



“It was a free and healthy job”

The timber floating in Ångermanälven in the 20th century

Olivia Forssén



Degree project • 60 credits

Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU

Faculty of Forest Sciences, department of Forest Ecology and Management

Forest Science – Master's Program

Master thesis / Examensarbeten, 2023:17 • ISSN 1654-1898

Umeå 2023

“It was a free and healthy job” – timber floating on the river Ångermanälven in the 20th century

”Det var ett fritt och bra jobb” – Flottningen i Ångermanälven under 1900-talet

Olivia Forssén

Supervisor: Lars Östlund, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, department of Forest Ecology and Management

Examiner: Elisabet Bohlin, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, department of Forest Ecology and Management

Credits: 60 credits

Level: A2E

Course title: Master's thesis in forest science at the Department of Forest Ecology and Management

Course code: EX0957

Programme/education: Forest Science – Master's Program – SY001

Course coordinating dept: Department of Forest Ecology and Management

Place of publication: Umeå

Year of publication: 2023

Cover picture: Jan Molinder (private photo)

Copyright: All featured images are used with permission from the copyright owner.

Title of series: Examensarbeten / SLU, Institutionen för skogens ekologi och skötsel

Part number: 2023:17

ISSN: 1654-1898

Keywords: timber floating, forest history, women in timber floating, interviews, historical records

Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Faculty of Forest Sciences

Department of Forest Ecology and Management

Publishing and archiving

Approved students' theses at SLU are published electronically. As a student, you have the copyright to your own work and need to approve the electronic publishing. If you check the box for **YES**, the full text (pdf file) and metadata will be visible and searchable online. If you check the box for **NO**, only the metadata and the abstract will be visible and searchable online. Nevertheless, when the document is uploaded it will still be archived as a digital file. If you are more than one author, the checked box will be applied to all authors. You will find a link to SLU's publishing agreement here:

- <https://libanswers.slu.se/en/faq/228318>.

YES, I/we hereby give permission to publish the present thesis in accordance with the SLU agreement regarding the transfer of the right to publish a work.

NO, I/we do not give permission to publish the present work. The work will still be archived and its metadata and abstract will be visible and searchable.

Abstract

The exploitation of northern Sweden's forests began in about the 1830s and continued expanding northwards over the following decades. A key factor that enabling the exploitation of these forests was the natural infrastructure, such as the network of rivers, creeks and flooding during the summer, which made it possible to float timber from the forests to the sawmills on the coast. The overall aim of this work is to analyze timber floating on the river Ångermanälven, highlighting the log drivers' role in timber supply to the industry and how timber floating was integral to local society. The timber floating in northern Sweden was a complex process, involving technical, ecological, economic, and social factors, which also evolved over a long period of time. To do justice to this complexity, I have used various methods to answer my questions. Firstly, I studied many different historical records at the National Archives of Sweden, Härnösand, including annual reports, maps, salary agreements, photographs, and newspapers. Secondly, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with 20 people who worked in timber floating on the river Ångermanälven.

The timber floating season on the river Ångermanälven was a complex process with different stages and work duties through the season with preparations, floating in the creeks and rivers and the final clear-up. The work as a log driver was a high-risk work with jam-breaking and rowing in the rapids. All my male informants said there was a good spirit and cohesion among the log drivers in the team. They also said they enjoyed working in timber floating even though the workdays could be heavy, and many log drivers wanted to work in timber floating year after year. Moreover, women had an important role in timber floating as cooks and served proper food during the heavy work shifts.

Timber floating was part of the timber value chain, enabling the transport of wood from forest to industry, and the logging and timber floating seasons created an annual cycle of employment for many men in the northern inland of Sweden. Timber floating had noticeable impacts on the local communities along the river since it created work opportunities for many people. Although the river Even though Ångermanälven was one of the last rivers on which timber floating was performed in Sweden, it could not compete with lorry transport and the other factors that had affected timber floating negatively. Nonetheless, timber floating brought imprints and memories to the people involved. I hope this study will contribute to that the oral history of timber floating on the river Ångermanälven will be preserved to future generations.

Key words: Timber floating, forest history, women in timber floating, interviews, historical records

Sammanfattning

Exploateringen av skogarna i Norrland började under 1830-talet och fortsatte sedan norrut följande årtionden. Nätverket av bäckar och älvar hade en betydande roll för skogsexploateringen eftersom det möjliggjorde att stora volymer av timmer kunde flottas från inlandet till sågverksindustrin vid kusten. Det övergripande syftet med studien var att analysera flottningen i Ångermanälven, lyfta flottarnas roll i försörjningen av timmer till skogsindustrin, samt hur flottningen var integrerad i lokalsamhället. Flottningen var en komplex process som innefattade tekniska, ekologiska, ekonomiska och sociala faktorer, som även förändrades över tid. Jag har därför använt olika metoder för att besvara mina frågeställningar. För det första studerade jag historiskt källmaterial vid Riksarkivet i Härnösand, där jag bland annat studerade årsrapporter, kartor, lönelistor, fotografier och tidningar. För det andra har jag intervjuat 20 personer som har arbetat som flottare, kockor och timmervakt i flottningen på Ångermanälven.

Det var många olika delar och uppgifter under flottningssäsongen med förberedelser, bäckflottning, älvflottning och slutrensningen. Att arbeta som flottare var riskabelt, bland annat genom att ro i forsarna och arbeta på brötarna. Alla mina informanter tyckte att det var en bra stämning och sammanhållning i arbetslaget. De tyckte om att arbeta i flottningen även om det var ett hårt arbete, och många flottare ville tillbaka till flottningen år efter år. Kvinnor hade också en betydande roll i flottningen som kockor och serverade bra och nyttig mat under de tunga arbetsdagarna.

Flottningen var en del av timmerindustriens värdekedja och möjliggjorde timmertransporten från skog till industri, och avverknings- och flottningssäsongen skapade en arbetscykel under året för inlandsbefolkningen i Norrland. Flottningen hade en betydande påverkan på lokalsamhället längs älven eftersom flottningen gav många arbetstillfällen. Även om Ångermanälven var en de sista älvarna som det flottades i Sverige, kunde flottningsintresset inte konkurrera med lastbilstransporterna och de andra faktorerna som påverkade flottningen negativt. Trots att flottningen behövde avvecklas, lämnade den ett stort avtryck och minnen hos människorna som var involverad i flottningen. Jag hoppas den här studien kommer bidra till att historierna från flottningen i Ångermanälven kommer leva vidare till nästkommande generationer.

Nyckelord: Flottning, skogshistoria, kvinnor i flottning, intervjuer, historiskt källmaterial

Table of contents

1. Introduction	7
2. Material and Method	9
2.1 Description and history of the study area	9
2.2 The historical records used and source criticism.....	11
2.3 Sampling and interviews	12
2.4 Analysis of the interviews.....	13
3. Results	15
3.1 Organization and timber floating season	15
3.1.1 The timber floating season	17
3.2 Backgrounds of the male informants who worked as log drivers	20
3.3 Working conditions.....	21
3.3.1 Physical working conditions.....	21
3.3.2 Social working conditions	24
3.4 Women in timber floating on the river Ångermanälven.....	25
3.5 Timber floating in relation to forestry, agriculture and local society.....	28
3.6 The final years of timber floating on the river Ångermanälven	29
4. Discussion and analysis	33
4.1 Timber floating in the river Ångermanälven in the 20 th century	33
4.2 The life of a log driver – working conditions on the wild river	35
4.3 Women in timber floating and the male sphere	37
4.4 Timber floating's impact on the local communities	39
4.5 The end of the timber floating era	40
4.6 Source critical aspects	42
Concluding remarks.....	43
Acknowledgements.....	44
References	45

1. Introduction

The exploitation of northern Sweden's forests began in about the 1830s and continued expanding northwards over the following decades (Östlund & Nordstedt 2021). At this time, international demand for timber was increasing (Johansson 1994), and during the 1870s Sweden became the biggest global exporter of sawn wood (Winberg 1944). The exploitation of forest resources and subsequent introduction of modern forestry in the north led to a large-scale transformation of the forest landscape (Östlund et al. 1997), which went from natural and semi-natural old-growth coniferous forests to younger managed production forests. A key factor that enabling the exploitation of these forests was the natural infrastructure, such as the network of rivers, creeks and flooding during the summer, which made it possible to float timber from the forests to the sawmills on the coast (Törnlund 2002). Timber floating was essential for forest exploitation and the expansion of forest industries, as at this time other infrastructure, such as highways and roads, could not reach the large forest areas of northern Sweden. Timber floating was equally important to the forest industry in the rest of Fennoscandia (Vestheim 1998; Kortelainen 1999) and North America at the time (MacKay 1978; Soucoup 2011).

Swedish rivers have probably been used as transport routes for as long as humans have lived along them (Winberg 1944). However, timber floating for industrial purposes seems to have started in the late 14th and 15th centuries, and it is known that in the middle of the 16th century oak timber was transported on the rivers on behalf of the king. Interests in timber floating grew alongside the forest industry in the early 18th century (Winberg 1944). However, it was not until the expansion of forest exploitation in the 1880s (Östlund & Nordstedt 2021), that timber floating became more organized and legally regulated (Winberg 1944). Significant efforts and investments were made to expand and improve the floating network during the 19th and 20th centuries, resulting in more rational timber floating operations (Törnlund 1998). Accordingly, the timber floating network became larger than the railway system by the end of 19th century (Sörlin 1980), and was the main form of timber transport between the mid-19th century and the 1960s when trucks started to take over (Törnlund & Östlund 2006). Timber floating also had important impacts on local economies as it created work opportunities along the rivers in the vast inland of northern Sweden (Bäcklund 1988).

Few scientific studies of timber floating in Sweden have been carried out, particularly studies that document, investigate, and explain the experiences of log drivers. Timber floating was a complex process involving technical, ecological, economic, and social factors which also interacted and changed over time. This study is motivated firstly by this fascinating complexity, and secondly by the concern that the relevant expertise and knowledge may soon be lost, as the last generation who were involved in the process and knew it intimately are now elderly.

The overall aim of this work is to analyze timber floating on the river Ångermanälven, highlighting the log drivers' role in timber supply to the industry and how timber floating was integral to local society. The study is concerned with the period between 1948 and 1982, and the study area includes the whole of the river Ångermanälven but with a particular focus on the stretch between the communities of Vilhelmina and Junsele. The research questions in this study addresses are:

1. How was timber floating organized and performed over different periods of time?
2. Who were the log drivers on the river Ångermanälven during the mid-20th century and what were social and physical working conditions like?
3. What role did women have in timber floating on the river Ångermanälven?
4. How was timber floating combined with forestry, farming, and other wage labor, and how did this change over time?
5. How, why, and when did timber floating come to an end on the river Ångermanälven?

I also set out to discuss how timber floating affected the villages and inhabitants of the study area from a wider perspective and compare the organization and practicalities of timber floating on the river Ångermanälven with practices on other Swedish rivers and in other countries where timber floating took place.

2. Material and Method

Timber floating in northern Sweden was a complex process, involving technical, ecological, economic, and social factors, which also evolved over a long period of time. To do justice to this complexity, I have worked interdisciplinary and used various methods to answer my questions. Firstly, I studied many different historical records at the National Archives of Sweden, Härnösand, including annual reports, maps, salary agreements, photographs, and newspapers. Secondly, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with 20 people who worked in timber floating on the river Ångermanälven.

2.1 Description and history of the study area

The larger study area is the stretch of the river Ångermanälven, between the communities of Vilhelmina and Junsele, which is on the border of the counties of Västerbotten and Västernorrland in northern Sweden (fig. 1). The river Ångermanälven is 460 km long and the third largest river in Sweden. Its largest tributaries are the rivers Vojmån, Åseleälven, Fjällsjöälven and Faxälven. There are also about a hundred smaller streams and creeks that connect the forests with the main river. The river starts in the mountains and reaches the sea in the Gulf of Bothnia at the town of Kramfors. The productive forest along the river Ångermanälven during the study period consisted of 40% Norway spruce (*Picea abies* L. Karst), 10% Scots pine (*Pinus sylvestris* L.), and 50% mixed forest comprising Norway spruce, Scots pine and a small component of deciduous trees (mainly *Betula spp.*) (SOU 1932:26).

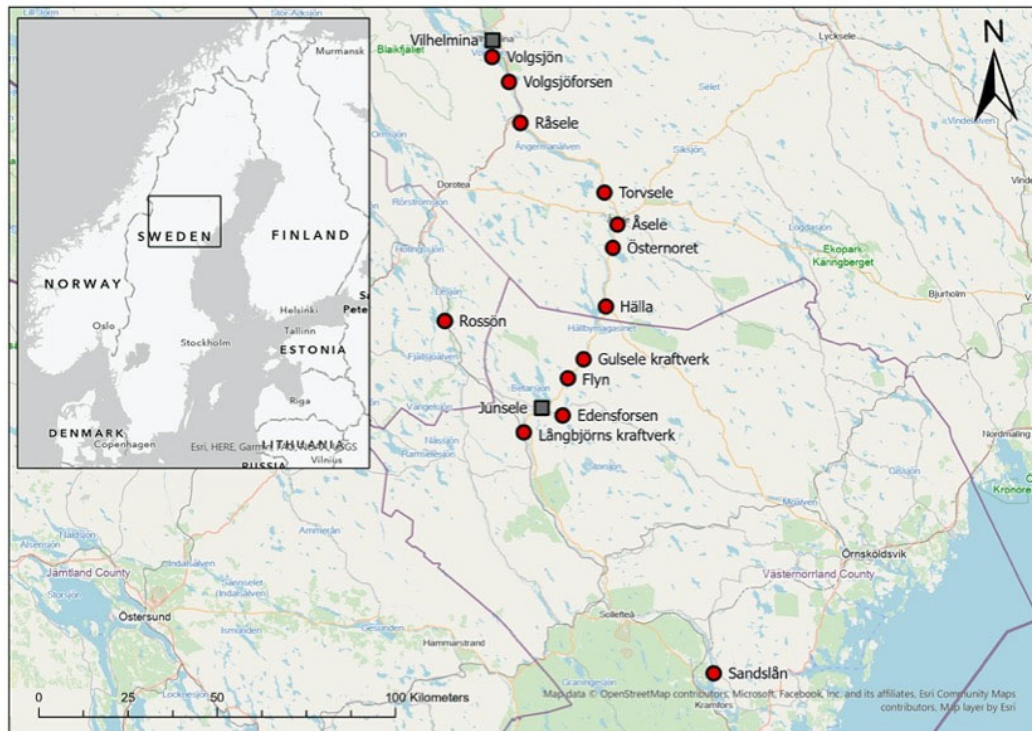


Figure 1: Map over the study area. My informants have primary worked between the communities of Vilhelmina and Junsele (grey squares). Red dots mark where the informants worked along the river and at the sorting station in the village of Sandslån and at the workshop in the village of Rossön

Forestry and industry

Commercial logging along the river Ångermanälven began at the southern parts of the river during the 1830s, and extended upstream over the following decades (Östlund and Nordstedt 2021). As sawmills demanded good quality sawn wood, logging in the early period was primarily directed towards large Scots pine trees, and the gaps from selective cutting resulted in an expansion of Norway spruce (Rudberg 1962; Lundmark et al. 2013). The first water-driven sawmill in the region of Ådalen, on the southern stretch of the river Ångermanälven, was established during the 1570s at the request of the King Johan III (Ådalenkommitén 1980). Thereafter there was a large expansion of water sawmills in this area, with the number of water sawmills more than doubling during the 18th century (Carlgren 1926). Steam-powered sawmills were introduced in the 1850s. The first of these in the region of Ådalen was established in 1853 (Carlgren 1926; Ådalenkommitén 1980), and by the early 20th century there were 43 steam powered sawmills in the region of Ådalen, Västernorrland (Ådalenkommitén 1980). The pulpwood industry began in the middle of the 19th century, but it was not until the beginning of the 20th century that pulpwood production grew in scale (Arpi 1959). High-grading and various types of selection forestry¹ were the dominant logging methods until the

¹ Blädning in Swedish

late 1930s when the transition to even aged forestry and clear-cutting began (Rudberg 1962; Lundmark 2020).

