

A "DYING BREED"? EXPLORING LOGGER IDENTITY AFTER THE
DECLINE IN THE TIMBER INDUSTRY IN HAYFORK, CA

By

Sheri Harrison

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Committee Membership

Dr. Matthew Derrick, Committee Chair

Dr. Erin Kelly, Committee Member

Dr. Laurie Richmond, Committee Member

Dr. Yvonne Everett, Program Graduate Coordinator

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ABSTRACT

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The rapid decline of timber operations in the late twentieth century had an immense impact on rural communities whose economy was dependent on logging and lumber mills. The voices and concerns of timber-dependent communities and timber workers have been marginalized by broader forces that focused on political, economic, and environmental issues throughout the Pacific Northwest timber conflict and the subsequent deindustrialization of the timber industry. This study examines the social impacts on loggers, their families, and the broader community in Hayfork, California, through the framework of identity theory. The formation of logger identity and the broader processes that have impacted identity over the last 30 years is analyzed using mixed qualitative methods of oral histories, semi-structured interviews, and archival research.

The research indicates that logger identity continues to be a strong, primary part of the participants' sense of self. Logging is more than an economic livelihood—it is a way of life that includes traditions, values, and beliefs. Although the occupational community is a defining factor for the construction of logger identity, place is a central factor in the resilience and adaptation strategies of loggers. Loggers are a part of families

who have long histories and complex social connections in Hayfork. Notably the wives of loggers are fundamental in reinforcing logger identity and shaping loggers' social world, and they play an important role in the adaptation strategies of a community in crisis. The changes in the lives of the loggers and the community in this case study are linked to the processes of broader political, economic, and social change. The study of logger identity and the human impacts of the decline of the timber industry can provide insight for other natural resource and manufacturing industries, to the extent that similar processes of change are occurring. This research could also offer a broader understanding of consequences of natural resource planning and environmental policy on the workers, their families, and the communities who directly feel the impact of planning and policy decisions.

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INTRODUCTION

The image of the logger has been highly contested in political conflicts surrounding environmental issues over the last century, but never more so than during the Pacific Northwest (PNW) timber conflicts in the 1980s and 1990s. The PNW timber conflict has been characterized as an ecological, political, and economic issue. A large body of academic literature examines the timber conflict, primarily focused on aspects such as the opposing views over forest management practices, the environmental effects of timber harvesting, and the environmental movement's efforts to save the forests from further exploitation and degradation (Serenari et al., 2015). While this extended literature is certainly important to understanding the forest conflict, the ecological and environmental policy perspectives have been privileged over the human impacts of the decline in timber (Carroll, 1995; Walls, 1007). The gap in literature concerns the continuing human impact, livelihood strategies of the workers, and the long-term effects on logger identity, culture, and way of life. This study explores the impacts of the Pacific Northwest timber conflict and the deindustrialization of timber on loggers, their families, and the formerly timber-dependent community. In doing so, this thesis offers a space for people who have been underrepresented in the discourse surrounding the timber conflict to provide their perspective of the conflict and the subsequent effects of the decline of timber.

This manuscript outlines a classic rise and fall tale in the specific context of timber and the consequent rise and fall of logger identity on an individual and community

level. The decline in the timber industry in the late 20th century had the largest impact on rural communities whose primary economy was dependent on logging and lumber mills. The timber industry provided a foundation of identity for timber workers involved in the labor, which provided meaning to their families; especially the wives, whose sense of self was informed in relation to their husbands' occupation. The meaning the occupation provided for the family extended into the broader communities economically dependent on the industry; but the logging operations and mills were more than just employers to these "timber towns." The timber industry provided a collective sense of identity and culture that became a way of life. The community's collective identity was built on the foundation of the logging occupation and the logger archetype. The logger archetype was founded on the history of the logger as a representation of the America's workforce and asserted the symbolic strength of the nation based on the idealized rugged masculinity of loggers (Walls, 1997). The logger culture that developed over generations was dramatically altered by the rapid decline of the timber industry in which their livelihoods and identities were based.

This thesis illustrates the formation of logger identity and the subsequent effects of the rapid deindustrialization of the timber industry through the case study of Hayfork: a formerly timber-dependent community in the mountains of Trinity County, California. Deindustrialization refers to the economic and social changes caused by the decline of industrial and manufacturing sectors and reduced employment in these industries; often deindustrialization implies the shift from industrial production to service sectors in "advanced economies" (Rowthorn & Ramaswamy, 1997). Hayfork's primary economy

was dependent on the timber industry beginning in the 1940s until the decline of timber operations in the early 1990s and the shutdown of the last mill in 1996. The Hayfork case study is representative of other rural communities that depend heavily on timber jobs and developed a culture and way of life around the timber industry. Hayfork is also a unique case study because of the town's geographic isolation and the lack of alternative economic options because of the inability to transition into a service economy like many formerly dependent timber towns. This inquiry is influenced by my life-long experiences living in Hayfork and desire to offer a platform to people whose voices were previously excluded from the discussion of changes in forest management policies and directly impacted by the subsequent decline of the timber industry.

The fundamental purpose of this study is to provide answers to this question: *How has the deindustrialization of the timber industry and the subsequent structural changes in the local community affected loggers' sense of self, place, and community?*

This question evolved into a set of questions that contribute to a specific understanding of factors that influence logger identity:

- What factors have influenced the construction of logger identity?
- How have local and external forces influenced past and current logger identity?
- How have loggers and their families adapted to the loss of logging opportunities in the Hayfork area?
- How has the rural geographical region of Hayfork, CA influenced loggers' sense of place?

This study focuses on participants' views, experiences, and perspectives on the impacts of the decline in the timber industry and its effect on their livelihood and way of life.

The study uses a constructivist lens. Constructivism provides a space for loggers and their families to express their feelings and perception of the timber conflict, as well as how the conflict directly affected people's livelihoods. I conducted eight separate interviews with 14 people that included long-time loggers and the women who were involved in Women in Timber and also the wives, mothers, and daughters of loggers. I utilized personal experiences and participant's perceptions of the decline of the timber industry and the subsequent events to draw on larger themes of the construction of logger identity and the impacts the changes to the community have had in the reinforcement and reproduction of this identity in the last two decades. Furthermore, I discuss the formation of logger identity and its importance in the on- and off-work lives of loggers. I also explore the formation of a community's collective identity and the importance of place and community in supporting and reinforcing this identity, as well as the effects on logger identity when the foundation of support disappears. In this context, the question of "who am I?" is not easily answered when identity is based on a past foundation that no longer exists.

Structure of Thesis

The remainder of this thesis is comprised of five chapters that address the complex formation of identity, and more specifically, the broader processes that have contributed to the construction and change in logger identity across time. The first

chapter addresses three bodies of literature that the study on logger identity brings together and draws on as a framework for understanding the evolution of logger identity. The first set of literature that this thesis contributes to is the theory of identity, which not only examines the question of “who am I?”, but “who am I not?” in relation to others across time and place. These questions are central to the discussion of logger identity because occupation provides basis for both belonging within a group as well as distinction from others. The occupational community of natural resource workers offers a framework to discuss the gendered nature of natural resource jobs and the specific type of rugged masculinity that is central to extraction industries. The last set of literature brings together identity theory and occupational theory to examine the formation of logger identity. This thesis contributes to the gap in literature on logger identity specifically and the impacts that the decline in timber has had on logger identity and culture over the last 20 years in Hayfork.

The second chapter discusses the research design of the case study of loggers and their families in Hayfork. The research specifically focuses on the largely unheard perspective of loggers and their families to address how they have been affected by the PNW timber conflict and the rapid decline of timber in the Hayfork area. The constructivist epistemology and grounded methodology allows participants to convey important knowledge and meaning through stories and everyday experiences that provide an interpretive frame to discuss identity. My positionality of growing up in the Hayfork community is used as a sampling strategy, following purposive sampling and chain referral methods. This research uses the methods of oral histories, semi-structured

interviews, and archival research to gather rich data and stories on the loggers' experiences and lives in Hayfork and the logging occupation, as well as deep understanding of the history of Hayfork.

Chapter three documents the historical context surrounding the rise and fall of the timber industry in the Hayfork valley. Hayfork was initially home to the Nor El Muk band of the Wintu tribe. Since the settlement of white settlers, Hayfork has been dependent on natural resource extraction; first, agriculture and gold mining, then in the 1940s the area became dominated by timber. The post-WWII timber boom led to an increase in jobs and economic growth in Hayfork. The thriving industry at this time provided the foundation for the collective identity as a timber town and the logging culture that was created under the umbrella of the timber economy. Hayfork was particularly vulnerable to environmental policies in the 1980s and early 1990s that restricted logging operations on federal lands. Following the Pacific Northwest timber conflicts, Hayfork went through a period of decline, and through the out-migration of timber workers the loss of 40% of the town's payroll. In the absence of timber and lack of viable alternative industries, the marijuana industry developed in Hayfork. The marijuana industry led to renegotiation of the community's identity, which had complicated effects on loggers, their families, and their sense of community in Hayfork.

Chapter four analyzes the construction of logger identity. Logger identity is rooted in the romanticized history of the logger and their role in westward expansion and the building of America. This section examines the factors that contribute to the loggers' sense of self. Logger identity is instilled in intergenerational involvement in the logging

occupation. Though loggers identify as a cohesive group, there is an internal hierarchy distinguishes loggers from each other. This hierarchy is constructed through the workers' proximity to the tree and the skill required of the job. Themes of masculinity, independence, and pride reoccur throughout the interviews in reference perceptions of self, the occupation, as well as lack of these characteristics in the absence of the logging occupation in Hayfork. Logger identity is not only conveyed as learned identity constructed through involvement in the logging occupation, this identity is perceived to be a calling, genetically inherited from previous generations of loggers in the family. The perception of stewardship is strongly conveyed in loggers' descriptions and their jobs along with the deep connection they have with nature through working in the woods. The deep foundation of the logger identity in the workers' personal life has implications that exceed the occupation and the worker himself; logger identity becomes a part of a broader culture and way of life.

The penultimate chapter extends beyond the logger himself, and examines the influence of logger identity and the meaning the logger icon has on the women, family, and the broader community. The role of loggers' wives in the home and the town are central to the internalization of logger identity through their shared reality and intimate connection with the logger. The women also define themselves in relation to the loggers' occupation and the way of life that has been constructed in Hayfork around the economic foundation of the timber industry. This section also examines the role of Women in Timber as defenders of the logging occupation and timber industry during the controversy over the spotted owl. The community formed a collective identity around the

logger icon because of the large amount of families that relied on the timber industry to sustain their way of life. With the rapid decline of the timber industry, the community identity had to be renegotiated, which happened under the rise of the marijuana industry. The loss of support in the community and the out-migration of timber workers had dramatic impacts on the logging families that stayed in Hayfork and their sense of place and community.

The thesis concludes with responses to the research questions set forth at the beginning of the study. The study presents parallels to broader processes around extraction industries and the contribution that this manuscript could have for future research regarding large structural changes in natural resource industries, as well as areas of interest that are deserving of further research revolving around the study of gender, and the wives of workers involved in traditionally masculine occupations.

This thesis illustrates the connection between broad socio-ecological changes, such as forest policy and the decline in timber production, and the disrupting effects on loggers and families at a local level. A further understanding of the complicated role of identity and culture surrounding the timber industry may be helpful for addressing and considering future social, and cultural impacts that deindustrialization of established natural resource industries can have on workers, families, and local communities.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This study brings together, draws on, and contributes to three main bodies of literature to situate logger identity within the broader theoretical framework of identity. This literature comprises of three major components. First, the theoretical concept of identity: what it means, how identity is constructed, and how these identities affect individuals and communities of people. A discussion of place theory and place-based identity are a focal point in this framework because of the influence of place in the construction of identity. Second, the broader themes of occupational identities and communities in natural resource industries and the centrality of traditional ideals of masculinity within natural resource industries. Third, it examines the influences that have shaped the identities of loggers explicitly, and the cultural and socio-economic consequences of the decline of the timber industry.

There is a considerable amount of literature on occupational identity and the effects of deindustrialization on natural resource-dependent communities (Groth, 2015), but limited research has been conducted addressing the nature of occupational identity among timber workers or the changes specifically in logger identity against the background of the rapid decline of the timber industry. The purpose of this literature review is to inform my theoretical framework and provide context to the external forces that influence the everyday lives of the people dependent on natural resource industries.

Identity

Identity focuses on a simple question: “Who am I?” But this question becomes much more complicated when answering and taking into account the relationship that these identities have on individuals and broader social groups. Identity frames how individuals perceive themselves and is often understood to guide human interactions and relate to individual personality traits (Oakes & Price, 2008). According to Oakes and Price (2008, p. 17), the concept of “identity implies an undifferentiated unity or sameness, one that constitutes the essential being of an entity.” More recently academic research shifted the definition of identity “from an emphasis on sameness to one of recognition, in which one claims difference from others based on recognizable or identifiable traits” (Oakes & Price, 2008, p. 4). These claims of difference and recognition are built in a social context and by perceived meanings in everyday life, and can be analyzed as important factors in the construction of self. Not only does social context shape the way individuals perceive themselves, it affects their worldview and how they interact with it (Cheng, 2003). Identity tends to be as much about distinguishing oneself from who one is not, as it is about one is. When these individual identities come together to create a group identity, the group tends to the distinguishing themselves through comparison and opposition to other groups leading to a mentality of in-group and out-group (Gray, 2003).

When seeking to understand the construction of identity the primary questions are “how, from what, by whom, and for what?” (Castells, 2010, p. 9). History that is rooted

in place, whether it is geographically or socially grounded, is a key dimension in the make-up of individual and collective identities. Thus, identity can be viewed as iterative; identity shapes and is shaped by individuals' sense of self, their community, and/or social group (Gray, 2003). How identity is shaped is reflected in four aspects described by Gray (2003, p. 22) that people use to form significant identities; location or place, occupation, personal interests, and institutions in which they associate. Each aspect is relevant in the case of loggers and rural timber-dependent communities, although they are presented in a more inclusive rather than exclusive manner with each aspect influencing the other.

Place Theory

The first influencing factor is location or geography. Location is important in that it is the foundation of place-based identity. Relph maintains that “to be inside a place is to belong to it and identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger the identity with the place” (Quoted in Cresswell, 75). Place is defined as a geographical, physical space that is filled with meaning and encompasses values associated with behaviors, belonging, and attachment as well as more utilitarian values (Cheng, 2003; Gray, 2003). Cheng (2003, p. 90) quotes geographer Robert Sack in stating that places are the “fundamental means by which we make sense of the world and through which we act.” Places are embedded with socially constructed ideas that relate to how individuals are to behave and influence who they are, or in the words of Cheng (2003), “to be somewhere is to be someone” (p. 90). Thus, place-based identity refers to who an individual is in relation to a geographic space (Gray, 2003).

Place must be understood not only in terms of a location or space, but more broadly as a way of knowing and understanding the world (Cresswell, 2015). Tuan (1974) and Relph (1976) emphasize subjectivity and experience in place as way of developing an individual's approach to and viewpoint of the world rather than the physical space itself. The concept of place as a way of knowing creates abstract borders, as well as geographic borders, at multiple scales in which an individual's worldview and identity are negotiated. Tuan (1974) notes that "place can be as small as the corner of a room or as large as the earth itself" (p. 245). The boundaries between local scales and broader processes shape identity through the changing relationship of overarching structures and the places of everyday interaction. Acknowledging the connections of local and national scales help to understand the basis of place-based identity formation and individuals' sense of "belonging."

Sense of self is represented in the lived experiences and memories of a place and contributes to the construction of collective group values, beliefs, norms, and traditions. While place can provide a strong influence over people's sense of self, it is not exclusive in the construction of individual and group identity nor is place-based identity static through changes in the surrounding environment (Proshansky, Fabian, Kaminoff, 1983). Place-based identity tends to be modified and adapted overtime and varies depending on other social factors and contending identity roles in an individual's life (Proshansky et al., 1983).

Identity Roles

Gray's (2003) other three aspects present examples of these other influencing factors in the formation of identity. People's life roles, their interests, and involvement in institutions, specifically occupation, can vary and dominate as the primary self-identification across time, place, and situation. Gray (2003, p. 23) reflects the variance of identity by stating that "the various identities of an individual holds will become salient at any given time is determined, in part, by the strength of that identity for the individual as well as by situational factors." For example, in this study an individual might identify as a "logger" when introduced to a stranger, as a "timber faller" to another logger, or as a "father" when with the family; but just because the one role becomes salient does not mean that other descriptors are any less salient. Although these aspects of people's lives take central roles at different times they are not mutually exclusive; they are co-existent identity roles and tend to reinforce each other to create a broader individual and group identity.

