is a need to understand the perspectives of diverse stakeholder groups, including outfitters. The establishment of a knowledge base concerning these issues will be useful for wildlife organizations as well as regulatory agencies charged with setting policy for outfitting activities.

2.0 Methods

This research took a qualitative approach to data collection. A list of licensed outfitters in Montana in 2004 was obtained from the Montana Department of Labor and Industry (N = 638), and a survey was mailed to all of these individuals in 2005. A total of 156 outfitters completed the survey, which resulted in a response rate of 24%. The survey contained mostly open-ended questions that dealt with the job of outfitter. To obtain information about issues in the outfitting industry, one of the questions asked outfitters:

“What are some of the important problems or issues the outfitting industry is facing?” This format allowed respondents to provide answers in their own words, so the meaning of issues could be obtained in rich detail (Fowler, 1993).

To analyze data, the author examined all written responses provided by outfitters in the survey with the intent of identifying common themes. Data were placed into categorical issues based on themes that emerged from the analysis. Summarization and interpretation of comments is provided by the author.

3.0 Results and Discussion

The average age for outfitters in the study was 51. These individuals had an average of nearly 19 years experience as an outfitter. The average age at which respondents decided to become an outfitter was 30. Table 1 provides demographic data on outfitters. Outfitting in Montana is a male dominated occupation. The overwhelming majority of outfitters were male (97%) while only 3% were female. Twenty-two percent of outfitters had graduated from high school, 33% had completed some college, and 45% had an educational attainment of a BS/BA degree or higher. Most outfitters (80%) were married, 11% reported they were divorced, and 7% indicated they were single (never married). Slightly over half (51%) of outfitters reported total household incomes of \$50,000 or more, while 49% earned \$49,999 or less. In terms of race 99% of outfitters were Caucasian and 1% Native American.

Table 1. *Demographic Characteristics of Montana Outfitters in 2005*

		Frequency	Percent
Sex	Male	149	97
	Female	5	3
Education	Some High School	1	1
	High School Graduate	33	22
	Some College	51	33
	BS/BA Degree	44	29
	Graduate Work	7	5
	Graduate Degree	17	11
Marital Status	Married	122	80
	Single (never married)	10	7
	Separated	1	1
	Divorced	17	11
	Widowed	2	1
Income	\$14,999 or less	5	3
	\$15,000 - \$24,999	17	11
	\$25,000 - \$34,999	23	15
	\$35,000 - \$49,999	28	19
	\$50,000 - \$74,999	39	26
	\$75,000 or more	38	25
Race/Ethnicity	Caucasian	148	99
	Native American	1	1

Data analysis revealed four major issues confronting the outfitting industry in Montana. These included negative public perceptions of outfitters, strained relations with resident sportsmen, overregulation of the outfitting industry, and problems associated with too many outfitters working in the state. Comments from outfitters across all of these categories suggest that the outfitting industry is struggling to survive in the wake of tremendous social, political, and demographic change in the state. Each of these issues is discussed below.

3.1 Negative Public Perception of Outfitters

A major issue for Montana outfitters is that of a poor public perception of the outfitting industry. Outfitters in Montana depend on the state's wildlife resources because many individuals who hire outfitters there do so for fishing and hunting activities, and the majority of these clients are nonresidents (Adams, 2000; Author, 2008; Dickson, 2010; Haggerty et al., 2006; Robbins, 2006; Robbins et al., 2005; Wright et al., 1998). For example, in the study of Montana wildlands outfitters by Adams (2000, p. 37) he stated "...outfitters believe 87.2% of clients are from out of state." In addition, Wright et al. (1998, p. 39) reported that only 3% of the guided anglers in their study were Montana residents.

The outfitting industry consists of private business enterprises that use a variety of public natural resources including waterways, land, fish, and wildlife. Given the relatively small number of outfitters operating in the state when compared to the large number of residents who hunt and fish (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2006b), outfitters expressed frustration that the public believed they were responsible for exploiting the state's wildlife to the detriment of Montana resident hunters and anglers. They claimed these were inaccurate perceptions on the part of the public:

There are many [issues] but a couple of important ones are 1) The public perception of outfitters as overpaid exploiters of a public resource at public expense. 2) Diminishing resource. 3) The outfitting industry is tiny therefore has no constituency and little or no political clout. The industry seriously needs imaginative and strong leadership if it is to remain a viable industry for the long term.