During the 1960s, around 8000 people, 7,1% of the population of Västernorrland, worked in the forest sector (Ytterberg 1962). Logging was performed during the winter, to enable timber to be transported by horse on the snow, and many loggers worked in agriculture during the summer (Johansson 1994; Bäcklund 1988). However, this annual cycle of agriculture and forestry began to break down in the post-war period of the 1950s when more people were introduced to industrial work and new working conditions were established.

The productive forest along the river was primarily owned by Domänverket (the Swedish state), private forest owners, and forest companies (Arpi 1959; Eklund 1991). Kramfors AB, SCA, Domänverket, and Svanö AB were the largest companies in the study area, and were also part of the timber floating association for the river Ångermanälven (HR: 2,3,4,5)².

2.2 The historical records used and source criticism

I accessed historical records at the National archives of Sweden, Härnösand (SM 1), which provided quantitative historical data. I studied annual reports from 1889 and 1925–1982, in which timber floating, sorting, and working conditions were mentioned. I studied salary agreements from 1945-1948, 1951-1955, 1957, 1959, 1962-1968, 1970, 1972, 1974-1978 and 1980-1981. I also studied maps of the floating system and pictures of timber floating on the river Ångermanälven. Finally, I studied documents which showed timber marks and explained how timber floating was organized, as well as newspapers containing articles on the strike action in 1975.

Most of the historical records I studied at the National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, were well-organized and comprehensive, and although there were some minor gaps they covered most aspects of my research aims. My most significant problem was the very large number of documents which had been saved by the timber floating association. Navigating and finding the desired information in this extensive material was challenging, even though the archive was well organized and indexed. An important consideration when working with historical records is their reliability, i.e., whether a record presents information that is true or is biased in some way (Cipolla 1988; Ernst 2000). It is very important to differentiate between primary sources such as documentation of transported logs, and secondary

² Kramfors AB and SCA were merged later and Domänverket is called Svea Skog today.

sources such as stories about the timber floating (Cipolla 1988). Since the records I studied were primary sources, and carefully documented by an association in which trust between the various parties was extremely important, I consider these archival sources to be very reliable (SM 1).

2.3 Sampling and interviews

For this thesis I used in-depth, open ended, semi-structured interviews to interview 20 people who worked as log drivers, cooks, and a “timber guardian” within timber floating on the river Ångermanälven between 1948 and 1982. The informants (SM 1) worked around the border between Västerbotten and Västernorrland counties.

Oral history interviews enable non-archived historical events to be documented (Guest et al. 2013). The informants were selected through purposive sampling (Patton 2002), a method often used in qualitative studies to select information-rich informants. Snowball sampling, a form of purposive sampling (Patton 2002; Yingling 2015), was also used by asking my informants if they knew anyone else who had worked in timber floating in my study area who might be suitable as an informant for the thesis. The criteria for identifying informants were: 1) working in timber floating in the mid-20th century and 2) working in timber floating on the river Ångermanälven within the study area.

Before the interviews, I informed the informants about the purpose and aim of the study and requested permission to include their names in the report. This was important in establishing the ethics of the research process (Green & Thorogood 2009, see Guest et al. 2013). I also made it clear to informants that their participation was voluntary. The interviews were based on carefully prepared questionnaires, one specifically for log-drivers (SM 2) and another for the women who had worked mainly as cooks in timber floating (SM 3). I used an adjusted questionnaire for the “timber guardian” since her work differed from that of my other informants. Both questionnaires were based on open-ended questions, ensuring that informants could speak freely, and maximizing the opportunities for highly textured, detailed, and discursive answers to be given (Dalen 2004; Guest et al. 2013). For example, one question was “*When and how often did you have breaks during the day?*” rather than “*Did you have many breaks during the day?*” These kinds of questions invite more descriptive answers than simply a *yes* or a *no*. The questionnaires were divided into different topics (Sampson 1972 see Jarratt 1996; Dalen 2004) to make it easy to follow the questions and to connect them to my aim and research questions. Most of the interviews were conducted *face-to-face* (Opdenakker 2006) and some were held via digital meetings, zoom, or phone. I recorded and then transcribed all interviews. Even though the interviews were

recorded I also made notes during the conversations, to aid with following the discussion (Opdenakker 2006) and capturing significant information, such as the informant’s body language and behavior, which would not appear in the recording (Warren & Karner 2010 see Guest et al. 2013). After each interview, I reflected and made notes to support my recollections.

2.4 Analysis of the interviews

My analysis of the interviews is based on *grounded theory* (Glaser & Strauss 1967), a qualitative research method in which the researcher alternates data collection with analysis (Corbin & Strauss 2008). I carried out a thematic analysis (SM 1), a method commonly used for qualitative data analysis (Gormley et al. 2019). Qualitative analysis often begins at an early stage in the research (Pope et al. 2000). In my case, it was during the interviews that I started to see patterns in recurring themes. This is typical of inductive analysis in which theory evolves form data thorough an iterative process that moves back and forth between coding and transcripts, identifying themes and gathering data (Ryen 2004; Gormley et al. 2019). My analysis followed a pattern as follows: 1) transcribing all interviews, 2) re-reading transcripts and re-listening to the recordings, 3) preliminary coding, 4) identifying themes and categories, 5) reducing and merging themes and categories, 6) interpreting themes and connecting themes and categories to each other (Braun & Clark 2004; Gormley et al. 2019).

During the analysis I considered views and perspectives expressed in all the interviews and compared informants’ answers. My ambition was to preserve the original language when transcribing, to later quote in the vernacular. It is important to do this in qualitative analysis as vernacular language makes visible local and individual perspectives (Patton 2002). All quotes were then translated into English, and the original quotes can be found in SM 4.

To facilitate the presentation of my results, I have quantified and classified responses using the terms in table 1.

Table 1: Classifications of the informants’ answers and terms used to present my results

Percentages of responses	Terms used in the results
0-25	a couple
26-50	some/ a few
51-75	many / several
76-99	most
100	all

An exception to the classification I have used is my presentation of responses by the women who worked in timber floating (table 2).

Table 2 Classifications of the female informants' answers and terms used to present my results

Percentages of responses	Terms used in the results
33	one
66	two
100	all

3. Results

In this section I present the findings from the historical records and the interviews, broadly in that order. The historical records are referred as (HR X) and the quotes is referred as a number (X), which correspond to the original quotes in SM 4.

3.1 Organization and timber floating season

Timber floating on the river Ångermanälven was a complex process that was organized by the timber floating association of Ångermanälven. This organization was founded in 1889 by the stakeholders involved in timber floating on the river (HR 1). Its annual reports showed that the number of stakeholders in the timber floating association varied considerably (HR: 2,3,4, 5). In 1945, the year in which the forest owners' association became a member, there were 30 stakeholders and in 1979 there were 9. Some of the largest stakeholders were SCA, Kramfors AB, the National Forest³, Graningeverkens AB and the forest owners' association of Ådalen⁴ (HR 3,5). Since all logs were transported on the river unsorted, the timber was marked (fig 2.) by the stakeholders to ensure that the logs would be sorted correctly at the sorting station near the

Flottande	Nr	Grund- märken	Sortimentmärken					Stuk- märken
			1	2	3	4	5	
Graningeverkens AB	1	X	X	X	X X			
"	2	L	L	L	L L			+
"	3	Z	Z	Z	Z Z			
Dyrås o Svans AB	4	F	F	F	F F			
"	5	Y	Y	Y	Y Y			♥
"	6	H	H	H	H H			
Svenska Cellulosa AB	7	S	S	S	S S	S S		
"	8	Y	Y	Y	Y Y			
"	9	V	V	V	V V			
SCA Timmerförvaltnings AB	10	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			○
"	11	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
Kramfors AB	12	7	7	7	7 7			
"	13							
Domänverket	14	K	K	K	K K			⊠
"	15	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
Torsviks Sägverks AB	16	∞	∞	∞	∞ ∞			∞
"	17	N	N	N	N N	NN		
Björka AB	18	<	<	<	< <			☆
"	19	∠	∠	∠	∠ ∠			
Ådalarnas Skogsägareförening	20	∠	∠	∠	∠ ∠			
"	21	◇	◇	◇	◇ ◇			S
"	22	3	3	3	3 3			
"	23	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
Ramsela Skogsägareförening	24	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
"	25	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
"	26	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
Holmens Bruks & Fabriks AB	27	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
"	28	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
Wifstavarfs AB	29	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨	∧ ∨		∧
Mo och Domsjö AB	30	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
"	31	∧	∧	∧	∧ ∨			
Farss AB	32	M	M	M	M M	MM		∧
Nösvikens Ångsåg	33	VIK						NV
Darötea Trärförening	34	SAX						SAX

Figure 1: Log symbol suggestions from 1952. Source: National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven (HR 7)

³ Domänverket in Swedish
⁴ Ådalens skogsägareförening in Swedish

coast of Sandslån. According to one of my informants, this system was later replaced by different color markings for each stakeholder.

The number of logs transported on the river varied from approximately 10 million to more than 20 million in some years (fig. 3), except for during the final years of timber floating (HR: 2,3,4, 5 when there was a dramatic reduction, from 11 100 000 logs in 1979 to 1 160 000 logs in 1982).

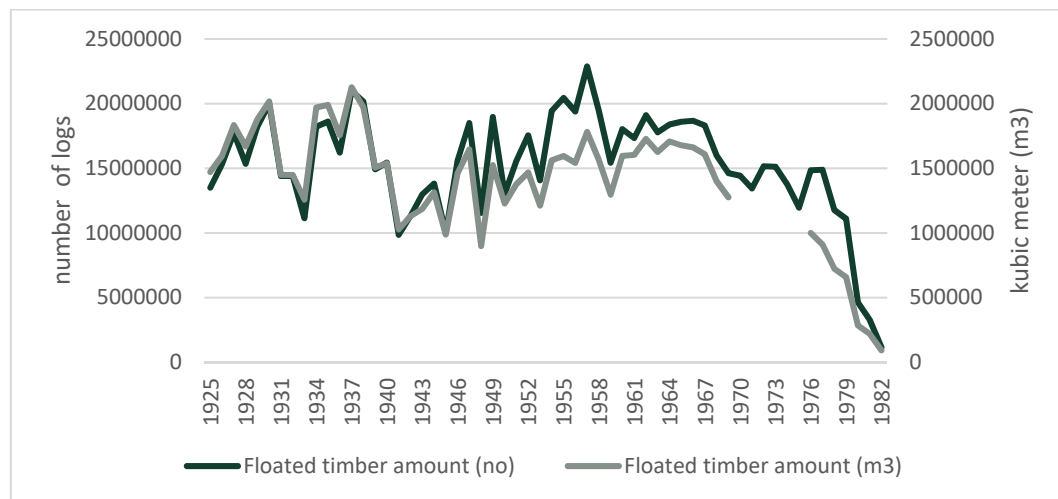


Figure 3 Floated timber amount from 1925 – 1982. These numbers represent public timber floating by stakeholders in the association, and exclude other logs floated by external stakeholders. Source: National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven (HR: 2,3,4, 5).

Most male informants described the timber floating on the river Ångermanälven as being organized into a linear, hierarchical structure with a CEO responsible for both the organization and the administration. Below that were district managers⁵, then unit managers⁶, and finally team managers⁷ and log drivers⁸. The district managers monitored a large district which was divided into sub-districts for which the unit managers had responsibility. According to some of my informants, the main difference between the district manager and the unit managers was that unit managers were often more practical and met the team bosses in their areas. The team bosses had responsibility for smaller areas of approximately 4 to 10 kilometers of river, and work teams of around four to six log drivers. The team managers counted the hours worked and scheduled the workday. In addition, the timber floating association of Ångermanälven had a workshop in the town of Rossön where mechanics manufactured and repaired boats.

⁵ inspektörer in Swedish

⁶ faktorer in Swedish

⁷ flottarbasar in Swedish

⁸ flottare in Swedish

3.1.1 The timber floating season

The documentation from the timber floating association shows that timber was transported from the tributaries in the north to the main river and finally to the sorting station in the village of Sandslån (fig. 4). It was a complex process with different stages and work duties through the season.

Preparations for the floating season

A couple of the informants explained that logging was performed during the winter, and logs then placed by the creeks and the river, either on the ice or along the shoreline. Until the late 1960s, logs were transported from the forest to the river by horse, but they were eventually replaced by motorized vehicles. Pre-season preparations were carried out in the winter and spring, with log drivers placing log booms along the river. These played an important role as barriers in bays and other trouble spots which prevented log jams and logs being washed ashore. Timber boxes filled with stones were also used to lead logs away from the critical places where log jams may otherwise have built up. Heavy stones were removed from the river, either with excavators or with dynamite, to prevent log jam formation during the season. One informant said that he and his colleagues also fixed the boats for some weeks before the season started. In the late summer and autumn, the log booms were taken up again and stored on the beaches along the river.