A community can take on different meanings, but can be generally defined as either place-based, or created through individuals with common beliefs, traits, and values regardless of location. Community is not "an aggregate of people living together as free agents," but is a collectivity that has identities of its own (Brown & Schafft, 2011, p. 36) and forms what Durkheim refers to as the "collective consciousness" (Bellah, 1973). Communities are an important aspect in people's everyday life and are an important component of personal identity (Brown & Schafft, 2011, p. 35). The collective identities

of a rural communities tend to be influenced by the primary economic industry, which is often based in the natural resource sector, that supports their livelihood and way of life.

Occupational Community and Identity

Although people's identities are thought to be held individually, they tend to be expressed and reinforced through social experiences and collective memories. As Brewer and Gardner (1996, p. 83) state, "Individuals seek to define themselves in terms of their immersion in relationships with others and larger collectivities and derive much of their self-evaluation from such social identities." The evolution of the personal self to the collective self is rooted in a fundamental need to belong within a group or community (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). The occupational community is an example of what Brewer and Gardner (1996) describe when discussing self-representation and the formation of collective identity. The occupational community provides a foundation for people to find commonality through shared experiences and mutual interest.

An occupational community is constructed when the workers' sense of identity becomes closely tied to their occupations (Groth, 2015). Occupation is not only labor and income; some workers view their occupation as a primary basis for their personal identity and connection with a community that shares similar values and traditions (Lupo & Bailey, 2011). Occupational identity is especially strong in jobs that are demanding, dangerous, and highly skilled such logging. Lupo & Bailey (2011, p. 427) state that "strong sense of identity [is] found among workers in natural resource industries who often live in geographically isolated areas and who engage in hard physical and often

dangerous work.” The nature of extraction industries to be physically demanding and dangerous is manifested in traditional ideals of masculinity and often reinforced the traditional gender roles.

Masculinity

Occupational identity is central in the construction of masculinity in rural communities economically dependent on a single natural resource industry (O’Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011). Natural resource industries tend to play a central role in local rural communities’ economies, which reinforces the traditional role of men as the primary breadwinner because these resource jobs are dominated by men (O’Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011). The deeply ingrained identity and perception of masculinity within natural resource workers has been constructed through the physically demanding and dangerous nature of these jobs and the active presence of natural resource industries in rural communities before the shift toward deindustrialization (O’Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011; Bell & York, 2010).

The reinforcement of masculinity is not only dependent on the workers’ job roles, it is dependent on gender roles within the home and community. While most natural resource industries, such as logging, are almost solely masculine, women have played crucial role in defending the nature of these industries and strongly identified and celebrated the culture surrounding the masculinity of the industry (O’Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011). O’Shaughnessy & Krogman (2011, p.136) emphasize that “there is little understanding of how gendered experiences, identities, opportunities, and challenges have changed over time” in communities that are natural resource dependent.

The exploration of global and local influences on gender roles during the deindustrialization reveals contradictions to the traditional view of men and women's role in resource-dependent communities. Understanding the complexity of gender roles in communities affected by the deindustrialization of natural resource industries is fundamental to deconstructing "false dichotomizations" of men and women's experiences, interests, and shared identities (O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011, p. 137). Women and men had mutual interests in the preservation of natural resource jobs and shared values regarding the nature of the job and dynamics of the family; as stated by Reed (2000, p. 22),

women were also supportive of the cultural ideals as they spoke with pride of their partners who faced danger and physical challenges in their daily lives. They spoke of the value of the family wage, the rewards reaped by hardworking and honest men, the importance of community support, and the love of nature that they shared with all their family members.

Women shared the values of, and identified with, men in natural resource jobs despite not working in these industries. Women's shared experience of the way of life developed through masculine extraction occupations led to support and a collective identity based around natural resource industries. The decline of natural resources industries in rural communities threatened the way of life in which workers, women, and the community had a strong emotional attachment (Reed, 2000).

The formation and development of rural communities is historically tied to the presence of natural resource industries, which led to a long-standing economic and culture dependency on these industries. Today these industries have a declining role in rural economies as a result of the shift toward deindustrialization (Aldinger, 2015) and

have had the most significant impact on workers' dependent on and attached to natural resource extraction industries. Resource industries had:

come to be seen not simply as sources of employment but rather as key features of individuals' and communities' identities—that is, workers often come to identify first and foremost as loggers or miners, and communities come to identify as logging or mining communities (Bell & York, 2010, p. 117-118).

Recognizing the role of occupational identity in workers' personal lives is essential to understand the impact of broad scale economic restructuring on individual and communities' dependent on natural resource industries (Lupo & Bailey, 2011). The process of deindustrialization has created a disconnect between identity and the economic reality of resource workers and has led to a crisis in masculinity because many men were not able to “live up to their traditional definition of masculinity” (Bell & York, 2010, p. 134). When workers with a strong occupational attachment are displaced or unable to continue working in their occupation, they not only lose their economic livelihood but also a significant part of their self-identity (Marshall, 2007). The loss of workers' occupational community removes the support network in which their self-identity is constructed and reinforced. The crisis in masculinity is an important component of natural resource workers' self-identity that has repercussions on other identity attributes.

The occupational community is central not only to the formation of an identity construct, but to the support and reinforcement of expected characteristics that contribute to the worker's sense of self. Marshall et al. (2007, p. 364) describes four aspects of self-identity that is constructed by working in a natural resource industry: (1) distinctiveness—the ability to set oneself apart from other people through the

relationship with their occupation, (2) continuity— the continuing justification or reinforcement of their identity, (3) self-esteem— the positive evaluation of themselves and their social value which is closely associated with sense of pride, and (4) self-efficacy— the workers' belief in their capability to meet the demands of the job. The influence of the timber industry on workers' way of life and loggers' self-identity informs the four aspects identified by Marshall et al., and offers a framework to analyze how logger identity is affected when these characteristics are challenged.

Logger Identity

The construction of logger identity can be traced back to the era of the frontier and settlement of the American west (Walls, 1997). The image of the logger during this time invokes traditional ideals of manhood and masculinity that continue to be crucial to loggers' identity. Loggers' inflated ideals of masculinity are rooted in the experiences in the woods and surviving the wildness of nature (Walls, 1997). Walls (1997, p. 337-338) describes the importance of nature in the construct of manhood and eloquently portrays the essence of a logger:

This environment transformed weak individuals into hardy men eminently capable of performing hard, skilled labor under dangerous and exacting circumstances, and surviving the rigors and potential perils of life in the wilderness. Yet, at the same time, despite his physical maturity and productiveness, the logger retained his boyishness, his primitive manly innocence, that made his work not just tolerable but downright enjoyable. He was still rough on the edges, impulsive, energetic, playful, and willing and able to act as a "bad boy," fighting, drinking, cursing, gambling, whoring, and carousing when he felt like it, but only as a temporary respite before eagerly returning to the business at hand.

The dangers of the environment build mental and physical strength that is needed to be successful as a logger, yet these young men still are able to take joy in their job. In the face of the danger, loggers find excitement in the unpredictability and risk of the job. While logging requires seriousness and focus, these men are able to express his “boyishness” off the job through drinking and fighting, supporting the expression of “work hard, play hard.” The foundation of logger identity and culture has been constructed through glorification of the essence of the logger and the romanticization of the sacrificing their body and life for the greater good of society.

Matthew Carroll asserts that “logging is clearly more than simply a means of earning wages; it represents a way of life complete with a set of highly developed traditions and shared values” passed down through generations (Quote in Serenari et al., 2015). The resiliency of loggers’ sense of self and sense of pride can be understood through the perception of logging as the “foundation of American society” (Dumont, 1996; Serenari et al., 2015). The perception that loggers literally helped build America through infrastructure provides meaning and a deep sense of pride to workers in the logging occupation and reinforces the idea of loggers’ sacrificing their life for the greater good.

The past image of the logger as a myth-like hero has greatly influenced loggers’ internalization of occupational identity by idealizing manual labor and the work ethic that comes from working in the forests (Serenari et al., 2015). The construction of logger identity has been formed through generations of close interactions with the forest and the meaning of their work. The decline in the timber industry and the closing of mills have

devastated the deeply rooted sense of pride and culture in loggers' present identity (Dumont, 1997; Serenari et al., 2015). The shutdown of logging and the mills disoriented timber workers trying to identify themselves with the past occupation that no longer existed, making the questions of "who am I?" difficult to answer.

The literature on the structural changes of regions formerly dominated by the timber industry has been examined primarily through economic terms and has, with a few exceptions (Dumont, 1996; Serenari et al., 2015; Reimer, 1997), left the cultural and social aspects largely unexamined (Dumont, 1996). Although economic dependence is central to the impacts of logger livelihoods, it is also important to address the less understood effects that the rapid decline of the timber economy had on the logging community, loggers' sense of self, and the continuing struggle to remain in the occupation and preserve the culture that has weakened as result of the changes in the timber industry in the Pacific Northwest (Serenari, 2015). According to Carroll et al. (2000), loggers tend to remain in the logging occupation despite the weakened logging culture, because logging is their life's work and a source of identity that is rooted in the generational commitment of family working in the industry. The significance that loggers place upon their occupation and their shared commitment to the occupation provides a basis not only for an occupational identity, but the individual identity of the logger as well as a shared identity of those closest to him (Reimer, 1995).

While the logger identity is primarily constructed through the direct act of logging and is historically a masculine construct, women have played a crucial role on the periphery of this industry through the support and defense of logging. Women's role

throughout the PNW forest conflict contradicts traditional dichotomous ideals between men and women's identity, experiences, and interests in timber-dependent communities. Reed (2000) states that the rise of women activists in support of the logging industry was ignored within academic and environmental dominant discourse because the activism did not fit into the traditional perceptions of women as environmental protectors, even though environmental protection was one of the motivations for these women activists. Women's activism and support of loggers and the industry was embedded in different localities and social activities at the household, community, and broader levels. Women's timber activism illustrates the nuanced gender roles within timber-dependent communities that were constructed around the masculine culture surrounding the logger.

The purpose of this research is to contribute to the existing research on the formation and changes in occupational identity in structural shifts in natural resource industries as well as to add to the limited literature on logger identity. An identified gap in literature that my research addresses is the examination of the changes in logger identity in the recent decades after the decline in timber industry, and the continuing efforts of loggers to maintain their sense of self and way of life that is closely interconnected with their occupation.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Rationale

The Pacific Northwest timber conflict has been characterized by many as the “timber wars.” The word “conflict” does not accurately portray the polarization of people and the effects that it had on loggers and timber-dependent communities’ livelihood in the region. As Brown (1995) observes, the views and perspectives of loggers have been underrepresented and often misrepresented by academics and literature on the topic of the timber wars. The effects of the deindustrialization of timber on loggers’ identity, and the culture that had been built around the logging industry, has been primarily overlooked. During the Pacific Northwest timber conflict and the associated shift towards deindustrialization of the timber industry, the voices and concerns of loggers have been marginalized by broader forces that focused on national forest and environmental policy (Brown, 1995). This research adds to the literature concerning the role of occupation in constructing identity and way of life, provides a platform for voices that have been marginalized in the past, and acknowledges the social and cultural impacts of the rapid deindustrialization of timber on which loggers’ livelihoods and sense of self were founded.

The focus on loggers who worked in the Hayfork area was chosen as a case study for two primary reasons. The first is very personal. Hayfork is the place where I grew up. I have a strong connection with the town and have personally observed the impacts that

the decline in timber had on timber workers, their families, and the community. The second is place. Hayfork is representative of many other timber-dependent communities in the Pacific Northwest. Additionally, Hayfork offers a unique case study in terms of its geography and the availability, or lack thereof, of alternative economic opportunities such as a tourist-based economy that have replaced the timber economy in many old timber-dependent communities. This case provides valuable information for understanding loggers' adaptation strategies and how adapting to the deindustrialization of timber has affected identity and culture.

Epistemology

My positionality in this case study and topic has heavily influenced my approach to the research. I have a strong attachment to the place and the community due to growing up in the Hayfork Valley and my families' multigenerational history in Hayfork. Considering my position as a researcher and the goals of the research, I utilized a social constructivist epistemology as a basis for both the practical and theoretical framework.

Social constructivism seeks to understand people's social interactions and cultural norms that are embedded in individuals' everyday lives (Creswell; 2003) According to Creswell (2003), perceptions and identity are negotiated culturally and historically through individual everyday interactions resulting in subjective meanings and knowledge. In conversations, participants spoke of personal experiences and told stories as ways of expressing perceived important knowledge and meanings of their life and worldview that contribute to larger themes relating to identity and sense of place that has been built

through years of working and living in a rural timber town. Experiences in everyday life are used as factors for analyzing the construction of identity types in specific social interactions and correlate with how these experiences and actions are influenced by external conditions.

Charmaz (2005, p. 509) states that a constructivist lens does not rest purely on induction nor does it “assume an impartial observer.” Instead the constructivist lens “depends on prior interpretive frames, biographies, and interests as well as research context, [the researcher’s] relationships with research participants, and concrete field experiences—the questions we ask of the empirical world frame what we know if it.” Acknowledging the challenges of constructivist research, I have carefully navigated the opportunities and limitations of conducting research in my hometown through self-reflection, caution in the data gathering as well as the interpretation processes, and constantly addressing my prior assumptions and biases.

Constructivism emphasizes that researchers recognize their own backgrounds and the way their positionalities shape their interpretations of the research (Creswell, 2003). The use of a constructivist lens combined with the acknowledgement of my positionality presents the opportunity to interpret participants lived experiences to illustrate the meanings of their experiences and perceptions about themselves and the community. The constructivist approach allows the researcher to connect every day experiences and stories to broader themes of identity, sense of place, and sense of community against the backdrop of the deindustrialization of timber.

While my connections within the community helped my initial effort to find and interview people, I was met with a mixed reception of trust and suspicion throughout the research process. Although most participants interviewed were loggers, some participants did not work in the woods but were deeply involved and invested in the local timber industry and community; therefore, all interview participants had strong ties to the topic and were interested in the research.

My positionality allowed me to build rapport and earn the trust of participants because, although some did not personally know me, all participants knew my family connections. “The constructivist approach places priority on the phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from shared experience of researcher and participants and the researcher’s relationships with the participants” (Charmaz, 2002, p. 677). While receptive to the interview process, many participants had initial reservations about participating in a research study about loggers because of past events and portrayals of loggers in literature on the subject of the timber industry. My personal history within the community and the goals of my research eased initial skepticism. The rapport built through shared history and mutual interests opened communication about participants’ experiences and worldview, issues central to the construction of logger identity, that could not have otherwise been shared.

Methodology

The research design for this study is predominantly based in the grounded theory methodology, because the case study is exploratory and the phenomena of interest is not

well understood. Grounded theory is an inductive approach to research that emphasizes the idea that theory development is generated by data gathered by participants and moves beyond description to build a theory (Creswell, 2007). A grounded theory methodology is appropriate for this research because it aligns with the constructivist approach. Grounded theory takes a reflexive stance on “modes of knowing and representing studied life” but also assumes that the research is situated within a frame of reference (Charmaz, 2002). Grounded theory allows participants to construct their own interpretations and perceptions of events and lived experiences within the researcher’s framework, which allows for analysis of broader themes and concepts that aim to build a theory about logger identity. Approaching the research through the lens of grounded theory allows for the exploration of unanticipated issues and themes that are important to my participants and reflect upon the prior assumptions and opinions I had going into the research.

While I am from this community, I did not fully understand the history of the logging industry in the area and the direct effects on the loggers and their families; thus, starting with a broad framework provided better understanding the construction of logger identity and how experiences have been perceived and interpreted over the last two decades. Creswell (2003, p. 9) asserts the purpose for using grounding theory: a “researcher’s intent is to make sense of, or interpret, the meanings others have about the world. Rather than starting with a theory, inquirers generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meaning.”

This research also utilized a case study approach of loggers who worked and lived in Hayfork, as a methodology, specific framework, and a strategy of inquiry to explore

the deeper theoretical themes of this particular community (Creswell, 2007). A case study allows for the researcher to investigate themes that are of interest to them as well as remaining open to themes that emerge from the information gathered (Creswell, 2007). For example, participants' experiences with subsistence living, such as hunting and fishing, were reoccurring themes that not only ties in with their lifestyle of a logger but is also a very important aspect of community identity and placed-based identity. Within a case study framework and following the grounded theory methodology, this study applies a mixed qualitative methods approach that combines in-depth oral history interviews, semi-structured interviews, secondary data analysis, and archival research.

Methods

My positionality within in the community informed this research's sampling strategies. The research followed a purposive sampling technique as well as chain referral methods. Purposive sampling is nonprobability technique whereby participants are chosen by the researcher based on their characteristics that provides a convenient representation of the population (Topel, 2010). My personal knowledge of the community was helpful for identifying initial participants. The sampling techniques allowed me to connect with loggers who were able to provide a rich in-depth history of what it was like to work as a logger and the changes in the industry that have taken place throughout their life. For instance, I was able to begin by contacting friends whose parents worked in the woods and, probably most importantly, I had family who had

logged at one point or another in their lives, and have been able to connect and refer me to long-time loggers.