General political hostility. The "public" thinks we are hogging the game. Public agency personnel think we're getting rich off public resource. Big competition from new landowners and hunting clubs who pay more than we can possibly afford for hunting leases. Recruitment of new outfitters isn't happening because of these financial and social pressures.

Public perception that outfitters are the bad guy when public resources are limited/taken away or access to previously unrestricted areas are now off limits.

Poor public perception. We are not the problem, but people perceive us as being the problem.

Public image, we need to make sure that general public is educated on just how small an overall effect on resource is due to outfitting industry.

In some cases the poor perceptions were directed specifically toward fishing outfitters. Some of these individuals believe the public holds them responsible for crowding conditions on prime fishing rivers:

Image! Fishing pressure has increased. The public thinks every drift boat is a guide which is not the case. We represent only about 12% on the heaviest used rivers. The public thinks it's 90% outfitters so we're getting the blame for overcrowding. We actually do [the public] a favor by fighting for public access.

Bad press over river closures on the Beaverhead and Big Hole.

Outfitters claimed these misconceptions were wrong, and insisted they were strong proponents of conservation whose efforts benefitted the public:

The conception that outfitters are resource abusing, land raping, game hogs! Let's see, what kind of businessman walks into his shop and destroys his entire inventory? The resource is our job security. Without the resource we have no means of supporting our families. Most outfitters are the most environment conscious individuals you'll ever encounter!! We continually pick up trash left behind by others and look out for the well being of the resource! ...I'd really like people to realize how far the Montana outfitters industry has come over the past 10 years. Every growing industry has pains, but I really believe resident outfitters generally are good people who do good work. I would really like to see it mandatory for residency in order to acquire an outfitter license for the state of Montana.

People don't realize the amount of good that outfitting does for our economy and that many conservation issues have been successful due to the efforts of outfitters.

3.2 Strained Relations with Resident Sportsmen

A second issue that emerged from the analysis was related to the first, and consisted of strained relations with resident sportsmen. Outfitters indicated that not only did resident hunters and anglers hold them responsible for depleting the state's fish and wildlife populations, they also believed outfitters were the factor responsible for limiting access to wildlife resources because of the commercialization of wildlife and the practice of leasing up private property for the exclusive use of their paying nonresident clients:

Radical sportsmen's groups attempting to eliminate the industry.

The fierce hostility from local sportsmen's groups.

Misunderstanding and jealousy by many "sportsmen."

Poor relations with Montana sportsmen.

Conflict with resident sportsmen.

To better understand the situation, it is useful to examine land ownership patterns and the hunting culture in Montana. In terms of land area, Montana is the fourth largest

state in the United States. Thirty-five percent of land is in the public sector, 4% consists of Indian trust land, and the majority of land in the state (59%) is privately owned (Montana's Official State Website, 2010). While just over a third of the state's land is public, many of the prime hunting locations are found on privately owned land.

Historically, many landowners in Montana had a long-standing tradition of allowing public hunting of wildlife on their property each year to manage deer and elk populations (Guynn & Landry, 1997; Swensson, 1983; Swensson & Knight, 1998; Swensson & Knight, 2001). In recent decades, public access to private land for hunting has been increasingly restricted because of several factors, including outfitters who lease property for their clients to hunt (Haggerty et al., 2006; Robbins et al., 2005). It is also because of changes in land ownership patterns as more outsiders move to the area (Hines, 2007; Robbins, 2006; Robbins et al., 2005; Robbins et al., 2009; Sheridan, 2007). Some landowners have closed their property to hunting for reasons such as irresponsible hunter behavior that includes vandalism, killing livestock, and driving off of established roads (Haggerty et al., 2006; Swensson et al., 1998; Swensson et al., 2001). Whatever the case may be, comments suggest that outfitters believe resident sportsmen hold them responsible for the loss of access to private land in the state:

Local sportsmen feel “pushed” out of private land hunting because outfitters lease up land. Ranchers are going for the money. Rich nonresident hunters and nonresident hunting clubs offering far more for the leases than outfitters or their clients can afford to pay.

Animosity generated by private land outfitters and hunters who believe it is their right to hunt private land.

Montana sportsmen seem to believe outfitters control all of the hunting property, including federal ground.

Increasing resistance from local anglers calling for curtailment of guided fishing on particular waters. I also find problems with access, Indian tribes, bootleg outfitters (unlicensed ones).

3.3 Overregulation of the Outfitting Industry

In Montana, state law requires outfitters to be licensed in order to operate legally (Montana Code Annotated, 2009b). State licensing and regulation of the outfitting industry is overseen by the Board of Outfitters, which is part of the Division of Labor and Industry. In addition, if outfitters provide services on federal public land such as Bureau of Land Management or National Forest land, they must also secure appropriate use permits from the respective federal agency in order to operate on these lands.