Timber floating in the creeks and lakes

Many of the male informants worked in timber floating on the creeks⁹ during the spring and early summer. This was fundamental to the whole timber floating process since the creeks and streams connected the forests to the river, from which they could then be transported to the sorting station in the village of Sandslån. This

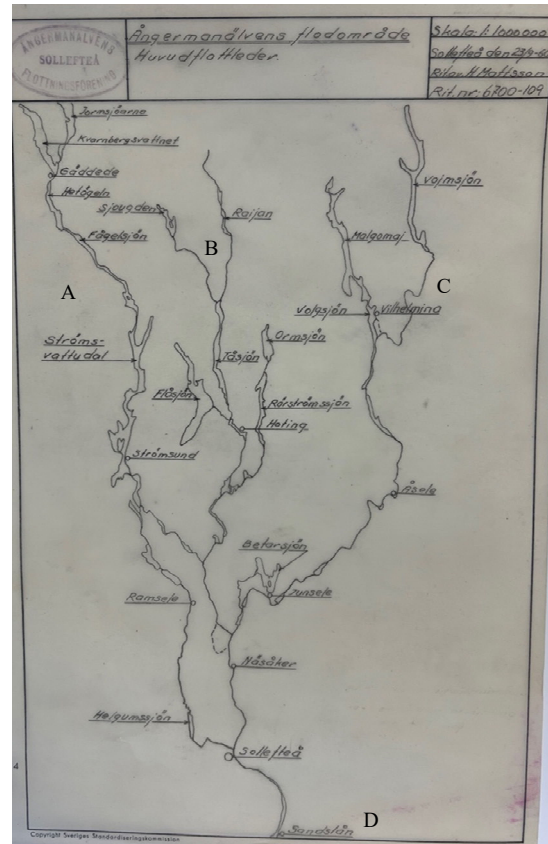


Figure 4: Map over river Ångermanälven with tributaries A) Faxälven, B) Fjällsjöälven, and C) Åseleälven and the sorting station in Sandslån (D) illustrated by H. Mattson. Source: National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven (HR8)

⁹ Bäckflottning in Swedish

was an intensive period which could last for days or weeks, depending on the amount of timber and the length of the creeks. The timber floating in the creeks was dependent on the melt water available from the mountains, dammed lakes. “*The timber floating on the creeks started when the melt water had started to flow. You took advantage of the melting of the ice.*” (1) Some said that shifts could be long, up to 12-14 hours, in order to make use of the water. The workdays were therefore intense, and a couple said they barely had time to sleep for several days.

We floated timber on the creek during the day and then we towed on the lake at night. I stayed there the whole week. When I was driving home, I then needed to have my head outside the car window to not fall asleep! It was a hard time. (2)

According to some of my male informants, each log driver had their own section, within which they controlled the timber flow. These were often at the critical places where log jams could build up. When log jams did occur, log drivers used a special tool called a boat hook¹⁰ to break it apart (see fig. 5) The shaft of the boat hook was made from slow-grown spruce with very dense tree rings, and the hooks were generally made at the workshop in the village of Rossön. Some informants said that they searched for the perfect spruce during the winter themselves, while some received their boathook from the timber floating association. Although this was an intensive period during which log drivers often worked long shifts, they described it as fun and adventurous: *It was kind of an adventure that week in timer floating on the creek Essån*” (3) The male informants who worked to float timber on the creeks then started working as log drivers on the river Ångermanälven once all the logs had been transported that far.



Figure 5: The boat hook was the log driver’s most important tool. (photo: Olivia Forssén)

Timber was also transported across lakes and one of the informants had worked towing timber over the lake Volgsjön. The logs were towed over the lake using log booms that were connected to a large circle. His colleague drove the towboat in front, and he drove a powerboat beside or behind the log boom ring, depending on the wind. They avoided towing when there were strong winds, to ensure that the logs would not float away. A couple said power boats were used on the smaller lakes where the towing distance was shorter. Before timber was towed by towboats and powerboats, a raft was used. The raft had a long rope that was attached to something in the direction towards which the timber would be transported.

¹⁰ Båtshake in Swedish

Timber floating on the river

Once the timber floating on the creeks was finished, between Pentecost and Midsummer, floating on the river began. All male informants worked as log drivers on the river Ångermanälven. Some were also team managers and boat drivers, and one was a unit manager. Team managers generally had teams of two to six log drivers who were engaged in *fending off*¹¹, i.e., breaking jams and logs from being washed ashore, and *rewatering*¹² i.e., clearing from the shore any logs that did so. Their main tool was the same boathook that they used to float timber on the creeks, and some informants also mentioned the axe as an important tool. In still waters, holding areas¹³ were used to hold timber and manage its flow down the river. were used for storing timber and controlling the timber flow in the river. In other parts of still waters, timber could be towed by powerboat to speed up the timber transport.

When hydroelectric powerplants were built in the mid-1950s and onwards, log drivers worked at the dammed lakes just upstream of them. Two of my informants worked at the powerplant letting the logs pass by in the timber slide. One of the informants described the work at the hydroelectric plant as weather dependent: “*And when there was a headwind, you had to try to tow it with the boat. And was it tailwind you were mostly watching.*” (4). There were also log booms above the ponds at the hydroelectric plants that controlled the logs: *If they had timber down there in the evening, you closed the log boom, preventing the logs from blowing to blow upwards again.* (5). Since there were no log jams or rapids to deal with in these situations, they could work alone or in pairs to control the timber slide and towing timber to it. When there was time, they could also take a power boat up the river to control the incoming logs and check on the log booms in the bays.

The final clear-up stage

Once all timber floating in the northern part of the river was done, the final clear-up¹⁴ began. This was a large operation which many log drivers wanted to join. During the final clear-up the remaining logs in the river, for example on the shores and in the back waters, were gathered. Some of the male informants followed the final clear-up the whole way to the sorting station in Sandslån, and others joined over a shorter distance. The final clear-up was organized in new work teams including a cook, often a woman, who cooked for the work team. There was also a driver who transported residential trailers between rest areas and boats past the rapids and the hydroelectric plants. According to my informants these teams were much larger, comprising up to 30 log drivers.

¹¹ Uthållning in Swedish

¹² Strandrensning in Swedish

¹³ Magasin in Swedish

¹⁴ Slutflotning in Swedish

During the final clear-up the remaining timber logs were transported to the sorting station in Sandslån, close to the mouth of the river (SM 5). The log drivers generally worked two by two in rowing boats on each side of the river, clearing the beaches of logs that had been carried onto the land by the highest water levels. Backwaters where timber logs were stuck in the flow were also cleared out. One informant said that clearing the backwaters involved using a special technique.

When you sat there tried to get the logs, there was a special technique, we called it *hook rowing*¹⁵. If I sat back in the boat, I then had one foot in the water and collected the logs and made it like a raft. (...) That was a good trick. (6)

A large log boom, drawn by motorboats on each side, was used to mark the cleared section of the river. For a long time, the boats were driven manually but eventually one of them was replaced by a radio-controlled powerboat which was in turn controlled by the driver of the other motorboat. According to my informants, the final clear-up ended either when they reached the sorting station in Sandslån or earlier if the water froze. In the years when they did not reach Sandslån, the log drivers took the logs up onto the land, leaving them there until the following season.

3.2 Backgrounds of the male informants who worked as log drivers

Some of my male informants grew up without any agrarian connection, but most of them grew up in small villages where their families had small farms with horses and cows. Many of their fathers were loggers during the winter, cutting or driving timber by horse, and then worked in floating timber during the summer, as unit managers, team managers, or log drivers. Since the men worked away from home for most of the year, the women were responsible for all of the work on the small farms and for taking care of the children. Some of the informants said that they were fascinated by timber floating from a young age, playing and pretending to be log drivers even when they were children.

We boys used to work with timber floating even though we weren't employed. We went down to the creek just for fun. We weren't employed at that time. We were about eight to ten years old. We liked the water." (7)

Since many of the log drivers had family members (fathers, brothers, uncles, grandfathers) who worked in timber floating, it was natural for them to do the same. The most common way of getting into this work was to ask the local team manager

¹⁵ Hakaro in Swedish

to join the team for the summer. Most men started doing this work as teenagers, between 14-19 years old, and it was often their first employment. As young recruits, most of them learned by watching and working with the older log drivers in the team. Most became log drivers straight away, but a couple first worked as helpers who carried backpacks and made coffee. No specific knowledge or experience was needed to work as a log driver. However, a couple of my informants had taken a forestry course organized by the National Forest (Domänverket), where they learned about aspects of forestry such as planting, commercial thinning, and how to cut timber logs. The only qualifications required that the informants mentioned were to be strong and persistent:

“You couldn’t have some, how should I say it? You couldn’t have any injury, having pain in the back or the knee. To be on the log jam in that way was not good at all”. (8)

3.3 Working conditions

3.3.1 Physical working conditions

Safety on the wild river

All the male informants described working as a log driver as high-risk work. Other than one male informant who mentioned having a first aid kit, my informants said that there was no safety equipment until the 1970s when life jackets were introduced: “*It [the safety] was incomplete.*” (9) There was no hearing protection, which a couple of them mentioned was annoying. Some of the male informants expressed that safety was just something you needed to have in mind all the time, knowing how to work safely and avoid danger: “*The safety was in your head*” (10). Swimming skills among the log drivers varied but, in general, the younger log drivers were better swimmers. Most of the informants had either been in an accident themselves or knew someone who had been. Most of the accidents were associated with rowing in the rapids:

There was a man who drowned in Moforsen and we had worked together all summer long. He rowed over the rapids but didn’t have the strength. We had worked together all summer. We were looking for him for three, four days. We were afraid of finding him at a log jam, but then, he almost scared a woman to death. (11)

How often accidents occurred and how serious they were varied between areas and years. Most of the male informants said that changes were rarely made following an accident, to make work safer. However, two informants said that the team manager had been very clear after a major accident, telling the log drivers to work more carefully.

Most of the male informants said that breaking up log jams and rowing in the rapids were the most dangerous parts of timber floating. The timber logs could be slippery and if the log drivers slipped, they risked getting stuck under the timber logs. While jam breaking, log drivers needed to be alert and quick to get off the log jam before all the logs followed downstream. When the log jams built up in the rapids, the log drivers needed to go there by boat (fig 6), and the rapids could be very fast making it hard to row the boat. Some of my informants said that either they themselves or someone in the work team had followed the stream down the rapids.

We were going to take that log jam and look at it. (...) And then when the log jam started to go at the wrong direction. So, he couldn't come to us with the boat. So, we had to follow the stream down the rapids, three men in the boat. We had water up to our belts! (12)



Figure 6: Log drivers rowing in the rapid. Source: Private archive, Jan Molinder

When log jams proved unbreakable, dynamite was needed. According to my informants, only some log drivers in the work team were allowed to use the dynamite and it was important to be careful since it was a high-risk procedure.

Despite using a special technique to place the dynamite cartridge deep down below the logs so that the water could lift the log jam, a couple of the male informants noted that many logs were destroyed by this process, even though it successfully cleared the jam.

Living conditions

Most of the male informants lived at home while working as log drivers as the areas of work was nearby and they could walk or get there by car. Those who faced longer distances to work lived in the timber floating association's log cabins. Some of the male informants described the cabins as primitive with no running water or electricity, but it was good enough for staying there during the summer. During the final clear-up, when there were teams with cooks, the log drivers lived in residential trailers if they were too far from home. There was much to transport, and a dedicated driver was responsible for moving everything between rest areas and carrying boats past difficult parts of the river. "*We had a big work team then; we were like a circus!*" (13). According to a couple of my informants, the residential trailers had four beds and a stove, and one informant also said that there was a special trailer where they could dry their clothes. After the era with the cooks, the log drivers stayed in the timber floating association's log cabins, and some informants also mentioned that they could stay at campsites or apartments as they got closer to the village of Sandslån. Since there was no running water in the cabins or the residential trailers, the log drivers washed themselves as best they could in the river: "*No, no, you just washed your face sometimes. You can smell from a distance if a log driver or a logger is coming. It's just like that, the odor.*" (14) All male informants felt that living away from home was fine, particularly the younger log drivers who were not yet settled down with their own family.

Working hours and breaks during intense shift work

According to a couple of my informants, during the 1950s and 1960s the working week was either from Monday to Saturday with Sunday as a rest day, or the whole week apart from noon on Sundays when a mass was held in the church. One informant who worked during the late 1950s and early 1960s said that he worked eight-hour shifts both day and night. From the 1970s onwards, the informants worked Monday to Friday and were free at the weekends. The working day during the season was often from seven in the morning until four or five in the afternoon. Some said that they could often finish work earlier on Fridays, after an intense working week, and go home for the weekend.

During the floating in the creek and the river, the male informants provided their own food. Most of the men said they mainly ate sandwiches and drank coffee, but a couple also brought left-overs that they fried over an open fire. There was no

specific time for food or other breaks during the day. Rather, they took a break when it was suitable. For many years until the late 1970s, during the final clear-up work teams had a cook, usually a woman, who made food for the whole team. The male informants were very glad to have a cook making proper food as the work was intense and the workers needed a great deal of energy during the day. Coffee and breakfast were served in the morning, and in the afternoon, dinner was served. The informants remembered the cooks serving pots, soups, sausage, pork, meatballs, and potatoes. In the evening the cook made porridge. During the last years that timber floating was carried out on the river, there were no cooks. Instead, the log drivers had to provide their own food again, mostly sandwiches and cheese with coffee.

3.3.2 Social working conditions

Cohesion and teamwork among the log drivers

All the male informants remembered timber floating as a great time with a good spirit and cohesion within the teams. Log drivers told stories, mostly anecdotes from timber floating or logging from the winter, and there were sometimes musicians in the team who played the accordion and violin. Some informants said that some log drivers made jokes and pranked their colleagues:

“Yes, there was much joking. If you couldn’t row... especially during the final clear-up. The worst was really bad. That was when they put a fish in a raincoat on Friday and [it] was there till Monday. It was just for fun. Much like that.” (15)

Teamwork was essential, according to all the male informants. They often worked together in their work areas while checking the log booms and breaking log jams. During the final clear-up the log drivers worked in pairs in rowing boats and had to cooperate well to work effectively and be safe. One informant felt that cohesion was partly good because of their pay arrangements, which were based on actual working hours and not piecework (SM 7). Otherwise, there might have been more competition between the log drivers. A couple expressed that everyone worked towards the same goal and had the same attitude towards the work. Although most of the informants agreed that there was good cooperation in the team, a couple of informants thought that some log drivers were lazy and did not want to work but just followed along. “*Some were lazy.*” (16) However, they mentioned that such log drivers often worked for just one season because the team managers noticed who was working and who was not.

A couple of the log drivers said there was a ranking of skills within the teams. One mentioned special log drivers who were very persistent and had a good working technique, meaning that the team manager often asked them if they could deal with

the large log jams. Others described that the older log drivers might try to test the younger ones, making comments, or suggesting that the younger log drivers should make the fire and prepare coffee for the break. *When we came ashore you had to make a fire and make some coffee. (...) If you were the youngest you had the responsibility to make coffee and things like that.*" (17) At the same time the younger log drivers looked up to the older ones who had knowledge and experience. Some mentioned the use of masculine jargon and harsh language in the teams. One mentioned that it was better not to stand out too much, and two said that it was important to do one's share of the work. Although my informants described ranking and the use of jargon in the teams, everyone felt that they were respected. All the male informants liked working as log drivers (SM 7). Some described it as free and healthy, and some valued the closeness to nature, adventures in the river, and that the work ensured a source of income.