I experienced mixed reactions from participants upon my initial contact regarding the research throughout the interview process, ranging from excitement to hesitation. Those I knew personally were excited and willing to talk with me about logging and their experiences. I found that others were hesitant to talk to an academic researcher. I had to fully explain my research topic and intent, as well as reassure participants that I am not interested in further criticizing logging and loggers. For those that did not know me, explaining my history in Hayfork, including who my family was helped to ease uncertainty. The people who I know personally were my initial key informants. These key informants were beneficial to the chain referral technique because they suggested additional potential participants and provided me with trustworthy references which helped to create better rapport and trust with hesitant participants. Through the referral process I did have participants who were helpful in providing other potential interviewees as well as providing valuable material related to my topic such as letters, newspapers, and music that “catches the essence of the logger”. It was encouraging to have participants who were initially excited about the research, but even more reassuring to have participants who were hesitant to talk with me show interest in helping further my research after interviewing them.

This thesis draws on eight separate interviews, ranging from 45 minutes to three hours in length, with a total of 14 participants. These interviews included six male loggers: three one-on-one interviews with long-time loggers, two interviews with the

logger and his wife, and one with a logger and his daughter. The other two interviews included a female timber worker and four women involved in Women in Timber, one who had worked in the woods and the mill. While some had initial reservations about the interviews, all became very receptive and permitted the recordings of the interviews.

Oral History Interviews

Oral histories provided rich data and information that arise through the stories and lived-experiences of the participants (Ritchie, 2003). Oral histories are reliant on the recollection of memory and are subjective to current situations and shifting interpretations over time (Andrews, Kearns, Kontos, Wilson, 2006). Despite the subjective lens of memory, oral histories are important to the representation and voice of participants, and are “narratives of identity” which “are representations of reality in which narrators also communicate how they see themselves and wish others to see them” (Errante, 2000, p.16).

Beginning fieldwork with oral histories allowed for pertinent unanticipated themes and issues to arise (Creswell, 2003; Creswell, 2007). These were the participants that I was able to conduct oral histories, some interviews lasting as long as three hours. Oral histories provide insight into the influences that contribute to logger identity and the role logging plays in affecting sense of self, place, and community.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are essential for gathering specific data regarding themes that arise in oral history interviews. Participants were sought through a process of chain referral and direct inquiry; interviews were guided but informal to allow

interviewees to express themselves freely. The interviews contained mostly open-ended questions allowing for a conversational setting that let participants speak as much or a little as they found comfortable, and sought to gather in-depth information on the experiences, perspectives, and important values of the participant (Newing, 2010).

Archival Research

Secondary data analysis and archival research were utilized to provide historical context and to gather quantitative data on the case study area. Archival data was obtained primarily from local historical records such as newspapers and other independent documents from the Trinity County Library, Trinity County Historical Society, Humboldt Room at Humboldt State University, and online new outlets. Secondary data were gathered from government documents and U.S. Census data. Newspapers provide context through the discourses surrounding social and economic experiences of people during different time periods. Government documents offer insight into the policies and regulations that have affected timber operations and subsequently loggers' livelihoods; analysis of these documents is beneficial for understanding the local and national context of timber conflict and the changes that affected logger livelihood. Census data is important for understanding the socio-economic changes in the Hayfork community that have taken place over the last few decades. Secondary data analysis and archival data is utilized primarily as a way of establishing the context of the decline of timber in the Pacific Northwest and understanding the historical background of the case study area in which the sample population is situated.

BACKGROUND: THE RISE AND FALL OF TIMBER IN HAYFORK

The history of Hayfork must be addressed not only locally but in relation to broader structural changes in order to understand the formation of logger identity and Hayfork as a timber town. The local economic base and the meaning of Hayfork as a place are influenced by larger economic structures and policy changes. Place continues to be produced and reproduced by the relationship between a place and structures beyond it (Cresswell, 2015). In the case of Hayfork, the culture and economy has been guided by the abundance of natural resources and the place's connection to the broader industries; such as agriculture, mining, or the strong sense of place that was built around decades of timber resources and its economic opportunities.

The Hayfork Valley is characterized first and foremost as a working landscape because of the history of economic opportunities provided by the abundance of rich natural resources in the area. A working landscape is an area that has historically been managed and altered by human activity through extraction and maintenance of natural resources and the environment. In rural areas, the primary source of employment has revolved around working in the environment. The definition of a working landscape has shifted after the deindustrialization of extraction industries to focus less on the extraction of resources and more on employment using sustainable management practices in rural areas, such as Hayfork, with a still visible presence of the impacts of past natural resource industries.

Hayfork is a remote rural community situated in the heart of Trinity County California and is surrounded forest lands (See Figure 1). Danks (2000, p. 74) stated that “Trinity County is one of the most forest dependent areas in the pacific northwest.” Over 70 percent of the land base in Trinity County is part of the Shasta-Trinity National Forest dependent community because its primary economic structure was based on these surrounding federal forest lands (USFS, 2004).

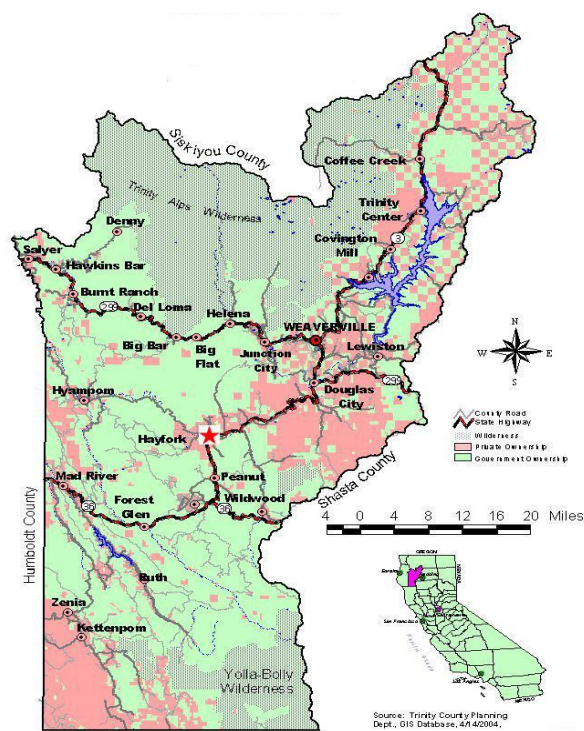


Figure 1- GIS Map of Trinity County; Trinity County Planning Department

Trinity County encompasses more than two million acres and about 13,500 residents (Aldinger, 2015; Merwin, 2013). The county does not have an incorporated city, the town of Hayfork is the second-largest town, with a population of 2,368, according to the 2010 Census; the largest being Weaverville, the county seat, which is “about 45

minutes from Hayfork along winding mountain roads” (Baker & Middleton, 2002, p. 4). The distance and isolation has been central to the town’s development as well as the economic restrictions due to limited infrastructure in place to deal with the rural location of Hayfork in early years. The local economy and culture of Hayfork has been based around natural resource extraction industries since early settlement: agriculture, mining, timber, and presently the marijuana industry. The timber industry has been the longest-standing industry in the Hayfork area and has been the largest legal economy since the 1950s (Baker & Middleton, 2002).

The Rise of the Timber Industry

Hayfork was first named Nor Rel Pom, meaning “South Upland Village.” The earliest inhabitants of the Hayfork valley were the Nor el Muk band of the Wintu tribe. (Baker & Middleton, 2002; Aldinger, 2015). Hayfork was first settled in 1851 by miners during the gold rush era and also found the Hayfork Valley to be rich with “virgin” soil (Trinity County Historical Society, 1955). The area’s natural resource was attractive to migrant people because of the opportunities for various extraction industries. While mining was the primary industry in the county and provided a promising economic opportunity for settlers in the Hayfork Valley; Hayfork became the agricultural hub of the county because of the attractive conditions of the valley. Because of Hayfork’s remoteness and lack of transportation infrastructure, the area was primarily self-sufficient besides the local agriculture market, which supported other towns in the county as well as the local mining industry (Aldinger, 2015). Timber was also included in this agricultural

market as an important resource and provided necessary building material for the mining industry during the gold. Timber operations stayed small and were primarily family-owned operations during the settlement era due to lack of access to larger markets and the inaccessibility of transporting logs over the mountains (Baker & Middleton, 2002).

The development of Hayfork paralleled the growth and demands of broader economic structures. Hayfork began to change at the turn of the twentieth century due to greater access to the broader capitalist market and the increase in demands for primary resources at the state and national scales, which lead to the rapid rise of the timber industry in the area in the late-twentieth century. At the turn of the twentieth century the population of Trinity County as well as the State of California began to grow, leading to more reliance on Sacramento for agriculture and an increase in the demand for wood products (Trinity County Planning Department, 1996). The growth of large scale agriculture and the waning of the mining boom in the 1920s led men to turn to the prospect of timber in the surrounding forest (Baker & Middleton, 2002).

Due to Hayfork's isolation and inaccessibility into the areas, it wasn't economically and physically feasible to open a mill in the valley until 1925. In *Trinity Grit*, Letton recalls a story describing the poor quality of roads connecting Hayfork to the outside; "Highway 3 was built in... '32 and '33... back then most of the main roads around the county were still dirt. Dirt and chuck-holes. It took you all day to get from Hayfork to Weaverville. Just one way" (Letton, 2013, p. 62). After the first mill, numerous small local mills cropped up in Hayfork throughout the 1940s, 50s, and 60s; in total, 17 mills have existed at one time or another in the Hayfork area (See Figure 2),

most of which were family-owned with the notable exception of Sierra Pacific Industries (Belden, 1997; Baker & Middleton, 2002). The abundance of mills represented the economic growth in the area and attributed to the “heyday” of Hayfork.

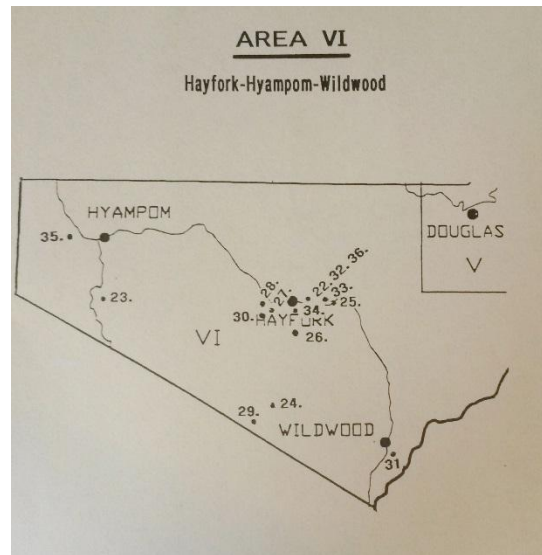


Figure 2- Area VI Map. Belden Forestry 1996-1997

The “Heyday” of Timber

The timber industry gained traction due to the changing structure of the nation after WWII; the improvement in infrastructure and the increased demands for timber which spurred the growth of Hayfork’s local economy. The Post-WWII era was a beneficial time for timber workers and logging industry in general. Timber operations and extraction was well underway in much of the Pacific Northwest, during the early twentieth century, mostly harvesting from large tracts of private forest lands primarily in Oregon and Washington (Robbins, 1988). Due to the isolated location, greater accessibility to old-growth timber in other parts of the Pacific Northwest, and the creation

of the Trinity National Forest in 1905, Hayfork's timber operations remained relatively local and supplemental to the agricultural economy until the late 1930s- early 1940s. As reported by the Klamath Resource Information System (2001), "though logging became an important industry by the mid 1940's, significant volumes were not taken until after WWII, when modernization and improved technologies occurred" (Human Imprint Section).



Figure 3- Moores and Langberg Saw Mill; Trinity County Historical Society



Figure 4- Trinity Alps Lumber Company; Trinity County Historical Society

The immediate needs in the wartime effort during WWII and the subsequent expansion of the housing market following the war prompted the increase in the demand for timber and wood products (Danks, 2000; Brown 1995). At the same time, technological advancements spurred the industry; gasoline powered equipment such as cats (bulldozers), yarders¹, loaders², and trucks began to replace steam and railroad operations, making remote and rough regions more accessible (Carroll, 1995).

The increased demands in timber led to dramatic changes based on two interrelated shifts: mechanization and public lands logging. The pressure to meet the timber demand along with technological advancements resulted in the opening of public forest lands for timber extraction and effectively brought the broader timber market to

¹ Yarder- A machine or system of winches used to haul logs into a landing.

² Self-propelled or mobile machine with grapple and supporting structure designed to pick up and discharge trees or parts of trees for the purpose of piling or loading. Also sometimes called a shovel.

Hayfork, shifting the towns' primary economy from agriculture to industrial timber (Aldinger, 2015; Brown, 1995).

The integration into the national and international timber market restructured Hayfork community's local economy in ways that had a lasting social and cultural impacts on residents' livelihoods and way of life. In the 1960s, public lands became the primary source for timber extraction because of the "new emphasis on road-building and clear-cutting" (Danks, 2000, p. 99). During this time, the Hayfork District of the Shasta-Trinity National forest became one the largest timber producing areas (Danks, 2000). The proliferation of jobs in the 1960s and 70s led to in-migration of many young workers and families. A long-time logger and resident stated that, "it was nothing to have 10 outfits working in this town. It was nothing to have 50 timber fallers in this town in the spring and that's not counting the ones that lived here. People who just came in to fall timber. The population swelled considerably in the summers." The influx of new people and the growing timber industry provided an economy that exceeded the economic base of past industries.

The thriving timber industry in Hayfork led to visible changes in the town's landscape through the increase of timber employment opportunities and the development of new businesses that marked economic growth and material wealth in the community. Most people who were not in the agriculture business were engaged in the timber end of Hayfork's life (Trinity Journal, 1952). Hayfork began to flourish under the timber industry; by the 1970s, the town had a movie theater, a couple of restaurants, hardware store, various grocery stores, three gas stations, and multiple local businesses that all did

well (Martin, 2006). The town's population was young; it was mostly blue-collar families working in the timber industry and the accompanying businesses that thrived in the timber economy. Three bars provided the night life and important social gatherings for workers in their off times. Tommy's Joynt was the gathering spot for loggers after work and became the traditional social hub for events that included loggers' family; The Lookout was deemed to be the place that forest service workers and "hippies" went to socialize; The Hayfork Hotel, the only bar still in business today (See Figure 5 & 6), was the place where most people could mingle—loggers, ranchers, forest service employees, miners, and pot growers (Martin, 2006).



Figure 5-- Hayfork Hotel Circa 1948; Trinity County Historical Society



Figure 6- Hayfork Hotel Circa 2014; Personal Photo

The industry fostered a sense of community through the contribution of money to support civic engagement. The timber companies provided funding for many social events and contributed to civic engagement; the county fair, logging shows, mule races and other events brought people together and fostered a sense of community that translated into volunteer work and community service projects (Personal Communication, July 30, 2016). Social events and organized civic engagement reflected the values and traditions of the community. Many organizations formed to support the community; such as Hayfork chapters of The Lion's Club and Rotary, Peanut Women's Club, Hyampom Rod and Gun Club, Rodeo Association, and even clubs such as the pinochle club that brought women together. The timber economy supported and sometimes funded these clubs and associations which brought Hayfork resident's together and reinforced shared values.

The Fall of the Timber Era

The fall of the timber era was brought about by a multiplicity of factors, the most notable being the impact of increased environmental regulations. The rise of environmentalism led to numerous policy changes that rural timber-dependent communities felt directly. Natural resource industries historically go through boom and bust cycles, and while jobs had been declining since the early 1970s due to mechanization, the increase in environmental regulation marked the beginning of the rapid decline of timber harvesting in Hayfork and the larger Pacific Northwest. The passage of the National Forest Management Act of 1976 changed timber harvest planning and regulations on public lands; it restructured the decision-making and limited timber harvests and management of units logged on national forests (Carroll, 1995). The Hayfork area was particularly vulnerable to public lands management changes because about 85 percent of the land surrounding the community is national forest and the timber companies and local economy relied heavily on the availability and accessibility of these lands. In 1979, the poverty rate of Trinity County was the same as the California rate, at 11.4 percent, but between 1980 and 1990 “the annual unemployment rate was about double of what the state was” (Danks, 2000, p. 76). The increase in poverty was a result of various factors beyond environmental policy, but policy changes concerning public lands management and the decline of the timber contributed significantly.

Environmental factors often overshadow the role globalization played in the decline of timber operations because of the rapid, visible effects of environmental

regulation had on timber extraction. Despite Hayfork's geographic isolation, the local timber economy was directly connected to the national and international markets, which made the local economy also susceptible to broad market changes. The workforce in Hayfork alone generated \$20 million in 1989 with half of that money from Sierra Pacific Industries and its contracted loggers, truckers, and other timber workers (Trinity Journal, 1989). A combination of increased competition on the global scale and the implementation of stricter environmental regulations due to the growing momentum of the environmental movement in the early 1990s lead to a decline in jobs in the area. Hayfork community members began to show political support for the timber industry in an effort to preserve their livelihoods and way of life.