Statements provided by outfitters suggest an adversarial relationship characterized by bitterness and hostility toward government agencies that are charged with regulating their activities. Participants believed they are unduly overregulated and constrained by state and federal agencies, and described the vast array of rules and regulations they were subject to as “burdensome.” Outfitters claimed that even an inadvertent violation of a minor rule could put their outfitting license in jeopardy. Some respondents also expressed bitterness and hostility toward these agencies that they felt were attempting to undermine their ability to operate successful outfitting businesses:

Excessive and burdensome state and federal regulations. There are many hardworking and dedicated state and federal employees working in natural resources. But the ones who are process driven instead of results oriented make it hard to operate a viable business.

Lots of problems with motorized vehicles in mountains. More rules and regulations governing outfitters. Such a turnover in government employees that we deal with each year, new employees do not have time to learn what is going on, unlike government employees [who] used to be in the same area a long time.

Too much government bureaucracy, too much trying to micro-manage our businesses.

Over regulating and exterminating outfitters from public lands and waters.

Most oversight is by the Montana Board of Outfitters. They take an adversarial approach with outfitters and waste much time and effort on meaningless issues (such as when a first aid certification lapses during the time of year when an outfitter has no clients). ...Public jealousy or fear of competition with outfitted hunters. Montana Board of Outfitters policies reflect that attitude. Forest Service policies are designed to reduce available outfitter days.

The frustrating part for us is dealing with the Montana Board of Outfitters—they charge a lot for licenses and really do nothing—just a bureaucratic agency.

State of Montana is very difficult to work with. They want the money for the tags and the tourism dollars it generates, but they don't want the ...land outfitters use, to be tied up for the season.

Montana is always wanting to change laws to harm outfitting or the leasing of land. It is the most difficult state to do business in.

Politically-outfitting is an easy target for unfair and unfounded by river data regulation. State of Montana each year makes the outfitting business much tougher.

3.4 Problems Associated with too Many Outfitters

A major source of contention for outfitters had to do with the sheer number of outfitters operating in the state. That is, many outfitters believed there were far too many individuals with (and without) outfitting licenses providing guiding services in Montana. While some competition is inevitable and may be good for any business, they claimed that an overabundance of outfitters saturated the market and created a situation in which it was difficult to earn a profit from the activity:

Too many outfitters and guides.

The fact the state won't limit the numbers of guides and outfitters. There are too many now on certain rivers and waters especially.

Numbers of outfitters/guides in relation to the size of the resource.

Too many outfitters creates a difficult means to make a living. There are too many now.

There were also several variations within this category including newcomers to the occupation, crowding issues, and unlicensed outfitters. With regard to the first, some of the established, traditional, hard-core outfitters were displeased that a lot of new outfitters were entering the profession, including a substantial number of individuals they described as “wannabe’s” who lacked traditional woodcraft and outdoor skills that are considered essential to run a successful outfitting operation. This is not surprising, as prior research has noted that these skills are required for individuals to be successful not only in the outfitting industry (Lowrey, 1986) but also in other rural outdoor occupations such as game warden (Sherblom, Keranen, & Withers, 2002). Comments suggested that outfitters were rugged individualists as well as territorial with respect to guiding activities:

The #1 problem with this industry is the board. We are getting too many guys from California, Florida, Texas, etc. becoming outfitters. These guys don’t care if their business makes money or not because they’re already rich. They buy outfitter businesses as a “hobby.” The “hobbyist” outfitter slowly trickles clients out of real working outfitters hands. There are basically too many outfitters diluting everyone’s ability to make money. A lot of them couldn’t tell you jack about hunting or fishing they buy hunting/fishing lodges for 2 million bucks. It also overprices businesses making it impossible for guys like me to expand.

Wannabe’s, too many ranchers trying to be outfitters. The honest back country/packer/mule skinner are far and few between. Outfitter is a loosely used word.

Concern was also evident in their comments over the presence of an increasing number of outfitters in the field, especially with respect to fishing outfitters, and the implications of how this would lead to crowded conditions, especially on rivers and streams. In a description of the popularity of fly fishing on the state’s rivers, Wright et al. (1998, p. 37) stated “If fly fishing is reaching the status of a religion as some anglers have described, then Southwestern Montana is Mecca.” Despite the fact that Montana is a large state, fishing pressure is intense and concentrated on prime rivers during the popular summer months. The crowding has gotten so bad on some rivers that Montana Fish, Wildlife and Parks has placed restrictions on the days outfitters can operate:

In fishing, overcrowding. Hot spotting on rivers at peak times is a major issue. Out of state guides and outfitters should not be allowed to operate in Montana. Outfitters should be assigned an area of operation and not be allowed to travel the state. There needs to be a moratorium on the fishing outfitter numbers.