3.4 Women in timber floating on the river Ångermanälven

Of the three women I interviewed one worked as a cook, another as an assistant cook, and the third guarded the timber slide. Both male and female informants mentioned other women who had worked in timber floating on the river Ångermanälven (SM 8).

Backgrounds of the female informants

Two of the female informants, Siv and Tora, grew up with their families on small farms¹⁶ where they also had animals. There were no schools in their villages, so they went to boarding schools. Ulla-Britt, who worked as a timber guardian, was the daughter of a hydroelectric plant manager. She lived in a house close to the hydroelectric plant in Gulsele and commuted to the school in Junsele.

Two of the women got their jobs through their fathers, one of whom managed the hydroelectric plants and the other of whom was a unit manager in timber floating. Both Siv, who worked as a cook assistant, and Ulla-Britt, who worked as a timber guardian, said that they did not need any specific knowledge or experience to do their work. Tora got her job on the towboat when one of the boat workers asked her mother if she could join them for the summer. *"He talked to my mother, they didn't ask me if I was interested. They talked over my head!"* (18). Tora did not mention any specific qualifications for the role, but she implied that her time as a forestry cook had given her important experience.

¹⁶ Torp in Swedish

Three roles in timber floating performed by women

Ulla-Britt worked in timber floating during one summer in her early teens. Her role was to watch the timber slide to check if log jams occurred. Ulla-Britt worked in a little cabin next to the timber slide which led the timber past the hydroelectric plants in the village of Gulsele. If a log jam began to build up in the timber gutter, she called the log drivers at the hydroelectric plant who came to break it up. Ulla-Britt remembered the work as easy but lonely: easy because she just had one task, watching the timber slide, and lonely because she sat there by herself most of the time. Sometimes she invited friends to come over and watch the timber slide with her.

Tora worked as a cook on a towboat for two seasons during the mid-1940s when she was 16 and 17 years old. As the towboat operated day and night, the crew worked shifts and stayed on the boat throughout the season. Tora cooked for the whole crew. This involved long working days from around six in the morning, making breakfast and preparing for the day, to around nine in the evening when she had served porridge and finished washing the dishes. However, she did sometimes have time during the day to take a break. For example, she could row over to her family if they drove slower when they passed by while transporting timber. There were three meals a day: breakfast, dinner and an evening meal. The crew always wanted salted herring and potatoes for breakfast. Tora had suggested something else but only herring was acceptable for breakfast:

It was important that they got salted herring with potato for breakfast. (...) One morning I asked if we could eat something else than herring, a porridge to start the day with for example. No, no, no, no, that wasn't possible. The herring was stuck in their heads. (19)

Not many food ingredients were available as World War Two had just ended. She cooked most meat dishes as a meat soup or meat stew, but the most appreciated dish was pea soup and pancakes. For the evening meal, she always served barley porridge.

Siv worked as an assistant cook during one final clear-up in 1959 when she was 20 years old (fig 7). The primary cook planned and cooked food for the team who were working on the final floating, and Siv helped her with the cooking and dishes: *“It was tasks she thought I would manage, like peel potatoes and carrots, chop them, make meatballs, cut meat to the meat pot. And do the dishes, it was a lot of dishes”*. (20)



Figure7: Siv is helping the cook Jenny with the food preparations and the dishes.
Photo: private, Siv Larson

Working conditions

Ulla-Britt lived at home while she worked watching the timber slide, but the other two women lived away from home. Siv lived in a residential trailer with the cook, just as the log drivers did during the final clear-up. Tora lived on the boat with the crew and had her own place where she slept and kept her things. Both women felt fine about staying away from home, but Tora sometimes felt lonely and remembered that it was a strange feeling living on the boat which moved with the waves.

The female informants described the social atmosphere as good. They felt respected by the men around them and experienced no harassment. Siv suggested that this may have been because her father was a unit manager and her brother was a log driver, and the other log drivers would never have dared to harass her while her family was around. The female informants also said that they had fun and joked with each other. Tora said that the crew once told her that she would get 1,5 SEK if she could row to the shore blindfolded. Another time the crew had bought a pair

of pants for flagging on the National Day since they did not have a real flag and later gave the pants to her.

All three female informants said their work was important since they started taking responsibility and earning their own money. Tora said her salary was 150 SEK for two months, which she was happy with. The other two did not remember their salary but thought it must have been decent since they continued working for the whole season.

3.5 Timber floating in relation to forestry, agriculture and local society

Timber floating in relation to forestry and agriculture

Most of the informants who had worked during the 1950s and 1960s had greater agrarian connections as they grew up on crofts with animals such as cows, pigs, and horses. Their fathers worked as loggers or drove logs by horse during the winter and were log drivers during the summer. Some informants mentioned that it was important that their fathers had work during the summer for extra income. Meanwhile, the women stayed at home taking care of the family and the animals. My informants also mentioned that they helped on the small farms between their work shifts. When it was time to harvest the hay, log drivers could either take some days off work or try to do farm work on Sundays since they had time off from timber floating. Moreover, a couple of my male informants said that it was rare that farmers with larger agricultural properties participated in timber floating, and it were mostly farmers with small properties who worked as log drivers.

Many of the log drivers worked in the forest during the winter, just like their fathers. One informant described timber floating as a break from the hard forest work of the winter. *We loggers longed for the timber floating season to begin.*” (21). With two seasonally-dependent types of work, informants followed an annual cycle of forest work in the winter and timber floating in the summer. A couple of the informants pointed out that the summer income was particularly important because they did not do forest work. Those informants who worked from the mid-1960s onwards had more varying agrarian connections. A couple grew up on crofts and three grew up in villages and cities. One informant mentioned that many people wanted to work in timber floating, but it became less interesting in the 1970s and later as more people wanted full-time work. Many of the informants thought that timber floating was essential to the functional logistics of forestry until road and rail infrastructure improvements made trucks and trains more effective for timber transportation.

Relationship between timber floating and local society

Most of the informants felt that timber floating had had important effects on the communities along the river. Many said that timber floating created great work opportunities for people during the summer. For those involved in seasonal forestry it filled the other half of the year with work. A couple said that timber floating also was good for local grocery stores, particularly during the “final clear-up stage” of the river, when the cooks and log drivers bought ingredients and food from them. Some informants also mentioned that timber floating brought life to the river, with all the log drivers transporting the logs through the river valley and people coming down to the river to watch them work.

According to most of the informants, timber floating on the river Ångermanälven did not normally compete with other types of work, as timber floating was the most interesting work available during the summers. However, a couple mentioned that forest work such as planting and commercial thinning could compete with timber floating during the summer, and two of my male informants quit timber floating to take up work building the hydroelectric powerplants, because this was a better-paid job than working as a log driver.

3.6 The final years of timber floating on the river Ångermanälven

Timber floating in the river Ångermanälven ceased first in the northern stretches and gradually further downstream, between 1979 and 1982, although timber floating on the small creeks had already been in decline since the 1950s (fig. 8) (HR: 2,3,4, 5). This decision to stop was taken by the stakeholders of the timber floating association for the river Ångermanälven

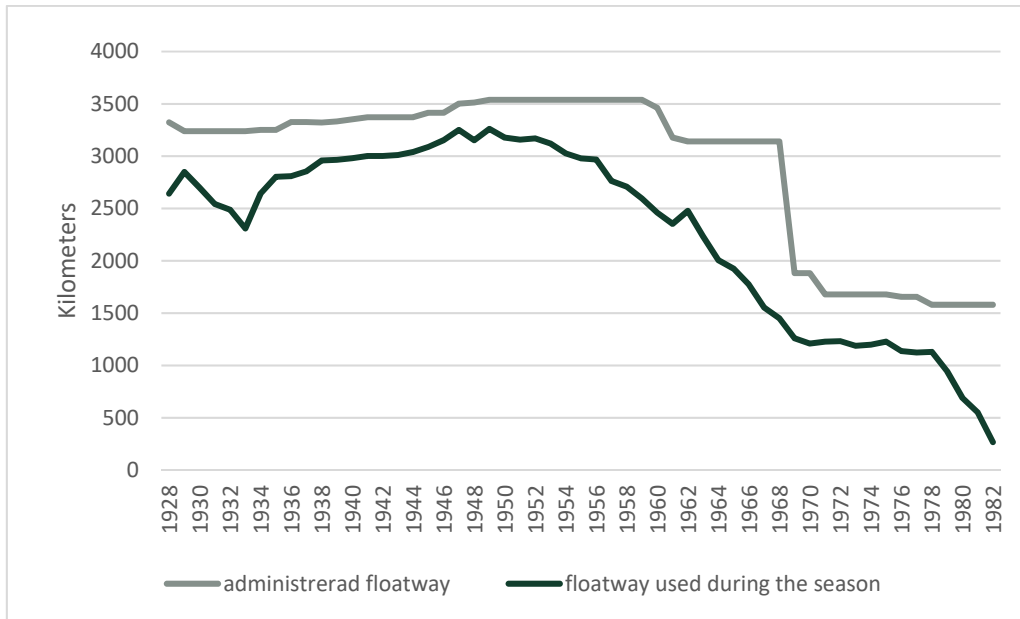


Figure 8 Length of flatways on the river Ångermanälven source: *National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven (HR: 2,3,4, 5)*

From the 1970s until the cessation of timber floating on the river Ångermanälven in 1982, the cost for timber floating rose sharply (HR: 4, 5) (fig. 9). In 1970, the average floating cost was 4,7 SEK / ton and in 1982 17,06 SEK / ton, i.e., the costs more than tripled over the final 13 years. Meanwhile, the sorting costs in Sandslån also rose in the early 1970s, having previously been stable. In 1970, the sorting costs were 2,95 SEK / ton and by 1977 this had risen to 8,72 SEK / ton.

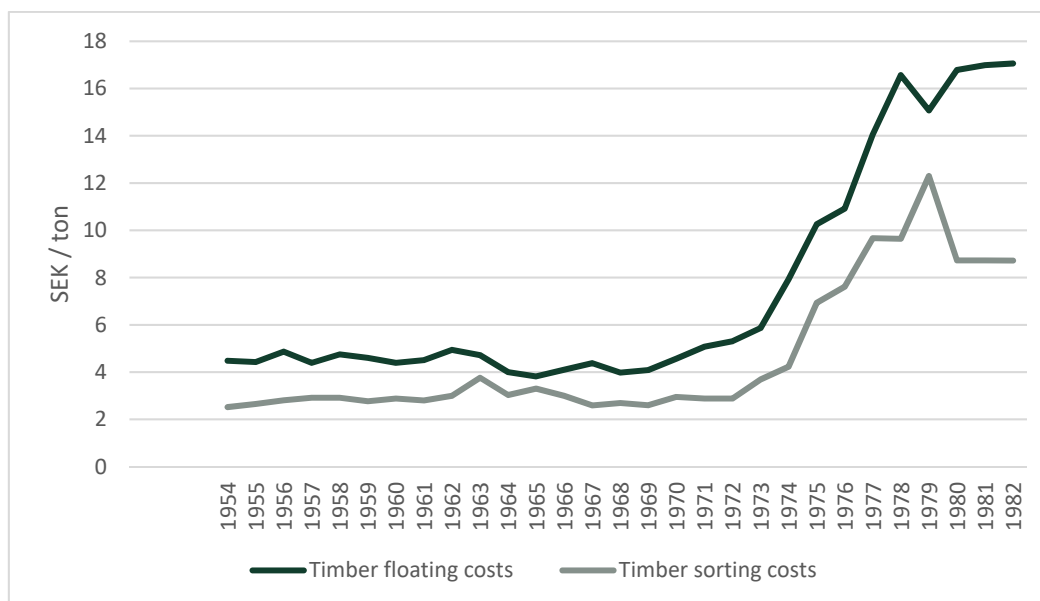


Figure 9: Timber floating costs and sorting costs on the river Ångermanälven 1954-1982 source: National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven (HR: 2,3,4, 5)

Some of the informants mentioned that timber floating competed with hydroelectric plants. When hydroelectric plants were built in the mid-1950s, water was needed for both timber floating and hydroelectric power. One interviewee said that the boss sometimes needed to talk to staff at the hydroelectric plants when passing by:

The timber floating association, they had negotiations with the hydroelectric plants. We wanted them to lead water into the gutter, but they were not so into that idea, they wanted all of the water. So, it was quite a tough relationship. (22)

Another informant thought that the competition over water was one of the main reasons for the cessation of timber floating on the river Ångermanälven. *“It was the hydroelectric plants thinking it was a pity letting go of 6 cubic of timber every second in the gutter instead of making electricity from it.”* (23).

Timber floating became more difficult over time, according to one of my informants, as average log size decreased (SM 6): *Then it was more troublesome when it started to slip under the log boom. Yeah, it became much smaller.*” (24). Another issue was the logs that could sink in the river¹⁷. Although the log drivers placed the logs up on land to dry till the next season, there still was a proportion of logs that sank and were lost.

Many of the informants described the final years of timber floating in the river as a sad turn of events, as timber floating had had a positive impact both culturally and

¹⁷ In Swedish sjunktimmer

economically on those who lived along the river. It created additional work, not just for the log drivers and cooks who were directly involved, but also mechanics, welders, and workers at the sorting station. Some of the informants described it as the best employment they had ever had. *It is probably the best job we ever had* (25). Some of them also mentioned that timber floating brought life to the river, and that the liveliness of the river died in a way when timber floating stopped.

4. Discussion and analysis

4.1 Timber floating in the river Ångermanälven in the 20th century

Logging for the sawmills started in the district of Västernorrland in the mid-19th century and soon became the most important industry in the region (Wik 1950; Wik 1962). The two big rivers Ångermanälven and Indalsälven to the south soon became important transport routes for the timber from the vast inland forest. Large forest industries were successively established along the coast using the timber floated from the inland forests.

Vast amounts of timber were transported on the river Ångermanälven between the 1920s and 1980s, and the river was one of the largest floatways in Sweden (SCB 1966). During the 1960s, the river Ångermanälven had the highest amount of timber floated, followed by the rivers Dalälven and Inlandsälven, and the floated timber quantities in these rivers were much higher than those of other rivers, such as Umeälven, and Klarälven (tab. 1). The large amount of timber floated on the river Ångermanälven can be explained by two factors. Firstly, the river Ångermanälven is one of the longest rivers in Sweden, both in total and in terms of the length used for timber floating (SCB 1966). Secondly, a large section of the river Ångermanälven passed through extensive forests owned by either private forest owners or forest companies which could provide timber for the industries on the coast (Arpi 1959).