Amidst the increase environment restrictions, the controversy over the spotted owl became front and center in the timber conflict and initiated timber communities' political organization. The spotted owl became the face of bureaucratic and environmental pressures, and was a symbol of the broader effort to preserve old-growth forests. Like many other timber-dependent communities in the Pacific Northwest, the listing of the northern spotted owl under the endangered species act threatened the economic livelihood and way of life of many people in Hayfork. An interview with a Hayfork resident in the *Trinity Journal* expressed a widely-held sentiment in the face of an attack on their way of life; "They're ripping our livelihoods right out from underneath us, so we're taking the law into our own hands through the courts" (Trinity Journal, 1989). The community began to formally organize in opposition to the spotted owl because the owl was viewed as the direct enemy to loggers and their livelihoods.

Organizations such as the Trinity chapter of Women in Timber united to voice their concerns to local and national political leaders about the changes that were occurring nationwide and the direct impacts to the community's economic livelihood.

After the listing of the northern spotted owl, habitat regulations severely limited the sales of timber on national forests leading to rapid decrease in logging and the closure of many mills in Trinity County. According to Howard (1992) habitat regulations designated "8 million acres of national forest for the threatened bird, banning logging on most of those acres and restricting it on the rest." By 1990, only two mills left in Trinity County, Trinity River Lumber in Weaverville and Sierra Pacific Industries in Hayfork. Trinity County was "one of two counties in the northwest forest plan region with over 30% of salary and wage labor employment in the timber industry in the late 80s" (Danks, 2000, p. 74). The implementation of the Northwest Forest Plan in 1994 was the last in a string of regulations and factors that compounded to reduce the harvest and sale of timber to insufficient levels. In the 1980s the Shasta-Trinity National Forest was averaging around 200 million board-feet per year; by 1990 the volume of timber being harvested in the National Forest dropped by 90 percent from previous harvest levels (Trinity Journal, 1996; Baker & Middleton, 2002, p. 3). The low volumes of timber harvested around the Hayfork valley led to the closure of the Sierra Pacific mill in 1996 because timber was harvested outside the area and the transportation of logs into the sawmill was not economically feasible.

The Hayfork community was particularly impacted by the reduction of logging operations and the closure of the sawmill because of the town's lack of economic

alternatives to replace the timber economy. The sudden loss of timber jobs led to out-migration of many families and rise in unemployment. Baker and Middleton (2002, p. 31) assert that “the degree of poverty and out-migration [in Hayfork] was perhaps one of the worst examples of what happens to a timber town with mill mechanization, increased global competition, and the implementation of the Northwest Forest Plan.” The closure of the mill resulted in the direct loss of 150 jobs, and Hayfork lost 40 percent of its payroll (Trinity Journal, 1996; WRTC, 2016). Many workers and families had to relocate with the mill or find logging jobs elsewhere, resulting in the loss of approximately 10 percent of Hayfork’s population. As a *Trinity Journal* article describes, the effects were felt almost immediately, “a delivery services run is off 40%. Video Store rentals are down sharply. Restaurant business is down 20%. Real estate values are dipping. Layoff notices have been sent to 11 school teachers” (Trinity Journal, 1996). The *Trinity Journal* (1996) wrote that the closure was “Hayfork’s Worst Fear,” the fear being that Hayfork would become a ghost town in the absence of the only industry in town:

From mid-1996-1998, both the US Census Bureau and the California State Department of Finance’s Demographic Research Unit have noted a modest drop in Trinity County’s population due to out-migration – in marked contrast with the rest of California. The Trinity County Planning Department attributes the population decline to a shortage of jobs and the 1996 closure of the sawmill in Hayfork. (Danks, 2000, p. 71).

While the state was experienced a rise in population during this time, Trinity County’s population was in decline primarily due to the out-migration of timber workers in Hayfork.

The sudden loss of the timber industry not only affected timber workers, the socioeconomic impacts of this loss resulted in a trickle-down effect throughout the Hayfork community. Compared to other forest communities in the Pacific Northwest that transitioned into an amenity resources and tourist economy to attract people, Hayfork's in-migration remained relatively small in the late 1990s- early 2000s with most of the in-migrants being retirees due to the town's lack of tourist opportunities. The change in demographics largely impacted the funding and support for the community and institutions, such as the schools, fire and road departments. The timber industry provided funding to government institutions through tax monies and the timber companies in the area donated money to various organizations, clubs, and scholarships. These institutions and organizations lost their primary funding with the decline of the timber industry in the area. The industry's collapse left residents with the worry that "whole communities [will] disappear. You're going to have whole rural counties go bankrupt because their industry is being taken away" (Howard, 1992). Residents' concerns about the loss of industry and economic livelihood also invoked the fear of losing a way of life and place, through forced relocation and changes in the symbolic meaning of Hayfork as a timber town.

"To Stay in the Mountains"

The downturn of the timber caused concern for the whole community in Hayfork, not only economically but concern for what their "place" would become. Martin (2006) expressed a widely-felt sentiment that "something of value was being lost in Hayfork, something that could not be measured in dollars and cents" (Martin, 2006). The

demographics of the town changed; according to Mountain Valley Unified School District, the school's K-12 student enrollment dropped from 720 students in 1990 to about 250 currently enrolled today and extracurricular activities, such as sports, were downsized. The volunteerism in the community dropped and contributed to the weakening community morale (Baker & Middleton, 2002). When financial support from the timber companies receded, the community events and organizations, for instance events at the county fair and the Peanut Women's Club, "all started disappearing. It was really hurtful to all the community and volunteers and stuff" (Personal Communication, Logger's Wife, July 30, 2016). Addressing the broader economic changes that impacted Hayfork, although interrelated, does not fully capture the impact on relationship between people and place.

The Hayfork community was rooted in a strong sense of place and attachment to the quality of life that the area provides. Relph (1976) states that location is alone is not a sufficient condition of the characteristics that contributes to place attachment: "visuality, the sense of community that place engenders, time in place and the value of 'rootedness'" all must be considered when addressing people's relationship to place (Quoted in Creswell, 2015, p. 37). Place attachment tends to develop perpetually overtime through every day experiences and goes unnoticed until structural changes threaten that place. Hayfork's changing place is illustrated through many writings to newspaper editors, textual discourse in the Trinity Journal, as well as poems conveying the emotional attachment to Hayfork. The poem "To Stay in The Mountains" by Debbie Hoopes conveys the attachment to place and the way of life that has been built in this rural town:

You and I share a dream.
 If we never have anything else,
 We want our children to know
 The clean fresh look of new fallen snow.
 We don't want them to miss
 The robins gleefully announcing the coming of Spring,
 When every bright little wildflower
 Is a matchless work of art painted by God Himself.
 We want them to be able to play in a creek
 And get brown and even
 A little lazy in the summer sun.
 We want them to know the crisp cold air
 On their faces in the Fall...
 A time when they can walk through millions
 Of red and gold leaves
 That crackle beneath their feet.
 Most of all, we want them to know what it means
 To live and share with a family who sticks together.
 You and I share a dream...
 Teaching them love is up to us.
 The rest is up to God,
 Our determination...
 And maybe a little luck.
 To stay and work in the mountains....
 This is all we ask...
 This is our dream.

-“A Logger’s Wife” (1992)

The people in Hayfork made concessions to stay because they liked the quality of life that the area provided and had made a conscious decision live in this community or as one resident framed it, “nobody came to Hayfork accidentally, people came here because they wanted to” (Trinity Journal, 1996). Despite the lack of job opportunities in town, some timber workers and their families made sacrifices to stay in Hayfork by commuting long distances to work or often retraining for lower paying jobs. Sense of place and place

attachment is important why individuals chose to stay in the area regardless of changing community dynamics over the last 20 years.

The Rise of a New Natural Resource Industry

The Hayfork community experienced a drastic decline in the absence of the timber industry like many other timber-dependent communities in the Pacific Northwest, but unlike many communities, Hayfork was not able to transition into an amenity-based economy. Natural amenities are natural resources such as public lands, mountains, lakes, and other features of a landscape that attract tourism (Petrzelka, Krannich & Brehm, 2006). The geographic isolation as well as the still present visual impacts of mining and timber extraction that made it difficult to market Hayfork's natural amenities for tourism (Baker & Middleton, 2002). In response to these challenges, various community members gathered together in an effort to move the economy towards new restoration and non-timber product economies.

Organizations such as the Trinity Bioregion Group and The Watershed Research and Training Center non-profit worked to develop a community collaborative restoration economy that worked to retrain skilled woods workers for forest restoration (Danks, 2000). These programs have been successful in providing valuable jobs that utilize the skill and knowledge of local people and influencing community forestry policies, but the job opportunities and development of a restoration economy failed to match the economic base and sense of community that the timber industry offered. The early predictions and fear that Hayfork would become a ghost town in the absence of the timber industry was

prevented. The efforts of community members to diversify the economy, combined with federal funding and programs, kept the town afloat until the current industry emerged in the area—the “green rush.”

The fall of the timber industry combined with the geographic isolation of Hayfork provided ideal conditions for the boom of the alternative marijuana³ economy that arose in the mid-2000s. As one logger disclosed, “there was always pot growers, always has been before what we are going through right now.” The already established hidden presence of marijuana in the Hayfork valley, and the closure of the mill, combined with passage of the California medical marijuana legislation in 1996 offered a platform for the success of a new natural resource economy in the absence of alternative industries. The marijuana industry was characterized as the “green rush” because the development of the industry paralleled the processes and economic boom of the earlier gold rush, but has different implications for local economies because the marijuana’s illegal classification. The marijuana industry has quickly become the major driver of Hayfork’s economy, again creating dependency on another extraction industry (Aldinger, 2015). The marijuana industry holds even more risk and uncertainty than previous boom and bust industries because of the underground nature of the market, vulnerability to market and state policy changes, and the potential impacts of the recent legalization which are currently unclear.

³ For the purpose of this research, I have made the choice to use the term “marijuana.” This was the term most often used by participants. The stigma commonly associated with the term marijuana is an important reason for participants’ views of the rise in the marijuana industry in the area.

The rise of the marijuana industry and its potential economic fortunes brought a large influx of new people into the area, which altered the collective identity of the Hayfork community. The factors that led to the boom of the marijuana industry in Hayfork paralleled past natural resource industries, but was different because of the illegal nature and stigma of the industry. The illegal classification of marijuana caused the industry to become largely private and individualized; because of this, the marijuana industry does not contribute to the community in the way the timber industry did through the involvement in community events and funding for the improvement of the town's infrastructure.

The culture and community that has developed around the marijuana industry is complex and controversial economically as well as socially. While marijuana had been a supplemental source of income for some working in the timber industry, it was small-scale, largely concealed, and was not a basis for individual or community identity. Local conflict over values, beliefs, and identities ensued between newcomers and old-timers concerning the changes in the community. Interview participants acknowledged that the marijuana industry has been an economic stimulus for the community. The perceived social and cultural impacts of the marijuana industry are currently the source of dispute within the community. The shift in Hayfork's economic base has led to lasting impacts on the community and residents who were involved in the timber industry. The loss of the timber economy particularly impacted the logger, whose identity is intimately intertwined with his occupation. To understand the affects that deindustrialization had on timber-dependent communities such as Hayfork and more specifically, the loggers within this

community, the next chapter discusses the formation of logger identity and the consequences of the rapid decline of timber jobs on logger's sense of self, place, and community.

THE LOGGER: A DIFFERENT BREED OF MAN

The image of the logger has changed over time from a celebrated symbol of national pride to a highly-contested figure filled with conflicting meanings. The representation of loggers has shifted from a romanticized hero archetype in the foundation of American society to being demonized for their role in the destruction of the environment (Walls, 1997). Historically, the logger image was constructed through the romanticization of the logger as a masculine bunyanesque figure and the embodiment of a “man” because of the hard-physical work and danger of the occupation. Modern loggers, on the other hand, have dealt with contradictory perceptions of the logger; the direct act of cutting down a tree that embodied the mythos of the bunyanesque became the source of blame in the Pacific Northwest timber wars. The logger was a point of contention and conflict because of his direct relationship and interaction with nature and the forest in which extraction of timber occurs. These representations and stereotypes have influenced the construction of logger identity and the negotiation of loggers’ self-identity in the face of changing public perceptions.

Loggers have been greatly impacted by the political conflicts surrounding the extraction of timber in the Pacific Northwest and the subsequent decline of the timber industry in the 1980s and 1990s. This was exemplified not only through the loss of jobs but also their central role in the conflict as the source of blame because of the nature and history of their occupation. During this time, the logger symbolized the timber industries exploitation of the environment for capital gain. The centrality of loggers in the PNW

timber wars is due to the physical presence of loggers in the forest, the individuals directly involved in the cutting and extraction of timber. The public discourse surrounding the timber wars placed loggers in direct opposition to the environment and, not only threatened their economic livelihood, but also challenged a deep-rooted way of life. The social, political, and geographical marginalization of loggers has contributed to their less visible and largely overlooked perspective on the Pacific Northwest timber conflict and the active engagement in the creation of self-identity (Walls, 1997). To begin to understand the formation of logger identity and the effects of external influences on the identity of this occupational group it is essential to recognize the way of life and social organization of the logging occupation.

The construction of logger identity is embedded in the individual's everyday lived experiences and is reproduced through the remembrance and reinterpretation of the past based on current social and economic circumstances. The logger's work life and social organization within the logging occupation is key to understanding the symbols and stereotypes that shape logger's sense of self and worldview, and how the identity and worldview are negotiated over time in relation to broader structural changes. Although loggers identify as a group with shared realities and values this case study illustrates, acknowledgement of internal occupational differences first must first be addressed before generalizing the identity of loggers as a cohesive group. The logging occupation is process that begins at the cutting of the tree and ends at the loading of the trucks, which requires a specific number of workers with different duties. The different jobs with the logging occupation distinguish workers from each other based on their role in the

process. Logger identity must be addressed in terms of different role identities, the centrality of the logging occupation in the individual's life, and how these roles and interactions within the occupation contribute to loggers' overall sense of self.

The Modern Logger

To understand the impacts of the Pacific Northwest timber wars, the subsequent environmental regulations, and decline of the timber industry on loggers' and their sense of self, it is imperative to define who is considered a logger and who is not, and the processes that shape the boundaries between them. A logger is a subset of timber worker, a worker involved in the direct process of harvesting trees and the foundation for the process of moving timber from the stump to mill (Carroll, 1995; Reimer, 1995; Serenari, 2015). Through conversations with long-time loggers, different job roles and responsibilities proved important to further specifying how loggers not only defined themselves but their relationship with loggers in different job titles and non-loggers working in the timber industry. A logger's job function also led to variations in defining which jobs are worthy of the title of logger. There are not only set boundaries between who is a logger and who is not, there is an internal hierarchy that shapes boundaries within the logger definition based on job function and responsibilities.

Despite the attributes and bonds that unite all types of loggers, distinctions of subgroups and job roles within the occupation has created a hierarchy of loggers. All loggers interviewed identified themselves through the specific job function that they committed and obtained a high level of skill in. The internal categories of loggers are

distinct and, although workers tend to move through and across different job roles, they usually have a specific job goal in which they work to obtain and become established in. Timber fallers⁴ and the rigging crew⁵ are considered the core of the logging occupation. The choker setter⁶ is the lowest job function under the logger definition, but is also the foundation and starting point of many woods workers. A periphery group of the logging occupation, such as road builders and logging truck drivers, contributes to the process of getting the logs to the mill but generally would not be characterized as loggers because they are not directly involved in the process of extraction. Workers who are employed in the brushing and replanting occupations are not ordinarily considered under the term logger because they are not a part of, though they are involved in, the logging industry. Each job role within the industry is important to the individual's construction of self and contributes to the attributes and characteristics expected in this occupational community and the culture built around the nature of loggers' work.

⁴ Timber Faller- The person who performs the act of cutting down, or the felling, of the trees.

⁵ Rigging Crew- The group of loggers who operate, set up and maintain cable systems and machinery involved in the operation. Rigging- The cables, blocks, and other equipment used in yarding and loading logs.

⁶ Choker Setter- a person who attaches chokers to logs. A choker is small piece of cable with a knob and fitting bell, used to attach logs to skidders.