The outfitting industry is becoming too competitive and especially in the fly fishing area, it’s beginning to affect the quality of experiences due to overcrowding of resources. The solution? I don’t know just yet.

River overcrowding, regulation.

Overcrowding on rivers.

River restrictions. Restricting amount of boats and trips allowed on a piece of water.

Out of state outfitters working in Montana. River closures to outfitters. Limits on user days.

The problem of too many outfitters is exacerbated by unlicensed individuals who provide outfitting and guiding services unlawfully. Unlicensed outfitters are able to offer guiding services for fees that are much lower than those provided licensed outfitters. Known as “rogue” outfitters, these individuals are viewed negatively by licensed outfitters given that they represent additional as well as unfair competition. Because they are not subject to the same licensing conditions and restrictions imposed on legitimate outfitters and can avoid expensive overhead costs such as purchasing liability insurance, they are able to undercut the business of licensed outfitters by providing the same services to recreationists for fees that are much lower:

Illegal guides and outfitters. Montana’s policy allowing out of state guides and outfitters the opportunity to operate in state. Moratoriums that don’t stop the overcrowding.

Unlicensed operators. Outfitters leasing up private land and public [hunters are] getting shut out. Landowners like getting paid for wildlife and the public likes free hunting.

[Montana Fish, Wildlife & Parks] they check our guests for licenses sometimes and have assisted us trying to apprehend “rogue” outfitters.

4.0 Conclusion

The present study contributes to our understanding of the outfitting profession. The results of this research indicate that Montana outfitters are dealing with several important issues. Two of these issues are related: a negative public perception of outfitters as well as strained relations with resident sportsmen. Outfitters believe that the public holds them responsible for reductions in wildlife resources. They also feel that sportsmen are hostile toward them because they are responsible for loss of hunting access on private lands, since many outfitters lease private property for the exclusive use of their clients. These findings suggest that outfitters need to be proactive in terms of working on cultivating positive relationships with resident sportsmen. If this is effective, it should contribute to an improved public image.

Outfitters also believe they are overregulated by the state as well as federal agencies. Some of the individuals feel that these bureaucratic agencies are too large in scope, thus negatively impacting their ability to run a successful business operation. Findings of the present study also suggest that the outfitting industry is too large in Montana. Outfitters contend that in addition to crowding situations on rivers, an excessive number of outfitters working in the state make it difficult to earn a profit. Factors such as crowding may also contribute to the negative perception of outfitters as well as the hostility directed toward them by resident sportsmen.

Despite significant declines in hunting participation across the United States in recent decades (Heberlein, 1991; U.S. Department of the Interior, 2006a), outfitting persists as a viable occupation in parts of rural America. Outfitters provide valuable services to individuals who desire to participate in outdoor recreation activities. The job of outfitter is a rural occupation in a postmodern society characterized by rapid social change (Borgmann, 2000). The outfitting industry faces challenges in the context of an increasing population, conflict over land and water use, and access to public wildlife resources.

Given that the present study was conducted in a single state and used a qualitative research design, the results are specific to the outfitting industry in Montana and are not generalizable to other locales. Despite this limitation, the findings offer important insights regarding the outfitting occupation and also suggest directions for future research endeavors.

The nature of outfitter/sportsmen relationships should be explored in greater detail to further our understanding about the sources of tension and conflict between these competing stakeholder groups. Ethnographic studies of outfitters would likely yield valuable insights, and methods such as participant observation and interviews with key informants would be particularly useful. Given the concerns expressed by outfitters concerning strained relations with resident sportsmen, survey research should be directed toward hunters and anglers with the intent of documenting their perceptions of outfitters. By generating insights from these recreational groups, this type of study may elucidate factors associated with the controversy as well as identify solutions to help ease the friction among these groups.

Research should examine attitudes of government and agency personnel who deal with outfitters and the outfitting industry. This could include Bureau of Land Management and Forest Service employees, as well as state employees such as game wardens who monitor the activities of guides and outfitters. It would be useful to understand how they view outfitting as well as the importance they place on issues such as crowding and regulation of the industry.

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