Table 1: Floated timber amounts in some of the large rivers in mid and northern Sweden 1961-1965 (source SCB 1966)

Floated timber amount (1 000 m³)						
<i>River</i>	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	Average 1961-1965
<i>Ångermanälven</i>	1 434	1 543	1 456	1 542	1 519	1 499
<i>Dalälven</i>	1 427	1 493	1 220	1 301	1 230	1 334
<i>Indalsälven</i>	1 100	1 161	1 028	1 025	965	1 056
<i>Umeälven</i>	896	853	836	899	831	863
<i>Klarälven</i>	888	851	757	839	780	823
<i>Ljungan</i>	932	930	852	765	625	821
<i>Ljusnan</i>	924	811	665	475	625	666
<i>Kalix</i>	608	543	483	408	304	469

The amount of timber floated on the river Ångermanälven varied considerably between individual years during the study period (fig. 3). Two time periods when the amount of floated timber was much lower than usual stand out. The first occurred in the early 1940s, due to the second world war, and the second was in the late 1970s and early 1980s as the era of timber floating was coming to an end (SM 9).

Timber floating on the river Ångermanälven in a comparative perspective

Timber floating has been used to transport timber in countries other than Sweden, and here I will briefly discuss timber floating in Norway, Finland, and North America in terms of how experiences in those places compare to my findings. Timber floating on the river Glomma in Norway was organized and performed in similar way as in my study area in Sweden. The whole process was organized with unit managers, district managers, team managers, and log drivers working at different levels and with different responsibilities (Vestheim 1998). The timber floating season on the Glomma river was also similar to the river Ångermanälven, with a period of preparation followed by timber floating on small tributaries such as creeks and small rivers in the spring, followed by floating on the river, and the final clear-up. Rivers in Norway were essential to timber transportation for many centuries until the 1950s when trucks were able to use the expanded forest road network (Moren 1990; Vestheim 1998). As in Sweden, timber trucks became the more economic and functional option, with lower transport costs and access to the forests all year round.

Timber floating was also very important for the forest industry in Finland, from the mid-19th century, as Finnish rivers connected the inland forests to the relevant industries (Kortelainen 1999). The timber floating season in the Kemi river, (Snellman 2000) was similar to that in my study area, involving preparations, creek floating, and river floating. Organizational structures on the rivers Kumo and Muoniälven were also similar to those on the river Ångermanälven (Lagus 1926;

Lehimäki et al. 1991) Another important floatway in Finland was the river Pielisjoki in the south, which provided many people work in timber floating and timber sorting (Kortelainen 1999). Constructions were built in this river to facilitate timber floating. However, hydroelectric powerplants out-competed timber floating on the river Pielisjoki in 1971. Thereafter most of the logs were transported by railway and trucks, and only small quantities were transported via channels and bundle floating (Kortelainen 1999).

Forestry and timber floating were therefore rather similar in the Fennoscandian countries. However, forestry and timber floating operations were also very important in several regions of North America, and were conducted on a large scale over approximately the same period as in Fennoscandia. Even though the timber floating technique was similar to that used in Fennoscandia it was more comprehensive in North America (Soucoup 2011). The rivers and large lakes in eastern Canada were often used for large scale transportation and floating of timber (Soucoup 2011). The extension of these transportation networks closely followed the advancement of the timber frontier (Twining 1983). The exploitation even reached unpopulated areas such as Pukaskwa, Ontario (MacKay 1978). Contrary to timber floating in Fennoscandia, that was mainly done by local men, workers in North America often travelled far distances to these remote places and stayed in logging camps for an entire season. Both in these remote logging areas and more accessible places, these camps were typically larger than in Sweden and often housed more than 100 men. Another difference was the use of horses: They were not only used in the forests to transport logs to the rivers like in Sweden (Johansson 1994), but also to break up log jams on the Canadian creeks and Rivers (MacKay 1978; Soucoup 2011).

4.2 The life of a log driver – working conditions on the wild river

The introduction of logging and floating of timber on the rivers caused many changes in rural areas of northern Sweden in the 19th and 20th centuries (Lundgren 1984). Workers had to live away from home for extended periods when working on logging (Johansson 1994) and timber floating (Sörlin 1980; Törnlund 2002). Arrangements differed, but harsh living conditions were common in both forests and along creeks and rivers (SOU 1938:33). In the early 20th century, men lived in small simple cabins while logging took place during the winter (Johansson 1994), and slept outside on spruce twigs during the summers while working as log drivers (Törnlund 2002; Henriksson 2011). The workers' diet was no better. Since the men lived away from home, they brought food that could last for a long time, resulting in a simple diet (SOU 1933:38). During the logging season of 1913/1914 the

National Board of Health and Welfare noted the harsh living conditions, and later outlined the paucity of their diet, living conditions, salary, and working hours (Sörlin 1981). Later, in the early 1920s, better working conditions were introduced due to trade union activity. The trade union of forestry and timber floating introduced collective agreements which helped employees negotiate their working hours and salary agreements. Thereafter conditions were much better, as evidenced by my male informants who lived in cabins and residential trailers, or sometimes at campsites or in apartments, while timber floating. What is interesting is that this improvement was not experienced everywhere. For example, log drivers on the river Piteälven did not live in residential trailers but mostly slept in tents or in simple cabins (Norén 2019).

Safety in timber floating was rather poor, even substandard according to my informants (see also Norén 2019) who described the dangers involved in jam breaking and rowing in the rapids. Since the log drivers used leather boots till the 1930s before moving on to use rubber boots, it could be hard to walk on the slippery logs. In Canada, so-called *calced drive boots* were used by log drivers to prevent accidents. However, none of my informants mentioned having spikes on their rubber boots (see also Henriksson 2011). Although life jackets were introduced in the mid-20th century, they were seldom used by log drivers on the river Ångermanälven (see also Henriksson 2011).

All my male informants said there was a good spirit and cohesion among the log drivers in the work team. They also said they enjoyed working in timber floating even though the workdays could be heavy, and many log drivers wanted to work year after year. *“If you had started working in timber floating, you wanted to come back [the next season], and most men came back the next season if they could. Timber floating was definitely the funniest thing during the summer season”* (26) Most of my informants also highlighted teamwork, and that everyone worked as a team (see also Norén 2019). This differs from the logging culture in which there was more competition between loggers as to who cut the most (Johansson 1994). This is probably because the loggers’ salary was based on the number of pieces of timber each of them produced every day, while all my informants who worked in timber floating were paid based on working hours. As many of the log drivers also worked as loggers, I presume that their time working in timber floating was in some ways a rest, both mentally and physically, from the hard logging work. Henriksson (1980) also mentions good teamwork amongst log drivers, ascribing this to the unsafe working environment which required them to work as a team to prevent accidents. However, the forest working culture, specifically that one should do one’s job (Johansson 1994), was also evident among the log drivers. To be a logger or a log driver was about more than just having a source of income: this work also

created identities revolving around masculinity and a work ethic (see also Johansson 1994)

The adventurous domain of timber floating was also a popular topic in literature, including recurrent references to charming log drivers who flirted with women along the rivers (Sörlin 2000). However, it is important to distinguish between fantasy and reality, and two of my male informants were clear about how far working as a log driver was from these romanticized stories:

“There were movies about log drivers who went down the rapids and charmed the ladies. But that differed from the reality, very much. It was mainly fathers who worked as log drivers, and in the movies, it was good-looking bachelors who went around.” (27)

4.3 Women in timber floating and the male sphere

For many years log drivers catered for their own needs in terms of cooking and eating, bringing bread, cheese, butter, pork and sausage to live on while they worked on the creeks and rivers. The log drivers’ cooking and eating during work was for a long time done individually when they brought their own food such as bread, cheese, butter, pork and sausage (SOU 1933:38). However, along some rivers, women had made coffee and sometimes soup for the log drivers. It was not until the 1920s and 1930s that cooks were introduced into logging camps and log driving teams, and the men all ate the same food (SOU 1933:38; Östlund et al 2020). It is worth mentioning that during the first half of the 20th century it was common for women to do mostly unpaid work on the small farms, even though some worked as cooks from the 1920s onwards (Bäcklund 1988). The introduction of cooks into timber floating had a great impact on the log drivers’ working conditions (see also Norén 2019). The cooks served proper food during the heavy work shifts involved in the final clear-up (fig. 10) and on the tow boats. Both my male and female informants described the cooks’ work as important and appreciated. Thus, the cooks made a great difference to the log drivers’ diet. The two female informants who had worked as a cook and an assistant cook described the men showing them respect, and neither of them had experienced any harassment. Norén (2019), who found similar results on the river Piteälven, explains that this could reflect the log drivers’ gratitude towards the cooks for providing proper food. One of my female informants also thought that no one would ever have dared to harm her as her father and brother worked in the team.



Figure 10: Log drivers are eating food made by the cook during the final clear-up, Åsele. Photo: Unknown photographer, source: National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven (HR:10)

Women worked as cooks in other sectors as well. From the 1920s to the mid-20th century, young women worked as forestry cooks (Löfdahl 2018; Östlund et al. 2020). These cooks also had a great impact on the loggers' working conditions. Instead of living in a small cabin with a fireplace in the middle, where loggers made their own food, bigger cabins were introduced where cooks made them proper food (SOU 1933:38; SOU 1949:19). Drake (2018) also highlights cooks who worked along the railroads while they were being constructed at the beginning of 20th century. Women have also worked as forestry cooks in Norway and Finland (Andersen 1932; SOU 1933:38) in similar arrangements as in Sweden. Agnhalt (2013) highlights the coffee ladies¹⁸, who made coffee and boiled eggs at Glenntagen sorting station along the Glomma River, Norway. In North America, it was mostly men who worked as cooks at the large logging camps (MacKay 1978; Soucoup 2011). Meanwhile women worked dishing up and serving the loggers food and washed the dishes (SOU 1933:38). Thus, cooks have had an important role in male-dominated sectors, both in Sweden and internationally.

The forestry sector was (SM 8), and to some extent still is, a male sphere, in which the primary work, such as logging and horse driving in the forest (Johansson 1994) and timber floating in the river, was done by men. It nonetheless provided secondary jobs for women. The introduction of women into the forestry sector as cooks was important both for the women themselves and for the men. Firstly, the women could earn their own money and become more independent (see also Löfdahl 2018; Östlund et al. 2020), rather than doing unpaid work on small farms (Bäcklund 1988). Secondly, women's role in the forestry sector led to a significant upgrade in the men's living conditions, particularly major improvements to their diets. Johansson (1994) explains that forest work made the men into who they were, and this was important for their identities (Johansson 1994).

¹⁸ Kaffekjæringer in Norwegian

4.4 Timber floating's impact on the local communities

Subsistence farming and forestry was a common lifestyle in Sweden until the late 19th century. (Gadd 1997). The farmers and small villages along the river Ångermanälven were generally well established at this time and had a strong connection to, and knowledge of, the local environment. People were also used to different seasonal occupations such as potash production (Borgegård 1973; Östlund et al. 1998). This way of life continued through the first half of 20th century but often with the addition of paid forest work (Bäcklund 1988). Small-scale farmers in the northern inland of Sweden gained employment alongside their farms, such as logging during the winter and log driving during the summer. In the county of Västernorrland, agrarian work gradually decreased over the first half of the 20th century due to the expansion of forestry and other industries (Carli 1962).

As logging was only conducted during the winter when there was snow (Johansson 1994), timber floating was a good complement to it, which generated extra income during the summer and, as one of my informants described it “*The timber floating was like vacation from the logging.*” (28). Although people’s income came largely from forest and timber floating work, the small farms were important for sustenance during periods when no wage labor was available (Bäcklund 1988). However, the work on small farms became less efficient over the first half of the 20th century, in terms of hours worked for financial return, than the external work in the forest sector (Lundgren 1985). The proportion of time people spent on external work increased accordingly, and time on the farm decreased. Later, during the post-war era, the agricultural population declined, and small-scale farmers became even scarcer until, by the 1970s, 90 percent of all farms had stopped operating as such (Lundgren 1985; Bäcklund 1988). My informants confirmed this trend of smaller farms disappearing and people moving to towns and cities in the post-war period. The male informants who worked in the 1950s and early 1960s had a stronger agrarian connection than those who worked in the mid-1960s-1980s. It is also clear that it was mostly farmers with smaller properties who worked as log drivers, while it was rare for farmers with larger agricultural properties to participate in timber floating (see also Törnlund 2002).

While the connection between timber floating and agriculture weakened during the post-war period (Lundgren 1985; Bäcklund 1988), forestry and timber floating remained closely associated (SOU 1933:38). Timber floating was part of the timber value chain, enabling the transport of wood from forest to industry, and the logging and timber floating seasons created an annual cycle of employment for many men in the northern inland of Sweden (Bäcklund 1988; Törnlund 2002). This is reflected in my results with most of my male informants having combined work in timber floating with forest work during the whole study period from the 1950s until 1982

when the timber floating era on the river Ångermanälven ended. This annual cycle of timber floating and logging was also common for men in Norway (Moren 1990; Aarholt 1996) and Canada (Mackay 1978; Soucoup 2011).

Timber floating had noticeable impacts on the local communities along the river. Firstly, it created work opportunities for many people, mainly loggers who would otherwise have been unemployed during the logging break in the summer. As an example, 550 people were employed in timber floating on Ångermanälven in June 1965, and 41 000¹⁹ days' work were performed during the season (SCB 1966). Secondly, it was important to the local grocery stores (see also Mattsson 2001), particularly during the final clear-up stage on the river, when the cooking team and log drivers bought ingredients and food from them. There was a close connection between on one side forestry and timber floating and on the other side the local communities spread out along the rivers. People had lived in the area and subsisted on small scale farming for centuries or even longer. This experience facilitated the log drivers' work in many ways as it meant they were acquainted with the local conditions and had intimate knowledge of the rivers and streams during different seasons.

4.5 The end of the timber floating era

Timber floating on the river Ångermanälven was protected by laws against other interests, such as the expansion of hydroelectric power, until the early 20th century (Jacobsson 1996). *The royal vein*²⁰ is one illustration of how rivers were managed to protect royal (i.e., state) interests such as fishing and, later, timber floating. This meant that hydroelectric powerplants could only be built if they did not contradict these interests and acquired permission to construct powerplants in the royal vein. However later, new laws introduced towards the end of the 1910s facilitated the expansion of hydroelectric powerplants, which continued throughout the century (Törnlund 2002). At the same time, during the first decades of the 20th century the forest road network could not connect the forests to the industries to the same extent as creeks and rivers could (SOU 1943:4). However, significant expansion of the forest road network in the 1930s enabled better access for lorries which, by the 1940s, could already be seen as a competitor to timber floating.

The length of the floatways on the river Ångermanälven started to decrease progressively from 1950s due to the cessation of timber floating on the creeks. Similar patterns were also seen in Indalsälven (Eklund 1991) and Ume- and

¹⁹ Including work at the sorting station, timber floating on Ångermanälven generated 77 000 days' work the floating season in 1965.

²⁰ Kungsådran in Swedish

Vindelälven (Törnlund 2002). However, the first major shrinkage of the floatways on the river Ångermanälven occurred in 1979, when the section within Västerbotten county was operated the last time. Discussion about the cessation of timber floating on the river had been ongoing since the 1960s with two possible options under consideration: discontinue timber floating activity on the river, or start bundle floating²¹ (Högström et al. 1979). The timber transport question was important as so much timber was transported on the river to industry. In retrospect, we can see that the first option was acted upon, but why was that?