The Hierarchy

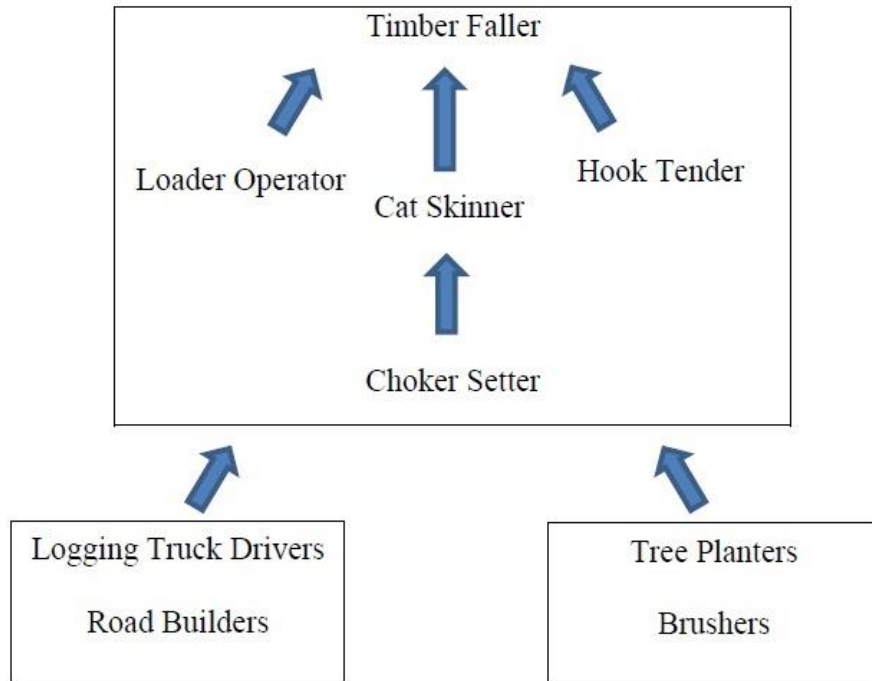


Figure 7- Hierarchy of Logging Jobs

The hierarchy of logging jobs is based primarily on the proximity of the logger from the direct act of cutting down the tree. This hierarchy not only entails skill level or ability to do the job; it is also very interconnected to the process of becoming a “man.” Most loggers had their start at the bottom in positions of brushing, working the landing, or choker setting, whether that be working for a family member at a young age or coming into the occupation “green” (Personal Communication, July 3, 2016). The logging occupation has been and continues to be a very hyper-masculine occupation. The demanding and dangerous nature of the work has been internalized over generations and

historically has been tied to the image of what a man is: someone with the courage to confront danger, who is tough, hardworking, and able to overcome any obstacle. The primary groups interviewed in this research are loggers who identify themselves as part of a rigging crew and timber fallers. Workers in the lower job roles tend either to move up into one these highly skilled and respected positions or they leave the logging occupation.

Jobs lower on the hierarchy tend to be very physically demanding and are used in the initiation process to determine if a worker has what it takes to be a logger and work with the crew. Choker setting is the foundation for many entering the occupation to prove their ability and worth. In this position workers learn the language and pace of logging, although this position is entry level it tends to be the major determinant of pace. One cat skinner displayed the importance of a good choker setter to maximize speed and efficiency, “you got six chokers. You give the choker setter four. He always gave me two and I’d go up the hill and get a couple of logs. By the time I got those two he had the other four set. Back and forth, back and forth, keep the cat moving never stop, keep it going.” Choker setters are expected to show hard work and strength-endurance without complaint. Workers usually only had a matter of days or weeks to prove they could do the job, those who could not keep up were fired and those who could, worked in that position until interest and opportunity to move up the hierarchy presented itself.

An example of this process is told by a long-time cat skinner⁷ who recalls his start in the logging occupation when he had no experience working in the woods and eventually worked his way up the job hierarchy:

I didn't know anything about a chain saw. Never started one, never used it. So, I got going on the landing⁸ and I worked my way up to choker setter... You had a head hooker and a tail hooker and I did that for hell I don't know, 2 or 3 years. But I really liked equipment so I got to work with _____. Every once in a while, he'd have to get off the cat and go someplace. He got me hooked with a skid log and says 'I'm going to be gone for about half an hour take that skid in the landing'. And I just looked at him. He took off and I stood just there and took me a long time to get up on that cat. That's how I learned how to run a cat. Every time he'd run off I got better at it.

Skills obtained to move into more skilled positions especially equipment operators are often times obtained through informal training. This logger was eventually able to get hired on a cat skinner through his hard work and initiative. A cat skinner is higher up on the hierarchal ladder, usually paid more, and more respected as a logger because of the technical skill and knowledge require in that position.

The loader operator⁹ is the next highest status position on the logging site and demands highly developed skills with little room for error to safely and efficiently operate on the landing and in close proximity to other workers. A position that about equal in status is that of the hook tender,¹⁰ who works on the yarder logging crews. As stated by a hook tender, to succeed in crew positions takes hard work, commitment, and responsibility:

⁷ Cat Skinner- The person who operates a cat

⁸ Landing- The small flat area where logs are dragged for loading.

⁹ Loader Operator-The person who runs the loader

¹⁰ Hook Tender- The foreman in charge of the yarding crew.

Hook tender is the guy figuring out where the yard is going to sit, what the anchors are going to be, where the skyline is going to hang. You can't just quit that for a few days for a fire because you're the one that knows what's going to happen with that machine. Logging is a hard job. Especially when you're hook tending, your hauling stuff around and climbing trees. It's a very hard job.

The more highly esteemed jobs in the logging occupation are those that require higher levels of skill that are hard to replace are especially when the danger of the job positions is considered. Loggers in these high skill positions are more independent, in terms of independence on the work site as well as opportunity to change employers when needed because of these highly valued skills.

The timber faller represents the top of the logger hierarchy. Timber fallers symbolize the logger image, the public's perception of a logger, and the elite position within the logging occupation. Within the logging community, and especially in the perceptions of timber fallers themselves, there is an important distinction between being a logger and a timber faller. Timber fallers consider themselves to be the elite of the loggers because fallers they perform the act of cutting down trees (Personal Communication, August 27, 2017). Rooted in the historical symbolism of the bunyanesque logger, the timber faller embodies the rugged individualist man performing strenuous, dangerous work for the building and betterment of American society.

Workers who tended to become successful timber fallers are likely to come from multiple generations of men working in the industry, most of whom were timber fallers themselves. As one logger stated, "the guys that learned timber falling from their fathers were better timber fallers in general. I've known a couple that have learned from other people that were good, but most of the guys that were really good were people that

learned from their fathers.” Learning how to cut trees at a young age from close family members instills logger identity and pride in work early on, and continues to be reinforced throughout their lives in the industry. Like other loggers they must prove that “they have what it takes” to get the job done and does not get special treatment just because of their family member’s reputation. An experienced timber faller learned to cut timber from his father but began at the bottom and gained his own reputation through hard work and dedication.

Second-generation timber fallers had the advantage of learning important skills at an early age, but expressed that family reputation did not change the process of starting at the bottom and proving their skill and work ethic. A timber faller told about his experience starting out as a choker setter and taking the advantage of down time on the cat site to run to where timber fallers were working and fall some trees, then going back to choker setting; “I was learning how to fall trees, I knew the basics but I wasn't what you'd call a timber faller.” These types of experiences are another example of the informal means of learning new skills and working up into higher status positions. Timber fallers communicated early in the interviews that the title of timber faller means more than the ability to cut down trees. Timber falling is a highly skilled and dangerous occupation and was; it takes time, practice, and precision to become skilled enough to be a true timber faller (Personal Communication, August 27, 2017).

Masculinity and Manhood

The logging occupation instilled and required a set of attributes that were deemed necessary to be a successful logger and was closely intertwined with the perception of manhood. The logger hierarchy and the common theme of timber workers learning the trade from their fathers and other men at a young age is representative of the process of “becoming a man.” The characteristics of manhood are hyper-masculine and tend to correspond with the qualities of a hard work ethic, courage in the face of fearful situations, and physical and mental toughness that make a good logger. A logger recalled proving his toughness in his younger years; “Our joke when we were young, if we knew where the logging job was, the joke was that we'd drive up there and find the weakest guy and beat him up and take his job.” The competition for jobs was constantly being challenged by others who also trying to prove their toughness and masculinity.

The reputation of a loggers' manhood and toughness was not solely dependent on his work life, but also in his social life. The attributes of being a productive logger often translated into reputations based on toughness and resulted in physical altercations on the worksite as well as in social settings such as the frequently mentioned barfights. The old local bar in Hayfork, Tommy's Joynt, was deemed the “logger bar” in town and many stories are told of the quarrels between loggers as well as with “outsiders” who came to the bar. While reputations of manhood and toughness were at stake, the fighting was often perceived as “all in good fun.” A logger recounts the good times had at the bar after work:

I remember coming in there [Tommy's Joynt] and there would be five different logging companies in there and we'd all be in there hoopin' and a hollerin' every night and wearing our cork boots and fighting. You know that's just the way it

was. That's just the way loggers are, they work hard all day and play hard in the evening.

The logging occupation transformed boys into men through the strenuous demands and dangerous nature of the job. Despite physical maturity of the men and the seriousness of the job, the men found time to “blow off steam” with other loggers in their off-time through drinking, fighting, and asserting their masculinity. The assertion of masculinity outside the job reflected how men were also at work and vis-versa, which represented the importance of masculinity not only as a worker but as a man. When logging job opportunities began to decrease, there were fewer workers entering the occupation, which meant fewer men learning this working-class ideal of masculinity and the attributes mentioned above that make the logger culturally distinct.

The decline in the timber industry contributed to a crisis in masculinity. The immediate loss of jobs not only threatened livelihoods but also what would become of their sons and the next generation of boys in the community. A logger who runs a small logging company expressed the need to instill the important qualities in his son that he contended as being lost in today's generation:

I have an 18-year-old boy who I want to teach how to be a worker. I mean I don't particularly want him to be a logger but you know the era he is getting raised in. He has bad habit of sitting around playing on the computer and not getting up in the morning and going to work. All this summer he has been getting up at 4:30 in the morning and going to work. It's changing him, its turned him into a man and making him stronger, gritty.

Twenty years after the closure of the mill in Hayfork, there is a sense amongst those interviewed that people and boys in the community do not have the values and life skills that were deemed important in the logging culture, such as a hard work ethic and the

pride that comes from honest hard work and a job well done. These beliefs contribute to the apprehension felt by participants for the wellbeing of the adolescents entering adulthood and for the future of the community in general. Participants emphasized the notion that work ethic and discipline, traits that are declining due to the absence of the timber industry, are vital to success in life, career, and providing for their families. The interpretation of success and responsibility as the family provider are also closely intertwined with the traditional ideals of masculinity.

The ideals of masculinity have been central to the differentiation of loggers from “ordinary people,” and the separation has heightened in recent decades with the decline of workers in the logging occupation. A logger expressed the distinction that separates loggers from other workers; “it takes a special kind of person to go out there and risk your life every day. But that’s the bad part about it. After a few years of it, you kind of get hooked on it. It’s like adrenaline rush, it’s like you want to go out there and sacrifice your life every day. It’s just part of your life.” The dangerous work creates the separation between loggers and others because not only are these workers willing to risk their life for the job, but they find excitement and enjoyment in the performance of these jobs.

Participants often told of stories about overcoming dangerous situations, the willingness to sacrifice one’s life for the job, and the ability to endure the hardships of this lifestyle throughout their life create an understanding that loggers are a “different breed of man.” Stories are told of young men working summer jobs with old-time loggers and having a hard time keeping up despite their young bodies and physical strength. One story told of how a young man was only able to work for a few summers and would sleep

in the crummy to and from the work site while men over twice his age would drive and work all day then drive back (Personal Communication, July 3, 2016). This longtime logger responded to his ability to endure this work all these years by expressing that “logging was good for me and it was something I could do. Something I knew how to do, something I liked to do. If you get sawdust on the back of your neck that’s it. You stay there. Some of us do, some of us don’t. It’s a different breed. I’ve been really fortunate that way.” Such statements work to set loggers apart from everyday working people. The occupation and physical ability to perform in a demanding job are not the only factors that make loggers a “different breed of man,” but the claim that logging is a “calling” and not necessarily a choice separates loggers from other people. The reoccurring theme of logging as a “calling” is particularly important when trying to understand the impacts on loggers’ sense of self after the deindustrialization of the timber industry.

Logging as a Calling: “It’s in Their Blood”

The participants’ belief that logging is a calling reinforces the internalization of the occupation in their personal sense of self, the professed lack of realistic alternative occupations, and their commitment to the occupation as a way of maintaining their identity as loggers. The experience of a logger who tried to change occupations when job availability was drastically declining illustrates the emotional attachment and power of logging to the individual’s identity:

I’m one of them loggers that there for a while, about 6 or 7 years when it got bad. I quit logging and I went to work building houses and did some of that for a while. But a big ol’ timber sale happened up there and the logging trucks started going by every day and I looked at my boss and I said ‘I don’t think I’m going to

be around here much longer'. He's like 'why?', 'Because that big timber sale just started right there on South Fork and it's going to be there for a couple of years and I know everybody on it. They've been talking to me and I think I'm going to have to hang it up and go back to logging'. Well I was making a steady pay check there for those guys, I couldn't get ahead but I was basically doing the same things as I was when I was logging. I was getting the bills paid and we were making it. But when the logging trucks started going by, man, it was my calling you know? I had to go. I was done here. I was going back logging. A week later I was up there cutting timber for those guys... being from here, logging is just... I'll probably be a logger until the day I die.

This example represents many of the participants' assertions that logging was the only true career for them, despite the lack of stability and economic opportunities of other occupations. Logging defines a large part of their identity. Even when loggers weren't working in the timber industry, they were still "loggers at heart", and claimed that logging gets "in their blood" or some variation of that statement. The common statement of "it's in your blood" refers to the emotional involvement workers have in the logging occupation which relates to the perception of the work being a calling, as well as a reference to the multigenerational involvement in the timber industry. When a logger talks about his grandson's interest in becoming a timber faller, he reasoned that it's in his blood and he will eventually end up in that occupation. Logging is a family tradition for many people in the area. In the past logging allowed families to live a certain lifestyle here based on self-sufficiency and independence, both in personal and work lives.

Independence

Although loggers depended on the timber industry for their livelihood and the broader market structures, the independence of the logging occupation is a central factor in the foundation of the occupational identity. The sense of independence is especially

pronounced with gyppo¹¹ loggers and timber fallers, who commonly note that the job allows them to work on their own, away from other workers, the personal freedom to get the job done how they see fit, and the ability to change employers if needed. A timber faller states that in the “heyday” of logging it was “freedom if you were a gyppo timber faller because you were your own boss.” Many times, fallers had bosses they would see a couple times a month and “the better you were the more everybody left you alone.”

Loggers frequently changed jobs in a season and it was not uncommon for a logger to quit one job and have another that same day. “I know some loggers that would probably have a new job every year. I know some gyppos that would work until the first thing went bad and quit and go to another job.” In one instance, it was recalled that a timber faller had fourteen different jobs in one summer. The movement from one job to another was a way not to become dependent on one employer and the ability to get another job based on skill and reputation of work.

Although rigging crewmen do not usually have the same freedom as timber fallers they are still perceived as having a lot of independence in their jobs especially if they were highly skilled and had a good reputation. This was expressed through the idea that if a logger did their job well they were expected to be left alone, or the ability to be given free rein on a site to finish the job. A skilled cat skinner recalled an experience that shows the freedom of being left alone to overcome challenges on the job site and accomplish a task his way:

¹¹ A logger or contractor who works at piece rates. Also called a “Busheler”. Usually refers to independent loggers versus company hired loggers.

We got that done with that job and we went down the road to another little job and [the boss] says you won't be able to work for about three days because I have to finish this other job and the loader won't be here for three days. And I said what do you mean I won't be able to work? He says well you don't have no loader to deck logs. I said I can deck them with a cat. Well we got down there and I went to work. He said I never seen anybody do that before. When the loader got there all they had to do was load logs.

Experience and proficiency in job position generally leads to greater autonomy on the job site. Many times, the job expectations require that a logger is able to overcome obstacles on his own to get the job done. Rigging crews are also less independent than timber fallers because of their reliance on other crew members for the timber operation to run successfully. The feeling of independence on the rigging crews are aimed toward individual job roles and worker's low tolerance for micromanagement on the job site.

Despite the general willingness of loggers to leave a job and move to another one, rigging crew members are expected to have a certain level of commitment to the crew they are working with to keep their job. "The reason you have so many people in a crew is everyone is necessary and if one doesn't show up it makes it really hard for somebody else on that crew. So, if you keep not showing up or you're just a little late getting your coffee ready when the crummy is waiting outside, you were probably a goner." Working on a rigging crew required more commitment to the operation than a timber faller, because loggers in a crew worked directly with each other in the process of getting the logs from the woods onto the logging truck. The dynamic of working on a crew made commitment, punctuality, and efficiency important qualities for a logger to build a good reputation within the occupation. Equipment operators who exhibited these qualities tended to stay with the same employer for longer periods of time, some even showing

strong commitment to employers who treated workers well and gave them freedom within the job tasks by staying with the same outfit for many years. While commitment to the job seems to contradict the strong sense of independence, it is a valued quality in the logger community and is closely connected with a strong work ethic and pride in the job.

Pride

Pride is a reoccurring theme in the conversations with loggers and this feeling of pride comes from various sources. Participants pride in derived from technical skills and expertise, pride in managing healthy forests, and the pride in enduring the decline of logging in the area and staying in the occupation. Pride in skill is the most evident in conversations with loggers, and is portrayed in the way they tell their stories. Stories of the “good ol’ days” are told with pride, and with a large amount of respect and awe in regards to the experiences of loggers before them. The loggers’ stories are a large part of male socializing and seek to reinforce their sense of pride and identity in the occupation. Stories told often portray the logger himself or someone he knows as a hero for overcoming a challenge or taking on a dangerous situation and becoming better for it.