Törnlund (2002) explains the driving forces behind the cessation of timber floating in Ume- and Vindelälven as *internal* – increased costs driven by the forestry and labor costs, and *external* – competition with hydroelectric power and lorries. Both timber floating and sorting costs rose sharply at the beginning of the 1970s (fig. 5) as a result of both internal and external factors. Firstly, due to forest exploitation and the expansion of the pulpwood industry, the average floated log became smaller during the 20th century (SM 6), and logs from these new forests were not as suitable for timber floating due to the characteristics of the timber (Törnlund 2002). Secondly, labor costs rose during the 1970s, due to better working conditions. Thirdly, the expansion of the forest road network enabled an expanded timber transport by lorries (SOU 1943:4). The railroads also offered an effective means of timber transport. Moreover, the expansion of hydroelectric powerplants in Ångermanälven from the 1950s created barriers to timber floating in the rapids. Although the work became safer when rowing in the rapids was replaced with timber slide regulations, there were by this point two stakeholders competing for the water (SOU 1943:4).

Although the river Ångermanälven was one of the last rivers on which timber floating was performed in Sweden (Henriksson 2011), the proposals about bundle floating could not compete with lorry transport and the other factors that had affected timber floating negatively. At the same time, stakeholders of the timber floating association of Ångermanälven were no longer as dependent on timber floating for timber transport and could instead rely on road and rail transport.

²¹ Buntflottning in Swedish

4.6 Source critical aspects

The history of timber floating encompasses different aspects; the work itself and working conditions, the organization and the connection to the industry and the physical conditions. I have primarily focused on the first two and to analyze these I have used different methods, historical records, and interviews. Working interdisciplinary with forest history allows the researcher to answer broader questions instead of following one discipline which limits the research (Östlund & Ekman 1997). Moreover, the information I could not receive from the interviews could be found at the archive and vice versa. For example, the informants described the living conditions in the timber floating while the annual reports at the National Archive described the floated timber amount precisely. Therefore, the combination of working with both historical records and interviews is a strength in this study.

Most of the historical records I studied at the National archive of Sweden, Härnösand, were well organized and comprehensive. However, sometimes the records I was searching were hard to find and there was some information that I could not find at all. For example, I could not find the number of log drivers for different years, and the series of annual reports between 1889 and 1925 were incomplete. Nonetheless, the comprehensive material at the National Archive of Sweden was sufficient to answer my aims.

Using interviews as a method is time consuming since it involves many steps; preparations, conducting the interviews, transcribing, and analyzing and coding (Ryen 2004; Pope et al. 2000). Nonetheless, much information can be obtained from interviews which is important when studying historical events. I have interviewed information-rich people who worked with timber floating during the last decades timber floating was conducted in the river, between 1948 and 1982. If the study would have been done earlier, the results may have differed from my results, harder living conditions (SOU 1938:33; Törnlund 2002) and a closer agrarian connection (Bäcklund 1988) for example. Moreover, my informants worked in a limited area of the river. If the study would have focused on another area in the river, the results may also have differed. Lastly, I interviewed 20 people for this study, which is a limited number compared to how many who were involved in timber floating on the river Ångermanälven overall. However, my informants both described their own and their colleagues' experiences and described the organization and the work teams. They also described how the timber floating was integrated in the local society and its relation to forest and agrarian work. Therefore, my informants did not only represent themselves, but the other people involved in timber floating on the river Ångermanälven.

Concluding remarks

Timber floating was a complex process with economical, ecological, social, and technical factors involved. Therefore, it is important to work in an interdisciplinary manner to investigate the history of timber floating. Working in timber floating created an identity for the log drivers. They needed to be strong and persistent to control the timber flow and break up the log jams. At the same time, it was adventurous to row the rapids and work outside all summer. The teamwork among the log drivers also created a good spirit and cohesion in the work teams. Working with timber floating year after year was a must for many of my informants, both for the adventure and the income source. Hence, timber floating was important for the communities along the river since it created work opportunities and supported the local economies. The log drivers combined their work with agrarian activities in the summer and logging in the winter. However, the agrarian connection decreased drastically during 1950s but the close connection to forest work lasted until the cessation in 1982. This connection to the local society was typically a Fennoscandian phenomenon, while floating of timber in example North America was conducted mostly in different manner with more mobile workers with sometimes less knowledge of the local conditions.

Even though timber floating was a male's sphere with primary jobs for men, it created secondary jobs for women as cooks. Firstly, this gave women the opportunity to become more independent and earn their own money. Secondly, the cooks served proper food and improved the log driver's diet.

Timber floating on river Ångermanälven was one of the last rivers on which timber floating was performed in Sweden, it could not compete with lorry transport and the other factors that had affected timber floating negatively. 1982 was the last year timber floating was conducted on the river. Nonetheless, timber floating brought imprints and memories to the people involved. I hope this study will contribute to that the oral history of timber floating on the river Ångermanälven will be preserved to future generations.

Acknowledgements

When I chose the topic for my master thesis, I wanted to help preserve local history of the area I come from. I am very glad I had the chance to write about timber floating on the river Ångermanälven which runs through my home village. This would not have been possible without my informants who worked with timber floating on the river Ångermanäven. Thank you Gösta Markusson, Jan Molinder, Rolf Rylander, Kurt-Lennart Tarander, Helge Viklund, Stig Hällestrand, Jim Bäck, Erling Johansson, Sven Hansson, Owe Källestål, Svante Pettersson, Bengt Almroth, Karl-Gustaf Strandberg, Patric Selin, Peder Persson, Torkel Ingelsson, Siv Larson, Tora Ekbäck and Ulla-Britt Carlsson for sharing your stories with me and letting the story of timber floating on the river Ångermanälven live on. I also want to give my gratitude to everyone who helped me find informants for my master thesis.

I also want to thank my supervisor, Professor Lars Östlund. Thank you for supporting me during this project with great and interesting discussions. You are the best supervisor a student can ask for! Furthermore, I want to thank the staff at the National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand. Thank you for your help finding all relevant documents for my project. Finally, I want to thank the SHS student union for the economic scholarship and SEES-editing for help with the language in the final version of the manuscript.

References

- Aarholt, T. and Fløytehistoriekomiteen i Steinkjer (1996) *Fløyting og fløytearliv : vassdrag, fløyting og fløytere*. Steinkjer: [Fløytehistoriekomiteen i Steinkjer].
- Andersen, S. (1932). *Undersøkelse av skogshytter og skogsarbeidernes levevilkår*. Oslo: Den norske lægeforenings forlag
- Arpi, G. (1959). *Sveriges skogar under 100 år : en sammanfattande redogörelse över det svenska skogsbruket 1859-1959*. Stockholm: Domänverket.
- Borgegård, L. E. (1973). *Tjärhanteringen i Västerbottens län under 1800-talets senare hälft: en studie av produktion och transporter med särskild hänsyn till Ume-och Vindelälvens dalgångar*. Diss Umeå universitet.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3 (2), 77–101.
<https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Bäcklund, D. (1988). On the outskirts of the industrial society: the transformation of small-scale farming in Lapland during the period 1870-1970. [Doctoral thesis, Umeå University]
- Carlgren, W. 1926. *De norrländska skogsindustrierna intill 1800-talets mitt : ett bidrag*. Uppsala : Almqvist & Wiksell distr.
- Cipolla, C.M. 1988. *Between two cultures : an introduction to economic history* [New ed.]. New York: Norton.
- Corbin, J.M. & Strauss, A.L. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. 3rd [ed.] Los Angeles, [Calif.] : SAGE.
- Dalen, M., 2004. *Intervju som forskningsmetode*. Oslo: Universitetsforlag.
- Eklund, N., (1991) *Flottningens förändrade villkor*. Diss Uppsala Universitet

- Ernst, C. (2000). *How professional historians can play a useful role in the study of an interdisciplinary forest history*. Methods and Approaches in Forestry History, IUFRO Research Series, No. 3. Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing, 29–33.
<https://doi.org/10.1079/9780851994208.0029>
- Henriksson, S.Å. (1980). *Flottning förr och nu: en bok om flottning och flottare efter Ångermanälven*. Bjästa: CEWE-förlaget.
- Henriksson, S.-Å. (2011). *I flottarnas fotspår: en bok om flottare och flottning i mellersta Norrland*. Sollefteå: Sven-Åke Henriksson
- Högström, I., Olsson, S., Forslund, B., Ståhlberg, M., Segerstedt, M., Nygren, A., Nilsson, B., Wiklund, B., Lindberg, S., Jonsson, R. (1979) Om flottningen i Ångermanälvens flodsystem. *Motion* 1978/79:457
- Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory : strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Gormley, G.J., Kearney, G.P., Johnston, J.L., Calhoun, A.W. & Nestel, D. (2019). Analyzing Data: Approaches to Thematic Analysis. *Healthcare Simulation Research*. Cham: *Springer International Publishing*, 135–143.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-26837-4_19
- Guest, G., Namey, E.E. & Mitchell, M.L. (2013). *Collecting qualitative data : a field manual for applied research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Jarratt, D.G. (1996). A comparison of two alternative interviewing techniques used within an integrated research design: a case study in outshopping using semi-structured and non-directed interviewing techniques. *Journal of knowledge management*, 14 (6), 6–15. <https://doi.org/10.1108/02634509610131108>
- Johansson, E. (1994). *Skogarnas fria söner: maskulinitet och modernitet i norrländskt skogsarbete*. Diss. Lunds universitet. Stockholm: Nordiska museet.
- Kortelainen, J. (1999). The river as an actor-network: the Finnish forest industry utilization of lake and river systems. *Geoforum*, 30 (3), 235–247.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185\(99\)00019-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00019-6)
- Lagus, H. (1926). *Kumo elvs flottningsbolag 1876-1925*. Helsingfors
- Lehtimäki, S., Matti, B. & Santamäki, O. (1991). *Rumpan kommer! Berättelser av Tornedalens flottare*. Övertorneå: [ABF]

- Lundgren, N-G. (1984). Skog för export: skogsarbete, teknik och försörjning i Lule älvadal 1870-1970 [PhD dissertation, Umeå University]. DiVA:
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:umu:diva-73488>
- Lundgren, N-G. (1985). Självhushållning, lönearbete och specialisering i norrländsk skogsbygd 1910-1960. Ett ekonomisk-historiskt perspektiv I: Wallentin, H. (red.) Informell ekonomi i glesbygd. Stockholm: LTs förlag. 85-95
- Rudberg, S. (1962) Naturlandskapet I: Wik, H. (red.) Västernorrland Ett sekel 1862 – 1962. Stockholm: P.A. Nordstedt & söners 11–61.
- Lundmark, H., Josefsson, T. & Östlund, L. (2013). The history of clear-cutting in northern Sweden – Driving forces and myths in boreal silviculture. *Forest ecology and management*, vol. 307, 112–122.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.foreco.2013.07.003>
- Lundmark, H. (2020). Clear-cutting : the most discussed logging method in Swedish forest history. Diss. Department of Forest Ecology and Management , Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences.
- Löfdahl, A. (2018). *De var så glada och åt allt vi satte fram en studie om skogsarbetarkockan och hennes liv i kojan*. Umeå: Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet. Institutionen för skoglig resurshushållning/Jägmästarprogrammet
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:slu:epsilon-s-9773>
- MacKay, D. (1978). *The lumberjacks*. Toronto: Natural Heritage.
- Moren, G. (1990) *Dokka : brøtning og brøttingsfolk gjennom tidene*. Dokka: Bokkomiteen.
- Mattson, T. (2001). *Flottning i Vindelälven*. Sveriges Lantbruksuniversitet. Institutionen för skoglig vegetasjonsekologi och Institutionen för skogsskötsel Skogshistoriska essäer - skrivna av elever på kursen "Skogens och skogsbrukets historia"
- Norén, L. (2019). "Det var ett äventyr" - en studie om livet som flottare efter Piteälven. Umeå: Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet. Institutionen för skogens ekologi och skötsel /Jägmästarprogrammet
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:slu:epsilon-s-10517>
- Opendakker, R.J.. (2006). Advantages and disadvantages of four interview techniques in qualitative research. *Forum, qualitative social research*, 7 (4)
<https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-7.4.175>

- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods*. 3rd. ed. London: SAGE.
- Pope, C., Ziebland, S., & Mays, N. (2000). Qualitative research in health care. Analysing qualitative data. *BMJ (Clinical research ed.)*, 320(7227), 114– 116.
<https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.320.7227.114>
- Rudberg, S. (1962) Naturlandskapet I: Wik, H. (red.) Västernorrland Ett sekel 1862 – 1962. Stockholm: P.A. Nordstedt & söners 11–61.
- Ryen, A. (2004). *Kvalitativ intervju: från vetenskapsteori till fältstudier*. 1 uppl., Malmö: Liber ekonomi.
- Snellman, H., (2000) Flottningen i Kemi älv i Finland I: Törnlund, E & Östlund, L. (red), *Flottning: vattendragen, arbetet, berättelserna*. Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag. 161-174
- Soucoup, D., (2011). *Logging in New Brunswick, Lumber, Mills & River Drivers*. Toronto
- Sörlin, S. (1980). Flottning och rationalisering : rationaliseringssträvanden i flottningen, samt tillämpningar och effekter i Uman/Vindelån. Umeå: Inst. för ekonomisk historia, Umeå univ.
- Sörlin, S. (1981). *Flottning i Västerbotten*. Flottning. Umeå: Västerbottens läns hembygdsförening.
- Sörlin, S. (2000) Vi lovar att inte svika. Flottningen i skönlitteraturen I: Törnlund, E & Östlund, L. (red), *Flottning: vattendragen, arbetet, berättelserna*. Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag. 128-160
- Törnlund, E. (1998). Arbete och teknik flottningen och den skogstekniska omvandlingen under efterkrigstiden. Skogshistoriska essäer - skrivna av elever på kursen "Skogens och skogsbrukets historia." Institutionen för skoglig vegetationsekologi Institutionen för skogsskötsel.
- Törnlund, E. (2002). "Flottningen dör aldrig": bäckflottningens avveckling efter Ume- och Vindelälven 1945–70. Diss. Umeå Universitet
- Törnlund, E. & Östlund, L. (2002). Floating Timber in Northern Sweden: The Construction of Floatways and Transformation of Rivers. *Environment and history*, 8 (1), 85–106. <https://doi.org/10.3197/096734002129342611>

- Törnlund, E. & Östlund, L. (2006). Mobility without Wheels: The Economy and Ecology of Timber Floating in Sweden, 1850–1980. *Journal of transport history*, 27 (1), 48–70. <https://doi.org/10.7227/TJTH.27.1.5>
- Vestheim, Øivind and Aune, A. (1998) *Fløting gjennom århundrer : fløtingas historie i Glomma- og Mjøsvassdraget*. Elverum
- Wik, H. (1950). *Norra Sveriges sågverksindustri. Från 1800-talets mitt fram till 1937*. Stockholm: AB Kartografiska institutet
- Wik, H. Från vattensåg till elsåg I: Wik, H. (red.) Västernorrland Ett sekel 1862 – 1962. Stockholm: P.A. Nordstedt & söners 209-238.
- Winberg, I. 1944. Flotningen i Sveriges allmänna flottleder fram till omkr. år 1935. Stockholm: Stockholms bokindustri A.-B.
- Yingling, J. (2015). *Snowball sampling, grounded theory, and theoretical sampling : roles in methamphetamine markets*. London: SAGE
- Ytterberg, O. (1962) Befolkning och bebyggelse 1950-1960I: Wik, H. (red.) Västernorrland Ett sekel 1862 – 1962. Stockholm: P.A. Nordstedt & söners 116-125.
- Ådalenkommittén (1980). *Industrihistorisk inventering Industriminnen i Västernorrland: rapport. D. 3 Sollefteå och Kramfors kommuner: industrihistorisk inventering 1980: [en basrapport från Ådalenkommittén i samarbete med Sundsvalls museum]*
- Östlund, L. & Ekman, P. (1997). Skogshistoria - ett möte mellan olika vetenskapliga discipliner. Skogshistoria - ett möte mellan olika vetenskapliga discipliner. I Östlund, L. (red.) *Människan och skogen*
- Östlund, L. & Norstedt, G. (2021). Preservation of the cultural legacy of the indigenous Sami in northern forest reserves – Present shortcomings and future possibilities. *Forest ecology and management*, 502, 119726. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foreco.2021.119726>
- Östlund, L., Zackrisson, O. & Axelsson, A. (1997). History and transformation of a Scandinavian boreal forest landscape since the 19th century. *Canadian journal of forest research*, 27 (8), 1198–1206. <https://doi.org/10.1139/x97-070>
- Östlund, L., Öbom, A., Löfdahl, A. & Rautio, A.-M. (2020). Women in forestry in the early twentieth century - new opportunities for young women to work and gain

their freedom in a traditional agrarian society. *Scandinavian journal of forest research*, vol. 35 (7), 403–416. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2020.1808054>

Östlund, L., Zackrisson, O. & Strotz, H. (1998). Potash Production in Northern Sweden: History and Ecological Effects of a Pre-industrial Forest Exploitation. *Environment and history*, 4 (3), 345–358. <https://doi.org/10.3197/096734098779555592>

Official publications

SOU 1932:26 *Uppskattning av Sveriges skogstillgångar verkställd åren 1923-1929*. Stockholm

SOU 1933:38. *Kungl. socialstyrelsens utredning och förslag rörande förbättrande av skogs- och flottningsarbetarnas provianterings- och matlagningsförhållanden under vistelsen i skogarna samt Kungl. medicinalstyrelsens undersökning rörande de dietiska och hygieniska förhållandenas inverkan på skogsarbetarnas hälsotillstånd*. Stockholm

SOU 1943:4 *Utredning rörande skogsnäringens ekonomiska läga med förslag till höjande av näringens bärkraft*. Stockholm

SOU 1949:19. *Utredning med förslag till lagstiftning om tillfälliga bostäder vid skogs- och flottnings- m.fl. arbeten*. Stockholm

Statistics Sweden

SCB (1966) *Flottningen I allmänna flottleder 1965*. Statistiska centralbyrån

Historical records (HR)

Riksarkivet (National archive of Sweden)

Ångermanälvens flottningsförenings arkiv (Archive of the timber floating associations of Ångermanälven)

A Protokoll

A1:2 Styrelse och stämprotokoll (Board documents)1889-1893 (HR1)

A2 Årsrapporter (annual reports) 1905-1982

A2:1 1905-1927 (HR2)

A2:2 1928-1951 (HR3)

A2:4 1952-1969 (HR4)

A2:6 1970-1982 (HR5)

F14 Handlingar rörande personal

F14A:3 Arbetsavtal och avtalsförhandlingar
(Salary agreements) 1945-
1981 (HR6)

J Kartor och ritningar (maps)

J2A:81 Tablå över virkesmärken.
Ritning nr: 6700-107 (HR7)

J2A:83 Ångermanälvens flodområde.
Huvudleder. Ritningsnummer: 6700-109
(HR8)

J2A:86 Ångermanälvens flodområde. ÅFF:s
tjänstemannaorganisation 1967 och 1969
Ritningsnummer: 6700-113 -06700-114
(HR9)

K Fotografier och filmer (photographs and movies)

K 1:4 Åseälven och Ångermanälven med
biflöden 1948-1959 (Rivers Åseälven and
Ångermanälven with tributaries 1948-1959)
(HR10)

Supplementary material (SM)

SM. 1. Aspects of materials and methods

Historical source material

Most of the historical records I studied at the National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, were well-organized and comprehensive. However, sometimes the records I was searching for were hard to find and there was some information that I could not find at all. The reason why information can be patchy and hard to find depends usually on three major factors (Cipolla 1988). 1) The requested information may never have been documented, 2) the material might have been destroyed deliberately or it did not seem important to keep or finally, 3) the material might have been lost or destroyed by accident.

A very important thing to consider when working with historical records is reliability, i.e., whether the record presents information that is true or biased in a way (Cipolla 1988; Ernst 2000). Here it is very important to differentiate between primary sources, such as documentation of transported logs, and secondary sources such as stories about the timber floating (Cipolla 1988). The records I have studied were primary sources, and carefully documented records from an association where trust among the different parties was extremely important. Moreover, there was a great accuracy in what was presented by the timber floating association since the stakeholders wanted their right share. Since the records I studied were primary sources, mainly from the timber floating association, they should be considered to be reliable. Accordingly, there are two disciplines the researcher should follow when working with historical source material (Ernst 2000). Firstly, the researcher needs to determine the sources' origins. *Why was the information produced, and at whom? is the source directed? and can the source be studied in its entirety?* Secondly, different sources should be contrasted, both for ensuring that the source is true, and also to gain new insights into how the different sources are related. I argue that I have followed both disciplines for source criticism.

The newspaper (Västernorrlands Allehanda) I studied for a greater insight into the strike action was written conservatively. If the newspaper had been socialistic, the articles could have had been written from the workers' perspective, whereas the news I studied were written with a more critical perspective on the workers. Moreover, I have combined the archive studies with interviews for a broader view of the timber floating in the river Ångermanälven.

Interviews

Before the interviews, I informed my informants about the purpose and aim of the study and asked for permission to have their names in the report, an important dialogue in ethical aspects (Green & Thorogood 2009, see Guest et al. 2013). What is important is that the informants also were informed that their participation was voluntary. Moreover, I asked in beforehand about where they had worked and what work they had in timber floating, important both for preparing myself for the interviews and for showing my interest in the informants' work.

16 interviews were face-to-face interviews and were held at the informants' home, a preferable place since it was familiar and there were few distractions (Ryen 2004). Since there was a great distance to some of my informants, three interviews were held by phone and one on Zoom. Both questionnaires were based on open-ended questions, ensuring that the informants could speak freely and maximize the opportunities for highly textured, detailed, and discursive answers (Dalen 2004; Guest et al. 2013). I accepted silence during my interviews, to ensure that I did not interrupt during a pause and the informants had time to think through their answers. In the end of each interview, I asked if the informant wanted to add something we had not discussed yet, guaranteeing that important information had not been missed (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014). I recorded and transcribed all my interviews. By doing so, I could first have more focus on the conversation during the interviews instead of taking verbatim notes of the conversation. Second, I could analyze and develop my interview technique for upcoming interviews by listening to the recordings (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014).

Presentation of the informants

Male informants

Gösta Markusson, worked as a log driver during the 1950s and 1960s. He worked in timber floating on the creeks in the spring near his home village and on the river Ångermanälven around the area of Flyn in the summer.

Jan Molinder, worked with timber floating in a large area, including at the hydroelectric powerplant in the village of Gulsele. He also worked with the final clear-up and at the workshop in the village of Rossön. He worked during the 1970s.

Jim Bäck, worked in timber floating in the creeks in the spring and in the river Ångermanälven in the summer. He also worked with the final clear-up a long distance of the river. He worked as a log driver between 1954 and 1979.

Erling Johansson, worked as a log driver on the creeks and in the final clear-up during the 1950s and 1960s.

Sven Hansson, worked in the timber floating in the river Ångermanälven, and followed the final clear-up one season. He worked in the village of Råsele. He worked at the beginning of the 1970s.

Helge Viklund, worked in timber floating in the creeks in the spring and in the river Ångermanälven south of the village of Junsele. He worked as a log driver in the 1950s.

Kurt-Lennart Tarander, worked with timber floating at the Långbjörn's hydroelectric powerplant in the 1970s.

Patric Selin, worked with towing timber on the lake Volgsjön at the beginning of the season. Later during the season, he worked as a log driver on the final clear-up. He worked with timber floating during three summers in the late 1970s.

Torkel Ingelsson worked with timber floating on the river Ångermanälven in the late 1970s around the village of Åsele. He also worked at the workshop in the village of Rossön and the sorting station in the village of Sandslån.

Peder Persson worked with timber floating on the river Ångermanälven in the late 1970s around the village of Åsele.

Stig Hällestrand worked as a log driver in the village of Hälla between 1967 and 1979. He worked in timber floating in the creeks and on the river Ångermanälven.

Bengt Almroth, worked as a log driver from 1956-1982. He worked in timber floating on the creeks in the spring in the village of Torvsele. He also worked in the final clear-up.

Rolf Rylander, worked as a log driver close to the village of Vilhelmina for some seasons at the beginning of the 1960s. Thereafter, he worked at the sorting station in the village of Sandslån for ten summers.

Karl-Gustaf Strandberg, worked as a log driver between 1956 and 1961. He worked in timber floating on the creeks and on the river Ångermanälven around the village of Gulsele. Later during the season, he followed the final clear-up to the rapid Degerforsen.

Anonymous, worked with timber floating in the 1960s around the village of Junsele.

Owe Källestål, worked as a log driver when he was a teenager in the 1950s. He worked in the timber floating in the creeks, the river Ångermanälven and in the final clear up.

Svante Pettersson, worked as a log driver on the final clear-up in 1978 and 1979 when he was 19 years old.

Female informants

Siv Larson, worked when she was 20 years old in 1959 as a cook assistant for one summer on the final clear-up between the villages of Råsele and Junsele.

Tora Ekbäck, worked as a cook on a towboat for two seasons during the 1940s, on the lake Vojmsjön, Vilhelmina when she was 16 and 17 years old.

Ulla-Britt Carlsson, worked as a timber guardian for one summer break in high school in the village of Gulsele.

Analysis

Qualitative analysis often begins at an early stage in the research (Pope et al. 2000). In my case, it was during my interviews that I started to see patterns as recurring themes. This is a part of inductive analysis, where theory evolves from data, an alternating process with coding transcripts and identifying themes, moving back and forth between codes, themes, and data (Ryen 2004; Gormley et al. 2019). The inductive process is therefore data-driven, and the researcher cannot have a pre-existing coding frame (Braun & Clarke 2006). In contrast, a deductive theoretical approach depends on a hypothesis or is more specified, for example from a questionnaire with close-ended questions with shorter and less descriptive answers (Patton 2002). An inductive analysis holds then much information and is more detailed (Patton 2002; Braun & Clarke Braun 2004). I choose an inductive approach since I could not have a hypothesis for my research. Instead, I needed to be open to my informants' stories where the theory evolved from the data.

The thematic analysis followed a process presented by Braun & Clarke (2006) and Gormley et al. (2019). The analysis started with familiarization when I first wrote notes after each interview and transcribed them afterwards. Second, I listened to the

interviews and read the transcripts several times, starting to process the interviews. This is an important and necessary step when my understanding of the data improved, and my ideas of possible themes took place. Thereafter, I started preliminary coding and made comments in the margin, marking important information and linkages. In addition, I sorted every transcript and linked them to the questions in the questionnaires for structure and easily have an overview how every interviewee answered the questions. I re-read the transcripts with notes as well. From the preliminary coding, I grouped related codes, and themes were identified. I mostly used memos for easy adjustments of the linkages between all the codes and themes. I reviewed the preliminary themes and added themes to the “theme map” while some were omitted and emerged. In addition, I identified sub-themes and their relation to the main themes. Lastly, I interpreted the themes more deeply and connected themes and categories to each other.

My analysis of the interviews is based on *grounded theory* (Glaser & Strauss 1967), a qualitative research method where the researcher is alternating data collection with analysis (Corbin & Strauss 2008). Firstly, this method allows the researcher to develop concepts to validate and follow up on data during the whole process. Secondly, it ensures the researcher not having too much data to analyze at once. Moreover, a constant comparative method (Pope et al. 2000) was undertaken during the analysis. I compared all transcripts from the preliminary coding to each other, to ensure I had not missed newly discovered information in an earlier analyzed transcript. This is an inclusive process where many nuances in the data are reflected, although it is a time-consuming process (Pope et al. 2000). Even though there is an inclusive process with much information, it is important for the researcher to be consistent when working with the data and remove redundant data from the interviews for an easier analysis (Ryen 2004). I analyzed the interviews myself, which was important and necessary since my understanding of the data was improved.

SM. 2. Questionnaire for the male informants, working mainly as log drivers

Datum och ort:

Inledning:

Namn:

Ålder:

Adress:

Hur såg din uppväxt ut?

Var växte du upp? Hur långt var det till affärer, skola och arbete?

Hur såg din familj ut (*syskon, annan släkt*)?

Vad arbetade dina föräldrar med?

Flottning- Vem blev flottare och hur såg flottaryrket och flottningen ut?
(samt arbetsförhållanden)

Vad gjorde du innan du började i flottningen? (*arbete, utbildning*)

När började du arbeta med flottningen (årtal/ålder), och hur länge arbetade du i flottningen?

Hur fick du jobbet? (*släkting, vän, annons, förfrågan*)

Vem anställde dig? Hur blev dina kollegor anställda?

Hur lärde du dig flottningsarbetet? (*kurs, äldre flottare*)

I vilket/vilka områden flottade du?

Kunde arbetet variera under säsongen/olika år du arbetade, om ja hur då?

Om du flottade på olika ställen, skiljde sig arbetsgången på olika platser, om ja, hur då?

Vilket arbete hade du i flottningen?

Vilka arbetsuppgifter hade du?

Hur många timmar per dag arbetade du? Hur många dagar i veckan arbetade du?

Hur såg flottningen ut där du arbetade, hur var den organiserad? (arbetslag, flottarbas)

Vilka slags redskap och verktyg använde ni, hur fick ni tag på era redskap?

Hur många var i varje flottarlag?

Hur påverkade ålder vilken arbetsuppgift man fick?

Hade alla samma arbetsuppgifter eller var det uppdelat på något sätt?
Fanns det någon rangordning i arbetslaget, om ja hur då?

Vilka fick respektive arbetsuppgift (*ålder, erfarenhet*)?