Timber falling requires a high level of skill because every tree sets forth a different situation and challenge. Fallers take great pride in their skills and build their coveted reputations on the ability to exercise judgement and safely fall trees, creating the least amount of breakage and damage to the tree and surrounding trees while maximizing efficiency and conserving energy. Stories of falling trees exemplify high levels of skill,

knowledge, and talent that set the faller apart from other workers by completing challenging jobs that others could not. For example;

These [trees] were probably 3 1/2-4 foot trees, there was three of them. Been dead at least 6 years. They had all these ugly nasty limbs hanging off them. The guy says, 'you think you can handle those?' I looked at them and said 'I don't know, maybe, they look pretty dangerous'. I said why don't you stay up here because once they start falling I don't anymore people down there than absolutely have too. It wasn't a good situation to walk into. Anyway, I went down there and I put an under cut in it, put a little back cut in it, and tapped a wedge in it. Then I went to the next tree and did the same thing to the next tree. I went to the third tree and I fell the third tree into the second tree and the second tree into the first tree. So, I did a domino thing in a circle and they came down there and I said 'is that what you wanted?', they said 'you'll do'.

Timber falling is highly respected and a source of pride, not only for timber faller themselves, but in the broader occupational community because developing the set of skills needed to be successful in the art of timber falling takes time and commitment to the profession.

Pride in skill is also very evident in equipment operators' and rigging crewmembers' sense of self. Loggers display a sense of pride in whichever job they are working, whether that be the speed and efficiency of being a choker setter when they began working in the industry or the ability to load large amounts of board feet in a day as a loader operator. Cat skinning stories depict an exceptional amount of pride demonstrated through the deep technical knowledge of the equipment, courage to work in difficult terrain in which others would not or could not go, and the ability to adapt to complications and situations to get the job done. A cat skinner provides an example of skill and the need to adapt to unforeseen circumstances:

One time, the shovel [loader] broke down and we had trucks coming and in them days you didn't have radios. You can't call down to the mill and say stop that truck we're broke down up here. They came back and said 'well what we going to do?'. I says well, I never done this before but I heard some of the old timers that says we can just dig a hole with that cat, get that truck down it and take the stakes back flat on the ground and we can roll them big logs on. So, I got busy and dug a hole. The first truck come in, we got the trailer off, backed down the hole and we hooked the cable on the trailer with the blade of the cat and drug it off. The truck pulls out and he hooks it back up and he backs down in the hole and let the stakes down. We roll the first log on and we put the outside stakes up and shoved it over with the cat and got the second one on and two big shorties on top. That was a little wrestling match but we got it hook up, we got it all done. That was amazing doing that.

This experienced cat skinner later told of an experience in which he was filmed for a demonstration video that would be shown to people getting their logging license. He was chosen based on his reputation in the occupation and his knowledge, ability, and skill on a cat. Pride in skill is central in the logger community because it helps to build reputation and respect in the logger's work and social world, skill is one measurement of masculinity, and provides a positive sense of self even when their occupation is being morally challenged.

Loggers conveyed a strong sense of pride in their profession. This pride became more evident through the vilification of logging and the spotted owl conflict and still resonates today. "I call it the guys with the most pride stayed. The money ain't that good in logging. It's pride. It's more pride than anything in the industry, you know? You're just proud of what you do." Loggers were proud the occupation because they felt the occupation was a calling to perform the dangerous work to provide for the larger society in the form of wood products as well as their duty to manage and keep the forest healthy.

The decline of the timber industry and portrayal of loggers during the conflict not only threatened the workers' livelihood, but was perceived as an attack on identity, character, and contradicted their perception of the service the logging occupation provides. For example, a logger told of his frustration of the loggers' image during this time and how he feels they were misrepresented; "I believe the biggest environmentalists all these years were the loggers because they were out there doing their job, managing the forest, and took pride in it. Where'd they got off saying we weren't? We're good stewards of the forest." These perceptions culminated in the dichotomy of owls vs. loggers and the protests of the loggers that portrayed them as the endangered species. The changing public image of loggers as the face of the opposition towards the timber industry conflicted with loggers' beliefs and pride they had in the work they performed and the forests they were closely connected with through their everyday work lives.

Stewardship

As mentioned in the earlier quote, loggers have an intimate connection with the forest and unique knowledge based on close interaction and experience; it is a place where they work, play, and their livelihoods depend. One logger described experience of working so close with nature; "the views are incredible. When you're on top of a mountain at dawn. Some of the commutes you have are so good, you hear about traffic jam on interstate 80, and here you are going along a dirt road on top of a ridge. There's just no comparison." Many times, it is not the logging job that creates this connection and attraction to the forest, but the attachment and lure of the forest that attracts workers to

the logging occupation. A strong attachment and intimate knowledge of place was expressed in conversations with loggers through their close interactions with the forest beginning at a young age and their most recent concerns for the health of the forest surrounding their community.

Despite the images and public perception of loggers as destroyers of the forest during the timber wars, loggers stress that they care about and believe in managing the forest and perceive themselves to be stewards of the forest. A logger and his daughter conveyed the connection loggers had to the forest; “Their heart is in the woods, like they give a shit. I mean you hear him, he’s prideful about seeing it last.” “If anyone cares about the forest it’s all these loggers.” The loggers in the study felt the public image of them as destructive to the forest was misunderstood. Participants expressed that they truly care about the health of forest, and as a member of Women in Timber stated, if for no other reason the woods are the loggers’ “bread and butter. If we destroy it, we aren’t going to have anything. What we want is for them to work. Let us get in there, be stewards of the land and take care of it so there will be work for the generations that come after us.” The loggers and those involved in the logging community believe that to keep a forest healthy it must be maintained and that balance will be beneficial for the workers as well as the land.

The health of the forest was a central concern for loggers and continues to be a concern with the absence of logging. Despite common concern for the health of the forest, the conflict between environmentalists and loggers emerged over differing opinions on how to maintain healthy forest lands. Loggers view the forest differently than

others; this comes from a unique, practical understanding of the environment in which they have the knowledge to maintain the well-being of the land. Some environmental regulations were seen as beneficial to the timber industry and forest. A logger expressed his feelings toward the regulations that were changing logging practices; “we had restrictions. It changed a lot and it changed for the good. A lot of the regulations were good for a while. Then came the spotted owl. The regulations seemed to go too far against everybody.” Loggers interviewed recognized that some of the practices of the timber industry were not healthy for the environment and adapted to the changes set by environmental regulations, but believed that the regulations went too far when the spotted owl became an issue. They repeatedly expressed the need for a happy medium that would mutually benefit the environment and timber workers.

The thing is, I think the environmentalists have been, not misinformed, but we have the most stringent and probably the most responsible logging rules in the world. There is a market out there obviously and we are not providing it. So, what are we doing? We are logging the rainforest, logging some country that doesn't care. Doing a lot more damage to somebody's environment somewhere than we would if we were doing it here. There's got to be a happy medium somewhere between the excess production and sustained production.

Loggers, as seen here, voiced concern and awareness not only of local impacts, but of the broader implications of the deindustrialization of logging in the United States.

Conversations with loggers revealed a unique perspective that portrayed concern for both local and broader environmental issues as well as the social implications of the resulting decline in timber harvesting in the Pacific Northwest.

To Be a Logger After the Fall

Loggers and individuals close to loggers emphasized that being a logger was not just about what they did, but about who they are that makes a person a true logger. This is demonstrated in the aforementioned attributes and perceptions that contribute to logger identity. For example, one logger summarized what it means to be a logger;

It means getting up early in the morning. I still get up at 5:30. When I was a logger we used to get up sometimes at 3:30 if you were a couple hours away from home. It means a lot of hard work and a lot of pride in your work. Always try to do the best job you could and make the most money you could. It means being fast and keeping your eyes open.

Loggers perceived that to be a successful logger, a person needs to have a hard work ethic, pride, mental and physical strength, common sense, and self-initiative. These qualities are central to loggers, but they are not a complete list of valued characteristics. Participants stated that to just have these qualities is not enough, a logger must also be “someone who likes hard work and gets a sense of pride from what he is doing in his job.” Loggers not only have the characteristics that contribute to a good worker but they must enjoy hard work and have pride in the job to endure the laborious, dangerous nature of their jobs, and to be able to overcome the changing public image and current stigma attached to their livelihood.

The perception that a logger’s job contributes to their overall identity is important to understand why loggers did not see any other realistic alternative occupations despite the rapid decline of jobs in the 1990s. The common statements of “it’s in our blood”, “it was my calling”, and “you get hooked on it” are representative of the emotional involvement workers had with their job. These statements explain the lack of perceived viable options, as well as rationalize the sacrifices most loggers made to stay in the

industry after the decline of logging in the Hayfork area. Many loggers began to work farther away from home and moving with the work, sometimes traveling two to three hours each way or only coming home on the weekends (Personal Communication, July 30, 2016). Because they did not see other options as viable, loggers had to adapt and compromise with the changes that were taking place in the industry if they wanted to continue working in the timber industry. The logging community and workers' reputations and connections became very important during the period of decline because work was harder to find and jobs were often obtained through interpersonal network connections rather than formal job processes.

Loggers had to adapt to the new conditions on the job as well as to go about finding work in the scarce job market. Adaptation to the changes in environmental regulations and decline in job opportunities were perceived as crucial for continuing in the logging occupation throughout the years. "I'm the last of the old-school logger but also the beginning of the new school". There was a shift in the loggers' school of thought, concerning how the work should be done and compromising with the changes in their job and working with "outsiders" on the jobs to follow new environmental standards. A logger recalled some other long-time loggers' reactions to the environmental changes:

A lot of those old timers they just quit. They couldn't believe what was happening, they were like you're crazy. It did affect people. They'd be like 'well we used to do it like this', I'm like 'well, those days are over. If you want to log now we are going to do it like this'.

Many of the old-time loggers had trouble adapting to the new logging standards and left their jobs and entered retirement rather than seeking other employment. Other loggers

adapted to these new regulations and continued to log. But the new environmental rules and increased competition made it harder for small companies to stay in business, and areas like Hayfork were no longer economically attractive to large timber corporations, which resulted in job scarcity and required loggers to travel further to find job opportunities.

All loggers interviewed stressed the importance of connections, reputation, and little bit of luck to stay in the logging occupation. A long-time logger attributes his ability to withstand the decline in jobs to these factors:

I've been lucky because I've always had a job and doing what I like to do. I was good at it, that's what I continued to do from the mid-70s to 2006. I managed to go through it all because I was lucky enough to I don't know, work for the right people, who were really organized.

All but one of the loggers interviewed either worked in the industry until their retirement within the last decade, or they continue to work in the industry. Of the loggers who retired, all still use their skills in supplemental work outside the logging occupation, whether through operating equipment or felling trees. A logger emphasizes the importance of connections in the logging community for continuing to find work:

I have stayed busy in the logging business, never really killed it but I made just enough money to make it. The reason is I have lots of friends in the logging business, and I've been tied into the logging business for generations you know? It's like a tight knit group. Once you're in with that group they'll find you work... Yeah it's really tight now. I mean you don't just walk out there and find a logging job anymore. You got to have connections.

The occupational community, though much smaller, continues to be a vital resource for finding work and plays a practical role in the everyday life of loggers who were able to

remain in the industry. The occupational community is crucial in the absence of logging jobs in the area for widening the logger's geographic range to find jobs.

Taking jobs out of the area means more traveling and sacrificing time at home with family and friends, which placed a burden on the loggers' personal lives. This sacrifice was perceived as necessary part of loggers' lives, but created some hardships on the family. As a loader operator stated,

I stuck around kind of close but everyone started struggling even more because they couldn't get the timber sales. I ended up in Quincy and traveled around. I spent a couple years in Etna. But Trinity River Lumber, if it wasn't for them we would have had to leave completely I think. Which I went away and came back on weekends. I didn't want to move. That was tough working five days a week and got out of Saturdays. I went through two marriages because of it.

While the majority of participants are still married, the changes in the timber industry and decline in logging jobs had negative effects on some logger's personal and family life that went beyond the noticeable economic struggles. If the logger was working more than a few hours away from home, he tended to stay near the job site and travel home on the weekends, resulting in less time with the family and more financial costs for the same amount of pay. "I've worked out of Oregon, I've work over on the east side, Happy Camp. I was on the coast for close to 8 years after all this shut down around here." While it was hard on the family socially and financially, in most conversations with loggers' family members, the choice to travel was accepted and supported because the job was what loggers liked and wanted to do, and was a source of pride for the whole family.

The hardships of the logging industry were expected by the family because of the history, multigenerational involvement, and nature of the logging occupation. The

hardships that logging families have overcome were viewed as experiences that made their way of life more rewarding. Logging is perceived as a good honest living and was respected by the family and the broader community in which they lived and socialized. “I think it’s been a good life. A hard life for him, and it was hard on me with him gone a lot but it’s been good to us. We’ve learned how to plan for winter and layoffs. Scrimp and save. It’s been a good life.” Logging is a hard, dangerous occupation but it allows these individuals and their families to live where they wanted and the way they wanted.

Logging is co-constitutive in shaping an individual’s identity, and allowing people to live a certain way of life, as well as building a way of life around the logging culture. As a logger asserted:

It’s a whole culture. You’re here and you’ve got to live, well you don’t have to, but it’s often the case that a logger will be a hunter and probably be interested in nature or whatever. There is a whole way of life that goes with it. But that’s that redneck way of life or whatever you call it. The country way of life is different and they feel sorry for people who live in the city; like why would you want to do that.

The occupational self is prevalent in loggers’ overall sense of self, but is not an isolated determinant of the workers’ identity. Other identity roles are central to conceptions of the self, such as father and husband, or their “country” identity, which encompasses their way of life and relates to where and how they choose to live their life, and the logging occupation has enabled them to do that.

The decline in logging and the shifting public image of loggers had lasting impacts, not only on loggers’ livelihood, but on their perceived sense of self. The timber conflict threatened loggers’ way of life because of their emotional involvement in the job,

the centrality of occupational identity in their personal lives, and long standing traditions built through multiple generations of family in the timber industry. The impacts of the decline in the timber industry in the Hayfork were not limited to the occupational community, but also the loggers' families, and the broader Hayfork community.

As explained in the next chapter, the loggers' occupation constructed a logging culture which was manifested in the broader community's identity as a "timber town," wherein there was a shared reality and a common set of values, beliefs, and traditions. The places in which people interact are central to the formation of collective identity. Specifically, the emergence of logger identity in the women, the family, and the broader community through shared experiences and interactions with loggers in spaces of the home and the town.

MANIFESTATIONS OF LOGGER IDENTITY IN THE HOME AND THE TOWN

Prayer of a Logger's Wife

Dear Lord, this prayer is for a special man...
 A hard working, God fearing man
 With the heart of a boy.
 He is a proud man who believes in doing right
 But would fight to the death for the people he loves.
 He is a man who knows and loves the woods as well
 As if the very mountains gave birth to him.
 Thank you for giving me such a man.
 I may have it a little rougher sometimes
 Than other wives, but I'm a whole lot richer,
 I will never be without a reason to smile,
 A shoulder to cry on,
 Or two strong arms
 To hold me close at night.
 Keep him safe Lord,
 Whether he is falling a 300 foot tree
 Or wrestling in the yard with the kids.
 You'll know him.
 He is Tom Sawyer disguised as Paul Bunyan.
 Keep your eye on the boy and give strength to the man...
 Amen.
 -Debbie Hoopes, "A Logger's Wife" (1992)

The logger was constructed as an almost myth-like hero, a different breed of man who was the embodiment of masculinity, toughness, and willingness to sacrifice his life for the job. The iconic figure of the logger was a symbol of pride that provided the foundation for a way of life and collective identity within the Hayfork community, as well as timber communities throughout the Pacific Northwest. Logger identity was not isolated to the occupational community– it provided meaning and an identity in the home, through the families' close connections and reliance on the occupation as well as the

town, through shared history and experience surrounding the timber industry. The foundations of the home and the town were built around loggers and the timber industry. This produced a strong interconnection between loggers in the woods, the family in the home, and creation of community in the town. The logging occupation and the labor involved in logging instilled a set of qualities and values in loggers that were internalized by the town and worked to create the foundation for the community's identity as a "timber town". The perception of the logger as a myth-like hero provided the foundation for a collective identity, beginning with women in the home and extending into the identity of the town.

In "A Logger's Wife," Hoopes portrayed the intimate connection between the wife and the logger; the logger defined himself by his occupation and the wife defined herself in relation to him as a logger. The women were central to the maintenance of logger identity, through taking care of the home and the family, and supporting the way of life that allowed the logger to maintain his identity. The women closest to the loggers deeply internalized logger identity and played an important role in nurturing the collective identity between the community and the logger. The women were also the primary support for the continuation of the generations-old way of life built around the logger and their occupation. Women provided the necessary platform for loggers to maintain their primary identity as a logger while supporting other role identities that were important to their sense of self and life outside of logging.

Through the deindustrialization of the timber industry women were the biggest supporters and defenders of the logger and their established way of life. The increase in

environmental regulations and the decrease in timber operations in the Hayfork area put constraints on the logger's occupation and threatened their "manhood", which was echoed in the impacts on their personal and social lives. The family and home were a place in which the values and beliefs of logger identity were shared and reinforced. The traditional roles within the home and family were restructured to accommodate changes in the logger's occupation throughout the decline of timber industry.

While the men's occupation continued to be primary and central to the dynamics of the family, women's role in the home vis-à-vis the logger changed according to the circumstances. They continued to be responsible for the home but were not constrained to the home. For example, a logger's wife discussed working at a school and continuing to take care of the home and the family while the logger was away working (Personal Communication, July 30, 2016). Women took on roles outside the home to help support the family during the decline of timber jobs which allowed loggers to adapt to the changes in the industry while continuing to work in the woods.

Women provided the important social connections between the logger and the community because of the nature of loggers working long hours away from home and reinforced the collective timber identity, especially evident in discussions of social gatherings and community events that revolved around the timber industry and logging (Personal Communication, September 13, 2016). When the logging occupation and way of life was endangered these events and gatherings became an important platform for the mobilization of women to maintain support for the logger within the community. During the controversy over the spotted owl and old-growth protection, women took the position

of the loggers in the political sphere to become active defenders of the logging occupation, way of life, and the community's economic livelihood.

The Home: A Shared Reality

Hoopes (1992) stated that "For certain men, logging starts as a job and becomes a way of life... and so it is for those who love him." This statement referred to the way in which loggers' wives identified with the logger's occupation and defined herself through the way of life built around the logging. The logger's way of life was not constrained to the woods; because logging was more than a job, it was a way of life that extended into the home. The home was a place in which connections with logger identity are deeply internalized, and a place that provided the foundation between the logger and his off-work life. The home offered a space for the family to connect and share in the everyday experiences and struggles of the logger's way of life. Hoopes (1992) asserted that logger's wives "may have it a little rougher at times" but were also "a whole lot richer". The wives and family defined themselves in relation to the logger through shared feelings of pride in this way of life despite the hardships that occur with the occupation.

The dynamics and values of family were a major part in the support, reinforcement, and reproduction of logger identity which had been constructed through intergenerational involvement in the timber industry. Family networks and support were stated to be very important for adapting to the decline of timber jobs and remaining in Hayfork. The changes in the timber industry require families to make compromises to their established gender roles and family structure within the home. As one logger's wife

stated, “if you have a big family, you can’t make it just on your husband’s employment. You have to go to work.” The sacrifice of women aided in some loggers’ ability to remain in the logging occupation, maintain his logger identity and masculinity, and preserve the family’s way of life throughout the decline of timber.

Women assumed the logger identity through their shared experiences and relationship with the logger; this was evident in their self-identification as a “logger’s wife” and “a logging family,” as well as the pride and respect they have for the logging occupation. Pride rested on the appreciation of logging as honest hard work, the valued importance of work ethic, and dedication to the job. The daughter of a third-generation logger explicitly stated the shared pride and respect that she feels for her father occupational livelihood:

I am proud because I watched a man dedicate his whole life [to logging]. He worked 17-20 hours a day and got paid for no more than 12 or 14. It makes me proud to have that work ethic and that family value. It’s hard to explain, just as hard as he has worked... I’ll tell you right now that my dad is a logger and I’m damn proud of it. It’s made me really respect the people that go out and do that work. To know that it founded everything as we know it. I’m just proud.

Pride in the job and the value of honest hard work was shared by the wives and family of loggers and contributed to their collective identity. These valued characteristics were central in the family’s adaptation to the changing family structures and resiliency of loggers to continue working throughout the decline of the timber industry in Hayfork. A logger’s wife who had also worked in the woods explained that “we worked more as a family unit, you definitely don’t see that today.” Because the wife and the family defined themselves in relation to husband’s work as a logger, the identity of the family was

dependent on the fate of the logger and his occupation. The relationship between the logging occupation and family values and traditions was crucial for the understanding of “who we are” as a logging family. The timber industry provided the foundation for the family’s identity, which led to the mobilization of women when their valued way of life was at risk.

Timber’s declining fortunes forced families to renegotiate their roles within the home. More women took on added responsibilities and stress to support and adapt to the changing structure of the logger’s occupation. A member of Women in Timber recalled “when the logging started dwindling a lot of the workers had to work away from town. They had to follow the jobs is what they had to do. They had to get the jobs. That was hard on the family.” Women continued to maintain the home and the family but also took on paid jobs to off-set the added expense of traveling when logging jobs required men to travel farther away from home. A logger’s wife whose husband had to travel long distances for work stated, “that was hard on families because they were supporting two households. A lot of the spouses ended having to go to work to pick up a little bit of the slack.” Established gender roles within the family were restructured in an effort to remain living in Hayfork because both the men and the women had “lived here almost [their] entire life and have roots deeply embedded in this community” (Trinity Journal, 1996). This attachment and rootedness in the community kept some logging families in Hayfork despite the rapid decline of the timber industry around Hayfork. The internalization of identity linked to the logging occupation and established way of life was displayed through public support of logging and the timber industry.

The Timber Town: A Collective Identity

The logger and his occupation provided meaning to those around him which was manifested in the town's identity, traditions, and worldview. Women played an important role in fostering and maintaining the family and friendship networks were central to everyday life in the community. The logging occupation provided loggers with an occupational community and support networks, while the families of the loggers made up a large part of the broader community in Hayfork that supported and shared in the logging culture. The importance of community to loggers and their families were expressed through the ways in which their lives were shaped by the place they lived and worked.

The respect and admiration for loggers and their occupation in the Hayfork community was fundamental to the construction of its collective identity as a timber town. Due to the strong presence of the timber industry and availability of timber jobs, most residents had family or close friends involved in the industry in some way which created rapport and connection between the workers and the community. A logger's wife and former brusher explained the connection between logging families: "we associated together. I was friends with the different loggers. We were always a fairly tight group. Those of us that are left today, we are still friends." Logging families tended to have strong relationships with other families that shared similar experiences and mutual interests. During the height of the timber industry, families involved in the timber

occupation made up a large portion of the community and contributed the formation of the town's collective identity.

The admiration for loggers' experiences and attributes, within the context of the community, work to reinforce qualities such as a hard work ethic, toughness, and a common sense of rootedness in place. The sense of community was proudly portrayed through stories of gatherings, whether that be through fundraisers, potluck dinners, or drinking and fighting at the bar after work. The sense of community during the height of logging tended to be compared to the current community and the changes that have occurred in the last 20 years. A wife of a timber faller sums up this sentiment:

We always would go to dinner at somebody's house, it'd be my house one weekend, it might be another on a different weekend. You don't see that anymore. It was a lot of family oriented type things. Kids and everybody came. Potluck style and it's got away from that.

The mentalities of "work hard, play hard" and the "working-man" were qualities that were shared by individuals outside the occupation and these commonalities helped to unify the loggers and the community.

Most men in the community worked together under the primary industry which fostered a sense of commonality and familiarity on and off the job, as well as provided similar schedules for social routines. The routines based around the work schedules of loggers became small, unique traditions within the community overtime that crossed boundaries into the traditions of other working men in the community. A logger described one example of a traditional routine that revolved around the working-class man; "It was the work ethic. Irene's Cafe, all the loggers used to go in there and have

coffee. Drinking coffee and drinking beer. Coffee in the morning and beer in the evening.” The traditions of the social life of loggers and timber communities had been built through multiple generations of the community organizing their life around work in the timber industry.

The tendency of timber workers to stay in the area and follow in their father’s footsteps constructed strong feelings of localness and emotional attachment to the place in which they worked and lived. While logger identity is central to a logger’s overall sense of self, other identity roles add to their identity and connect them to others in the local community outside of their work relationships. “It was such a drinking culture. Everybody was also into hunting and fishing. That was the big recreation. A lot of loggers were into trapping in the winter.” The traditions and social activities were situated around the demands of the timber industry, activities from meeting for coffee and drinking before and after work to hunting and fishing in the off-work season when most loggers weren’t working. The shared values and mutual interests that were constructed through the close interactions and familiarity with place and contributed to the local community’s collective identity.

The logger and the local community established a way of life around the logging culture which included a set of social norms, traditions, and values that provided a political platform for collective action when this way of life was challenged. The community collective identity strengthened and reinforced the image of a logger as an iconic figure in the community despite the shift in the public perception of the logger during the timber wars. When the community’s way of life was threatened, the collective

identity and culture of the town strengthened. Walls (1997, p. 21) claims that “individuals can thus experience the intensification of social identity and important social issues in such a manner as to facilitate a heightened, reflexive awareness of their position in life.” The community’s activism and support for loggers during the spotted owl controversy could not have been as unified without the efforts of the women in the community to mobilize in defense of the logger and community livelihood. The organization of women in the community provided crucial connections and political ties during the timber wars between the logger, the local community, and the broader nation.

Women in Timber: The Political Logger

The women had an intimate connection with logger identity through shared experiences and relationships with loggers in the home, which led women to adopt the position of loggers in the political sphere as defenders of the local logging occupation and timber-community. The Women in Timber organization in Hayfork consisted mostly of the spouses of loggers and millworkers, millworkers themselves, or from intergenerational logging families. A Woman in Timber member echoed this fact, “It was to support logging in general because almost everybody that was in it [Women in Timber], their husband was a logger.” The organization was an outlet for women to support their family and friends that depended on the timber industry, create community social and political engagement, and provide a political platform to be voice their position at state and federal levels.

The Trinity County chapter of Women in Timber formed as a political platform in support of their local sense of place, culture, and the well-being of the community. When the loggers were being constrained in their occupation by the broad structural changes in the timber industry due to increased environmental regulations and the protection of the northern spotted owl, Women in Timber adopted the position of the logger in an effort to protect their way of life and deal with forces beyond their community as well as the increased outside influences in the community. Women in Timber advocated on the behalf of loggers and the community at local, state, and national levels as a strategy to give voice to the loggers' view and defend the local families' and communities' livelihoods. Women in Timber became a strong presence and advocate for loggers and the community in Hayfork during the decline of the timber industry.

Loggers and the local community perceived the political decisions that were affecting their lives as outside their ability to influence until the later stages of the forest conflict and the rise of the spotted owl controversy. The Trinity County Chapter of Women in timber began in 1987 after continuing to "complain" and discuss the "disgust with the decline of the industry" and what they could do about it at get-togethers at the bar Friday nights. It was suggested by a logger that they should meet with the established North Coast Chapter of Women in Timber and developed their own chapter. One member of the Trinity chapter summarized the goals and efforts of their local chapter of Women in Timber:

Women in Timber was basically a grassroots organization. Our Women in Timber around here was for the logging industry. We started out small, very small, but we grew to quite a few members. We would have yard sales and bake sales and we

ran the beer booth at fair to raise money to go back to Washington DC, and lobby to try to get the politicians to really look at what they were doing, to what was really going on here. We would go back and we would sit with senators and congressmen, whoever we could get in to see and actually lobby. We had women that were really knowledgeable and could actually throw it out there to them. We would invite them to come back and go on woods tours, which got very small reception except for our local congressmen and stuff.

The women involved in this organization provided social ties between the logger and the local community but were also instrumental in advocating in the public political sphere for the jobs in the timber industry, the well-being of the local community, and their way of life as logger's wives, daughters, and mothers. Women in Timber worked to provide a different position that challenged the platform focused purely on environmental issues in an effort to "make people aware of the human impact of the timber issues and regulations."

Women in Timber advocated for issues and adopted a political position that parallels the perceptions of stewardship that contribute to aspects of a logger's identity. During the timber wars and decline of the timber industry, the foundations for the logger's sense of self shifted from the personal and occupational sphere into the community as a defense against the outside threat of political changes. The perceptions of forest management and stewardship were clear in Women in Timber's conversations of political strategy against the changing environmental regulations affecting the timber industry. The former president of the Trinity chapter reiterated the organization's purpose, goals, and struggles:

We were advocating for forest management for the health of the trees, supporting what logging did for the overall health of the trees and forest lands. We need to be stewards of the forest like we used to be. It was like beating our heads against a

brick wall every year. I went back 5 years in a row. Every year we would raise money and do everything we could to raise money to pay our own way back there.

Women in Timber reinforced the perception that loggers experience living and working in the local woods provided a unique understanding of the environment and the need to sustain the forest because their livelihoods were dependent on the health and abundance of timber. The stance that logging is essential to forest management was expressed by the necessity to have a healthy, sustainable forest that allows “our way of life to go on and keep my home town beautiful.” The platform of forest management closely intertwined with the well-being of the community and worker livelihoods.

The loggers’ long working hours in the woods made it difficult to partake in the political conflict, thus Women in Timber provided the loggers with a representative for their issues and concerns regarding the changes that were effecting their occupation. Women in Timber was the political connection between the local community and outside forces that were affecting their livelihood because “everybody was working. Everybody was busy and working so hard, they couldn’t spend the whole day to read EIR [Environmental Impact Report]. Environmentalists had all the time in the world, while everyone else was trying to raise their families.” Women in Timber provided the support needed to understand and bring awareness to the environmental regulations that directly impacted the daily lives of timber workers. Most participants perceived that the environmental groups not only held opposing views concerning the health of the forest but were able to disregard the human impact of the conflict because it did not directly affect their livelihood, bringing awareness to class and cultural differences. Women in

Timber's connection of the issues of forest health with the local livelihoods of timber-dependent communities was a strategy to bring awareness to the direct impacts on individuals' daily lives and the mutual benefits of managing the forest.

Women in Timber advocated for issues and concerns that went beyond the economic livelihood of the workers and the town, and extended into the culture and overall well-being of the community. When expressing the impacts of the timber industry, the participants not only spoke of economic hardship, because hardships were viewed as a "part of life" in industries with boom and bust cycles, but the largest impact was expressed in the changes in the community. The sense of community and social engagement were important indicators for the perceived well-being of the community, as stated the former president of the Trinity County Chapter of Women in Timber explained:

[We] would put on potlucks at Tommy's Joynt on Halloween and St. Patrick's Day, that almost all of us were involved in. It did a lot for the community. We raised money for school equipment, benefits to raise money for people in need. We'd have a Christmas party every year. We did a lot of things at the bar, fundraising things. All the money we ever made went right back into the community.

The primary indications of the decline in community after the closure of the Sierra Pacific mill and loss of timber jobs was conveyed through people's civic engagement and community involvement. The out-migrations of timber workers and their families created a "trickle-down effect" that changed the dynamics and identity of the community. As expressed by a participant;

Those people were a whole other breed. You take all those people and they were really family oriented and they we would get together and do things together.

They'd all be at the football games with their kids together and so I don't think it was unusual back then... [After mill closure] The beer booth is not nearly as fun. The County Fair suffered. The fair really suffered and that's the major event in Hayfork. Quit having rodeos and mule races for a while. No more mill picnics. [The town] lost so many kids the sports programs at the school have declined, a ripple effect. The kids don't stay in the area any more. No jobs. No work, they can't.

Women in Timber focused their efforts toward preserving the local community and its way of life through civic engagement, while advocating for logger's livelihood and source of self-identity across local and national levels. Participants stories portrayed the persistence and resilience of logger's and the timber community in the face of the vilification of the logger image and the community's economic livelihood on national scale.

Despite Women in Timber's political efforts, the closure of public land timber extraction made mill operations unfeasible for the last mill in the area to continue operations in Hayfork. The former president of the Trinity Chapter of Women in Timber expressed the influence the organization had in keeping the mill in town; "Women in Timber were told if it hadn't had been for us, our mill wouldn't had been here as long as it was." The closure of the mill and loss of logging jobs in that part of the Shasta-Trinity National Forest resulted in the out-migration of many timber workers and families, resulting in the loss of many community members who provided the foundation of the logger culture. The Trinity County chapter of Women in Timber disbanded with no industry left to support, donating the residual funds from the organization to the local schools and a scholarship fund. Political activism in the Hayfork community culminated

with the closure of the Sierra Pacific mill. “We worked our butts off and had fun doing it. We met wonderful people we are still friends with after all these years.”

An “Old Timber Town”: The Renegotiation of Collective Identity

The passage of the Northwest Forest Plan in 1994 and the mill closure in 1996 heralded the end of the timber era in the Hayfork area and rapidly changed the community. Many workers involved in the timber industry and their families moved out of Hayfork after the closure of the mill. The loggers interviewed continued to work in the logging occupation, but as stated before, they had to travel out of the area to find work which allowed their families to stay in Hayfork. Despite some logging families staying in the area, the collapse of the timber industry in Hayfork greatly affected the community economically and socially. A third-generation logger expressed the immediate impact of the closure of the mill:

Oh man, I’m telling you. I was born and raised in this community and when that mill closed down it changed Hayfork dramatically. It went from a working town to a welfare town overnight. I mean besides the people who were working in the forest service and the schools, and a few businesses, Hayfork really fell hard for a while. I know because I saw lots of my buddies around here lose their houses, and I saw lots of divorces, and I saw lots of drugs abuse. I mean I saw it all happen right before me.

The loss of the timber economy had devastating effects on the workers and families in community who stayed because there was no other viable economic base for the community to fall back on.

The fate of loggers and timber workers’ fortunes were economically tied to others in the community, such as local businesses and the school system, which in turn affected

the community's involvement in the civic engagement activities and the traditional means of socialization that promoted community culture. A Women in Timber member and local business owner expressed the impact that the loss of timber jobs had on the businesses and consequently other jobs in the community:

These little businesses were holding on by a thread. Look at all the businesses that closed. There was two grocery store, two gas stations, coast-to-coast hardware store, auto parts, restaurants. Each one those businesses employed people and families. Those people lost their jobs. Loss at school, look at all the teachers who lost their jobs.

The loss of timber work and the closure of the social places in which loggers and the community used to gather and interact broke down the tradition and routines that had encompassed logger culture and off-work time socialization. A logger provided a specific example of the loss a place that had meaning for many loggers; "You know like Tommy's Joynt, the famous bar, it just went away." The important places in which past logger culture and collective identity was reinforced and reproduced no longer existed which brought about a crisis in the identity of the town.

The town's transformation of identity had impacts on the community's social cohesion and people's sense of community. There was a sense of loss regarding the community and collective identity without the support of the industry and timber work that established the town's identity. Participants perceived a downfall in community cohesion without a unifying entity to provide common worldview. A Women in Timber member expressed that, "the community feeling is just dwindling. People keep trying to paste it back together and it's just not sticking." Place is the site where meaning and identity are created through memories and connections with the past that link people

together in the community (Cresswell, 2015). The out-migration of timber workers and their families dissolved the link that provided the common collective memory and connection to the past in which the timber-community identity was constructed.

The shift in the structure of the community resulting from the out-migration of workers removed the foundation on which prior notions of community engagement and the established sense of community were based. The change in community combined with the decline in the economy has affected every aspect of community from social events to high school sports. The community engagement that was valued during the timber era was drastically reduced after the closure of the mill. A participant stated that the “whole perception of community is going down the toilet” because the number of people volunteering and putting on community events was not maintained in the traditional way of the past.

The most stated case of change in the overall community was the valuation and concept of work ethic, or lack thereof, after the decline the of the timber industry. A retired timber work affirmed the perceived lack of work ethic in the current community compared to the past; “I became a hard worker, but I grew up in that era. It was more or less expected of you. Everyone worked hard. You don’t see a lot of that today.” The participants felt that younger generations are lacking the highly valued hard work ethic that came from the opportunities and involvement in the logging lifestyle, and that this lack of work ethic was influencing the quality of the community. As stated by a participant,

They [kids] have no work ethic. There's just not enough of those big jobs. They used to be able to work in the summer at the mill or brushing, and it taught them how to work. Their butts had better be up at 4 o'clock to catch that crummy and now it's all video games and crap.

The perception of the decline in the sense of community is based on the loss of the values, beliefs, and qualities constructed by the logging occupation that was reinforced in the community.

The lack of economic alternatives led to the community redefining itself from a “timber town” to an “old timber town.” After the closure of the Sierra Pacific mill, the community went through a period in which it was trying to redefine itself like many other timber-dependent communities. Many timber-dependent towns shifted into amenity-based industries and reconstructed their identity around these new industries. The development of an amenity-based industry was not a feasible option in the Hayfork area because of the town's geographic isolation and history of the area as a working landscape. Therefore, the rapid shift from a timber to non-timber economy stripped the community's generations-old identity and left the community to renegotiate the meaning of Hayfork in the absence of alternative industries. A long-time resident and logger's wife asserted:

If there is nothing to hold people here, they are going to leave. Because they are not just going to move up here for the clean air and the beauty of it. Not unless your retired. There's not that many retirees that want to move into an area like this. Some I'm sure but not enough to sustain a town.

Hayfork's identity continued as a romanticized interpretation of the past and an industry that no longer existed in the area. The identity as an old-timber town continued until the

rise of another natural resource industry, the marijuana industry, replaced the timber industry as the town's primary economy.

Out with the "Old," In with the "New" Industry

The rise of the marijuana industry changed the community through an influx of new in-migrants and challenged the in-group/out-group dynamics of the community. Participants conveyed that while this industry led to an increase in the town's economy, the partially illegal nature of the industry has created conflicting feelings in the community socially and culturally. Participants' feelings varied as expressed by these statements:

I can't say it's a bad thing, it's keeping the community going. Without them it would be falling on its face. So, I say more power to them. I know a lot of people don't like it but I'm looking at it for the long run and what this community would be without it. I think it would become a ghost town.

I don't really agree with growing pot in general, but I don't agree with not having anything to do here at all.

I'm not growing, I'm working. I'm still logging. I'd rather see that go away. I'd rather have a ghost town.

Many participants indicated that marijuana cultivation was not new a practice in Hayfork, it was stated that loggers and people in the community had been cultivating crops on a small scale since at least the 1960s. The past illegality and stigma of marijuana cultivation contributes to the conflicting perceptions of the new economy and community. All participants acknowledged the dependency of the Hayfork's economy on this industry, but also expressed mixed perceptions and feelings relating to the cultural aspects and dynamics of the community. The partially-legal/ illegal status made it

difficult to establish a collective identity or sense of pride around the new industry like the community had in the past with the timber industry.

The rise of the marijuana industry brought with it a new community that did not have the history or established roots of the earlier timber industry. Participants perceived a sense of loss associated with the new industry and their feelings of inclusion and belonging. This sense of loss was expressed by a long-time logger and Hayfork resident:

Shove all of us loggers out of work, we're growing marijuana here now. We aren't harvesting timber, we're growing marijuana. Where do I fit into that? If you don't own land you don't fit in. What about us? Nobody cares about the loggers; they don't care about the school teachers. All the people who live in this town care about is growing marijuana. It's ridiculous.

Some of the participants expressed feeling excluded and isolated in the current community. The feelings of being excluded from the process of change in their community contributed to participants' unfavorable perceptions of the community constructed around marijuana industry. The current community was frequently compared to the past well-being of the community during the height of the timber industry.

The qualities of work ethic and pride that the timber industry instilled were revealed as the main losses that weakened the sense of community. The collective identity and well-being of the community continues to be rooted in the economic base of the town's current primary industry, thus the perception of the community is largely dependent of the opinions of that industry. The timber industry was regarded as a way to earn an "honest living" and contributing to the larger society, while the marijuana industry is not viewed as honest living because of the legal concerns and the negative stigma surrounding people who participant in marijuana cultivation. This was expressed

through frequently recurring statements of “no work ethic” and “no pride” in the younger generations and current community.

Despite the perceived loss of collective values and beliefs that contributed to their sense of community, the loggers and women interviewed expressed strong attachments to place and rootedness that outweighed this sense of loss in the community. The history of overcoming and riding out the bad times kept several participants optimistic about the community despite their current conflicting feelings. A member of Women in Timber asserted that “this community will always find a way to make it.” The continued faith in the community is rooted in the past experiences of boom and bust cycles, the investment families have in this place, and the ability to “ride-out” hard times economically and socially.

“Riding It Out”: Logging Families’ Attachment to Place and Way of Life

The economic structure of the community was linked to the town’s collective identity, but regardless of the changes in the community, living in Hayfork was central to maintaining their way of life. The residents’ commitment to community, attachment to place, and the instilled tradition of “riding out” hard times kept some loggers and their families in place despite economic hardships and Hayfork’s limited job opportunities. All the participants interviewed contributed staying in Hayfork to their attachment to place, rootedness, and feelings of “home.”

Many participants came from generations-old local logging families, and these deep roots between Hayfork and the families kept them in the area. A participant who

was born in Hayfork conveyed this attachment to place; “I’d say you know, people that come here, that weren’t raised around here, it was a lot easier for them to pack up and move. Where the people that were tied in around here they didn’t want to go, they wanted to find ways to stay.” These roots took time to acquire, and fostered a sense of inclusion and belonging regardless of the shift in their sense of community. A logger’s wife expressed the importance of rootedness despite the perceived undesirable changes in the community over the last twenty years;

I’ve lived here all my life. This is where my kids are, my grandkids, my parents are gone but [his] mom is still here. To me this is home and as much as I hate seeing what’s happened I just can’t see starting over someplace else.

A strong attachment to the place and established a way of life that led families to restructure family and work dynamics to stay in the logging occupation as well as in place despite the perceived loss of the sense of community that paralleled the decline of the timber industry. Despite the loss of industry in the area, the wives and families of loggers were crucial in the resiliency of the logger to continue working, and thus maintain their logger identity. The women’s shared reality of the loggers’ way of life and generations-old rootedness in place influenced the logging families to make necessary adaptations, which allowed loggers to maintain their central sense of self as well as keep the family “home.”

CONCLUSION

The situation of loggers is more complicated than it first appears; the implications on loggers and their families have affected the broader community and the foundation for participants' sense of self, place, and community. Participant's discussion of the changes in the community are based on the recollection of memory and the nostalgia for the past. Acknowledging the subjective lens of memory assists in the understanding of participants' feelings of inclusion and exclusion within the community overtime. In the context of a rural town, what constitutes separate communities is not straightforward and tends to shift overtime, as the discussion of the relationship between the logging community and the broader community of Hayfork revealed. This research aimed to illuminate the central role the logging occupation played in the formation of logger identity and the collective identity of Hayfork, and the complicated effects of the rapid decline of timber on the loggers, their families, and the Hayfork community.

This thesis contributes to the existing literature on identity theory and analyzes the complexity of answering the question of "who am I?" throughout changing processes that directly influence individuals' lives. Specifically, this study on loggers illustrates the shift in the definition of identity from one of sameness to one of differentiation. The formation and reinforcement of identity was based on the common interests of loggers' occupational community but also worked to distinguish loggers from others as a "different breed of man" through the physically demanding and dangerous nature of the job. The differentiation of loggers as a special group of workers has strengthened since

the decline in logging jobs and reduction of the occupational community over the last twenty years in Hayfork. The ability of the loggers to remain in the occupation and maintain ties with the logger community has reinforced their occupational identity.

My research on logger identity parallels themes discussed in existing literature on occupational identity and community. It reveals the importance of the occupational community not only to the workers' occupational identity, but to their overall identity and choice of adaptation strategies. The factors characteristic of loggers' occupational community, such as independence, strong work ethic, and the ability to endure the seasonal nature of logging jobs has provided the base for adapting to changes in the industry. The uncertainty of employment has created a tight-knit occupational community that is crucial for job networks and connections, and remaining in the logging occupation. While the occupational community is vital to adapting to the decline of timber jobs, this thesis also acknowledges the central role of the broader community surrounding the logger in supporting and reinforcing the occupational identity as well as the way of life built around the occupation. Logger identity is contingent upon the logging occupation but extends beyond the occupation itself to the personal lives of loggers, and the decline of the occupation had significant consequences on workers' way of life.

This case study contributes to the identified gap in research on logger identity and explores how deindustrialization of the timber industry affected loggers' identity and way of life. The interviews supported Matthew Carroll's (1995) earlier study of logger identity, in revealing that a logger's job is more than an economic livelihood— logging consists of a set of generations-old values, beliefs, and traditions. Also, the research

maintained Carroll's (1995) assertion that loggers tend to stay in the occupation despite the decline of jobs; this was attributed to participants' perceptions that logging is in their blood and is not just a job— logging is a calling. The research expands on existing logger identity research by incorporating the connection of place and occupation. Place and occupation were the prominent components of participants' identity and determined logging families' adaptation strategies in times of economic uncertainty in an effort to preserve their way of life.

The research indicates that logger identity continues to be a strong, primary part of the participants' sense of self. All loggers interviewed are still working in the logging industry or are retired from logging but continue supplemental work in areas where they can utilize their logging skills. The ability to endure the loss of job opportunities has reinforced the identity and pride of long-time loggers and their families. Without the strong presence of the timber industry in the area, coupled with the lack of community dependence and culture surrounding timber, the reproduction of logger identity is almost nonexistent in Hayfork. Despite the resilience displayed by the participants in this research, the logger identity, culture, and traditions are declining with the aging population and nearly absent within the current community and younger generations of men in Hayfork.

Under the pressures of broader influences and the almost complete shutdown of the timber occupation in Hayfork, the support for the logger occupation by the community and the Women in Timber organization has faded. Throughout the last twenty years the collective identity as a timber town has weakened, which has caused the

participants to feel a loss in their sense of community. The sense of loss in the community was strongly expressed by participants, but the attachment to Hayfork was an important underlying factor to participants' choice in their adaptation strategies. The attachment to place was closely intertwined with the logging occupation and the construction of their way of life; but attachment to place was not contingent on the presence of logging. Other identity roles and the needs of the family contributed to decisions to stay in Hayfork, but logger identity proved to be the men's primary identity, which led to them continuing in the occupation.

The women played a pivotal role in the families' adaptation to the timber decline and allowing the logger to be a logger, as well as a deciding factor in the choice to stay in Hayfork instead of moving with the jobs. Women in this case study revealed a complex variety of roles related to logger identity, defenders of the loggers, as well as the ability to adapt under the stress of timber reductions and changes in a long-standing way of life. The role and experience of women in natural resource communities is a largely unexamined topic that is deserving of further study.

The conception of loggers and their families' adaptation to timber industry reductions is culturally situated. What constitutes reasonable adaptation from the perspective of outsiders may be completely dismissed by those being affected by the changes. As pointed out in this study, the attachment to their traditions and rural way of life, combined with the perceived political and cultural injustice on their livelihood, made loggers ill-suited for and often insulted by retraining efforts. Understanding logger identity could benefit groups involved in retraining programs because the factors that

influence this identity are important in determining adaptive behavior of workers. Often retraining focuses on providing an economic alternative without the consideration of the cultural and social sides of these occupations; taking into account the characteristics, skills, and culture of the logger could help to ease the transition of displaced workers into viable alternative occupations.

Similarly, understanding logger identity and the characteristics that contribute to this identity could work towards common ground between environmentalists and loggers. Environmentalists' acknowledgement of loggers' values, knowledge, and goals towards maintaining a healthy forest could open further communication for understanding the loggers' position, and counteract the vilification of the image of the logger since the Pacific Northwest timber conflict. The answers to these long-standing issues are complex, but understanding loggers' identity and views could work to overcome established misconceptions of the relationship between loggers and the forest, and promote mutually beneficial collaborative decision-making in the future.

The exploration of logger identity aims to address the circumstances and choices of loggers' and their families' adaptation strategies in the larger social and economic context in which these changes are occurring. The experiences of participants in this study have noteworthy parallels to the circumstances of other resource industries experiencing rapid change on local and national scales.

The changes in the lives of the loggers and the community in this case study are linked to broader political, economic, and social processes. The study of loggers, while a particularly dramatic case, has implications that extend beyond the findings of this

specific group. While no results or claims can be, nor will be, made beyond this case study, there are parallels that could be explored in further research relating to other rural workers that are dependent on jobs linked to currently declining extraction and manufacturing industries, and being impacted by forces outside their control.

The study of logger identity and the human impacts of the decline of the timber industry can provide insight for other rural natural resource industries, as well as urban manufacturing industries, to the extent that similar processes of change are occurring. The research could also offer a broader understanding of consequences of natural resource planning and environmental policy on the workers, their families, and the communities who directly feel the impact of these decisions.

While this research is one case study on one particular group of workers, the implications of national structural changes throughout the last few decades extend far beyond loggers. This case study conveys a larger story of loss, both in class status and social identity. The impacts of the decline in timber jobs on loggers is symbolic of the broader consequences of deindustrialization in the United States on working-class men. Working-class men seem to be experiencing a masculinity crisis due to the shift in the national economy away from industrial and manufacturing work. These occupations are tied closely to the traditional ideals masculinity which are now being threatened, and this shift has resulted in the nostalgia of the “good old days.” The political response of blue-collar workers in this political moment can be attributed to the feelings of marginalization and disregard for their concerns in the past decision-making processes that continue to affect their livelihoods and way of life.

The shift towards deindustrialization in this country has exemplified issues of class, creating a divide between the professional “elite” and blue-collar workers. The opposition between environmentalists and loggers during the timber wars illustrates this dichotomy. The timber conflict in the Pacific Northwest is a classic example of the sense of loss experienced by many working-class men in other industries throughout the recent decades. The polarization these groups and the marginalization of the working-class may provide a better understanding of the political responses and decisions made by working-class people on the national scale. Acknowledging the importance of occupation on the identity and culture of blue-collar workers offers another perspective to the current discussion of identity politics as well as a possible way to begin to bridge this culture gap moving forward.

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