Vad gjorde flottarbasen?

Kan du beskriva hur en flottningssäsong såg ut?

Fanns det olika arbetsuppgifter under säsongen, för- eller efterarbeten före och efter säsongen?

När började, respektive slutade säsongen?

Förekom det avbrott under säsongen, när och varför i så fall?

Vad gjorde du när du inte flottade?

Skulle du vilja berätta om hur slutflottningen gick till? (*om informanten var med*)

Vad hade du för lön, och hur bestämdes lönen? (ackord, fast lön)

Vad tyckte du om lönen (*var du nöjd med lönen, varför/varför inte*)?

Vem betalade din lön?

Hur skiljde lönen mellan olika flottare?

Hur skiljde sig flottarlönen jämfört med andra yrken?

Vad hade ni för arbetskläder? (egna/från flottningsföreningen, skor, komfort)

Hur såg säkerheten ut i flottningen?

Hur ofta var det olyckor? (*brötar, båtolucky*)

Kan du berätta om några olyckor som du känner till?

Var du och/eller någon du kände med om någon olycka?

Upplevde du att det fanns mer riskfyllda arbetsuppgifter, om ja kan du berätta mer.

Hur såg arbetet ut efter olyckor hade skett? (*arbete mer försiktigt, att man inte fick arbeta på ett speciellt sätt längre*)

Vad hade ni för slags säkerhetsutrustning?

När och hur ofta hade ni pauser (mat/fikapausar)?

Hur länge var pauserna?

Hur bodde du när du flottade?

Om ”*bodde borta*”, komplettera med följande frågor

Hur såg boendet ut (*bodde ni tillsammans, hur såg den omkringliggande miljön ut*)?

Hur långt var det hem (*hur ofta kunde du åka hem, hur åkte du till arbetet/hem*)?

Hur var det att bo borta?

Hur sköttes hygien och klädvätt?

Hur transporterade ni era saker om ni skulle vara med på slutflottningen?

Hur såg mathållningen ut? (*gemensam mathållning/egen mat*)

om det var gemensam mathållning: Vem lagade maten?

Hur såg mattransporten ut till er?

Vad åt ni?

Hur tyckte du det var att arbeta i flottningen (*roligt/tråkigt, krävande fysiskt*)?

Hur värdesatte du ditt arbete (*för dig, flottningen, skogsbruket, samhället*)?

Tror du att ditt arbete värdesattes av din arbetsgivare, skogsbruket och samhället i stort?

Vilken status hade flottaryrket i samhället?

Vad tyckte du var det mest krävande/tråkigaste/roligaste i flottningen?
(*varför? /förklara*)

När slutade du arbeta i flottningen?

Varför slutade du?

Sociala förhållanden i flottningen

Hur såg sammanhållningen ut i flottarlaget (*bra, sämre, lagarbete*)?

Hur var stämningen?

Fanns det någon jargong och hur tedde den sig i så fall?

Lättnades stämningen upp på något sätt, i så fall hur (*skämt, hyss*)?

Hur såg lagarbetet ut?

Kände du dig respekterad i flottarlaget? Respekterades alla åsikter?

Har du kontakt med någon av dina flottarkollegor idag?

Kvinnor i flottningen- vilka var dom och vad gjorde de?

Var det kvinnor som var med och arbetade i flottningen?

Vem var hon?

Vad hade kvinnorna för arbetsuppgifter i flottningen?

(*Om det var gemensam mathållning*)

Kan du berätta mer om kockan/kockorna?

Flottningens koppling till skog och jordbruk och annat lönearbete

Vad gjorde du resten av året när du inte flottade? Berätta om hur ditt år brukade se ut. (*skogsarbete, jordbruk, annat säsongarbete*)

Hur förändrades detta över tiden?

Hur såg ditt flottningsarbete ut i kombination med ditt arbete resten av året?

Vilken koppling hade du till skogs- och jordbruk annars?

Vilken koppling till skogs- och jordbruk hade dina kollegor?

Hur ser du kopplingen mellan flottning, jord- och skogsbruk, hur var de beroende av varandra?

Hur tror du att flottningen påverkade orterna vid älven?
(kopplat till jord- och skogsbruk)

Om informanten arbetat med skog och jordbruk:

Hur fungerade arbetet hemma med jordbruket när du flottade? (*extra personal, mer arbete för den/dem hemma*)

Hur tror du att flottningen som yrke konkurrerade med andra yrken under sommaren?

Vilket yrke var mest eftertraktat i samhället under sommaren?

Avslutning

Vad gjorde du efter att du hade flottat?

Har flottningen påverkat ditt liv på något sätt, om ja, i så fall hur?

Har du fått användning av dina erfarenheter av flottningen senare i livet?

Om du hade fått möjlighet att flotta timmer igen, hade du gjorde det?

Skulle du vilja tillägga något som vi inte pratat om?
Något speciellt minne från flottningen?

Finns det något mer jag borde ta med mig som vi inte diskuterat?

Känner du någon annan som flottat eller arbetat inom flottningen i Ångermanälven?

Har du några foton, tidningsurklipp, dagböcker eller andra saker från flottningen som du vill dela med dig av? (*vad/vilka är på kortet, när?*)

SM. 3. Questionnaire for the female informants who worked as a cook and cook assistant

Datum och ort:

Inledning:

Namn:

Ålder:

Adress:

Hur såg din uppväxt ut?

Var växte du upp? Hur långt var det till affärer, skola och arbete?

Hur såg din familj ut (*syskon, annan släkt*)?

Vad arbetade dina föräldrar med?

Flottning- Vem blev kocka och hur såg kockyrket ut i flottningen?
(samt arbetsförhållanden)

Vad gjorde du innan du började arbeta som kocka? (*arbete, utbildning*)

Vilken koppling hade du till flottning sedan tidigare, eller annat skogsbruk?

Vilka kunskaper hade du om hushåll och matlagning innan du blev kocka?

När började du arbeta som kocka (årtal/ålder), och hur länge arbetade som kocka?

Hur fick du jobbet? (*släkting, vän, annons, förfrågan*)

Vem anställde dig? Hur blev din/dina kollegor anställda?

Hur var din inställning till att börja arbeta som kocka?

Hur lärde du dig arbetet? (*kurs, kollega/kollegor*)

I vilket/vilka områden arbetade du?

Kunde arbetet variera under säsongen/olika år du arbetade, om ja hur då?

Om du kockade på olika ställen, skiljde sig arbetsgången på olika platser, om ja, hur då?

Vilket arbete hade du som kocka i flottningen?

Vilka arbetsuppgifter hade du?

Hur många timmar per dag arbetade du? Hur många dagar i veckan arbetade du?

Hur såg flottningen ut där du arbetade, hur var den organiserad? (arbetslag, chef)

Hur många var i flottarlaget du kockade åt?

Hur påverkade din ålder vilka arbetsuppgift du fick (*hjälpa till, laga mat, diska*)?

Hade ni samma arbetsuppgifter eller var det uppdelat på något sätt?

Fanns det någon rangordning i arbetslaget, om ja hur då?

Fanns det någon som hjälpte till att handla mat med mera?

Kan du beskriva hur en arbetssäsong såg ut?

Fanns det olika arbetsuppgifter under säsongen, för- eller efterarbeten före och efter säsongen?

När började, respektive slutade säsongen?

Förekom det avbrott under säsongen, när och varför i så fall?

Hur såg en arbetsdag ut och hur planerades arbetet?

Vad fick du hjälp med av flottarna?

Vad hade du för lön, och hur bestämdes lönen? (timlön eller fast lön)

Vad tyckte du om lönen (*var du nöjd med lönen, varför/varför inte*)?

Vem betalade din lön?

Fanns det någon person som hade mer ansvar med ekonomin, vem i så fall?

Hur skiljde sig kockalönen jämfört med andra yrken?

Hur såg säkerheten ut i ditt arbete?

Hur ofta var det olyckor?

Kan du berätta om några olyckor som du känner till?

Upplevde du att det fanns mer riskfyllda arbetsuppgifter, om ja kan du berätta mer.

Vad hade ni för slags säkerhetsutrustning?

När och hur ofta hade du pauser (mat/fikapausar)?

Hur länge var pauserna?

Hur bodde du när du kockade i flottningen?

Om ”*bodde borta*”, komplettera med följande frågor

Hur såg boendet ut (*bodde ni tillsammans, hur såg den omkringliggande miljön ut, standard, isolering*)?

Hur långt var det hem (*hur ofta kunde du åka hem, hur åkte du till arbetet/hem*)?

Hur var det att bo borta? (*hemlängtan*)

Hur sköttes hygien och klädtvätt, vem städade?

Hur transporterade ni era saker i slutflottningen?

Hur skiljde sig boendet från olika platser och olika säsonger?

Hur såg mathållningen ut?

Vad lagade ni för mat? (*husmanskost, lokal maträtt, variation, favoriträtt, hur mycket mat?*)

Vilken var det vanligaste rätten ni lagade?

Hur såg mattransporten ut till dig?

Kan du berätta hur en vecko-matsedel brukade se ut?

Hur såg mathållningen ut under en dag (*frukost, lunch, middag, kvällsmål, hur ofta och när?*)

Vilken standard hade köket? (*redskap, porslin typ av spis*)

Hur planerades inköpen och matsedel? (*vem betalade maten, förvaring, leverans av råvaror*)

När och vad åt du?

Hur tyckte du det var att arbeta som kocka (*roligt/tråkigt, krävande fysiskt*)?

Hur värdesatte du ditt arbete (*för dig, flottningen, skogsbruket, samhället*)?

Tror du att ditt arbete värdesattes av din arbetsgivare, flottare, skogsbruket och samhället i stort?

Vilken status hade flottaryrket/kocka i samhället?

Vad tyckte du var det mest krävande/tråkigaste/roligaste som kocka?
(*varför? /förklara*)

När slutade du arbeta som kocka?

Varför slutade du?

Sociala förhållanden i flottningen

Hur var stämningen?

Fanns det någon jargong och hur tedde den sig i så fall?

Lättnades stämningen upp på något sätt, i så fall hur? (*skämt, hyss*)

Hur var gemenskapen mellan dig och flottarna?

Hur upplevde du att arbeta ensam med män i flottningen? (*bra, utsatta situationer*)

Förekom det situationer som var otrevliga eller obehagliga?

Vilken generell syn hade samhället på kockor?

Hur såg lagarbetet ut mellan dig och din/dina kollegor?

Vilken relation hade du till flottarna? (vänner, familj)

Kände du dig som kvinna respekterad av dem flottarlaget? Respekterades alla åsikter?

Flottningens koppling till skog och jordbruk och annat lönearbete

Vad gjorde du resten av året när du inte var kocka? Berätta om hur ditt år brukade se ut.

Hur förändrades detta över tiden?

Hur såg ditt kockaarbete i flottningen ut i kombination med ditt arbete resten av året?

Vilken koppling hade du till skogs- och jordbruk annars?

Vilken koppling till skogs- och jordbruk hade dina kollegor?

Hur ser du kopplingen mellan flottning, jord- och skogsbruk, hur var de beroende av varandra?

Hur tror du att flottningen påverkade orterna vid älven?
(kopplat till jord- och skogsbruk)

Om informanten arbetat med skog och jordbruk:

Hur fungerade arbetet hemma med jordbruket när du kockade? (*extra personal, mer arbete för den/dem hemma*)

Hur tror du att flottningen som yrke, flottare och kocka, konkurrerade med andra yrken under sommaren?

Vilket yrke var mest eftertraktat i samhället under sommaren?

Avslutning

Vad gjorde du efter att du hade kockat?

Har arbetet som kocka påverkat ditt liv på något sätt, om ja, i så fall hur?

Har du fått användning av dina erfarenheter av arbetet som kocka senare i livet?

Om du hade fått möjlighet att kocka igen, hade du gjorde det?

Skulle du vilja tillägga något som vi inte pratat om?

Något speciellt minne från flottningen?

Finns det något mer jag borde ta med mig som vi inte diskuterat?

Känner du någon annan som flottat eller arbetat inom flottningen i Ångermanälven?

Har du några foton, tidningsurklipp, dagböcker eller andra saker från flottningen som du vill dela med dig av? *(vad/vilka är på kortet, när?)*

SM. 4. Original quotes in Swedish

(1) Bäckflottningen började ju, när issmältningen var i gång. Man utnyttjade ju issmältningen. (Helge Viklund)

(2) Å där var det ju bäckflottning på dan å på nattn så körde vi not. Nötter över sjön å det tog hela natten. På veckorna där var jag oppe hela veckan. Då jag for hem därifrån fick jag sitta med huve uta bilen för att inte somne. Aa. Det var hårda bud. (Anonymous)

(3) Det var ju liksom som ett äventyr den där Essånsveckan (Karl-Gustaf Strandberg)

(4) Å när de va motvind fick man prova dra ner med båtn. Å va de medvind kolla man mest på. (Jan Molinder)

(5) Om dom hade timre nere på kvällen stängde man ju en bom bakom för att om de skulle bli sydlig vind skulle de inte blåsa uppåt. (Kurt-Lennart Tarander)

(6) Sen när man satt där och skulle få iväg stockarna fanns det ett speciellt sätt, vi kalla det för hakaro. Om jag satt där back i båten så hade man ena foten ute i vattnet så la man en stock på den, så drog man ihop stockarna så det blev en liten flotte av dom. (...). Det här var ett bra knep. (Sven Hansson)

(7) Vi pojka brukar ju flytte fast vi inte var lejd, vi brukar åka till ån bara för att det var kul, vi var inte anställda då. Vi var väl bara en åtta-tio år. Vi gilla vattn (Bengt Almroth)

(8) Du fick väl inte ha nå, vad ska ja säga, men - att du hade ont i ryggen eller ont i knäe så du halte på nå vis. Det var väl inge bra å komma på en timmerbröt på det viset. I regel var det ju ungte folk. Det fanns ju dom som va gammal å. dom hade ju erfarenhet så dom var ju duktig på å sitte i båtn å ro. (Rolf Rylander)

(9) Den [säkerheten] var ofullständig. (Svante Pettersson)

(10) Den säkerheten fick man nog ha själv i skallen. (Gösta Markusson)

(11) Femtisju drunka en man i Moforsn å vi hade varit ilag hela sommarn. Han rodde över forsn å in till en eda å han orka inte ro. Vi hade varit i lag hela sommarn.

Då dragge vi tre fyra daga. Vi va så rädd att han skulle ligga vi nån bröt, men sen flöt han upp och hade hölt på å skrämma ihjäl en tant. (Jim Bäck)

(12) När vi skulle ta den där bröten så skulle vi titta på det där. (...) Å jädrar igen när brötn börja gå så gick den åt fel håll. Så han kom ju inte dit med båtn. Så vi gatt fara nerför där, tre stycken i båtn. Vi hade vattn upp till bälte! (Rolf Rylander)

(13) Då hade vi ju ett kocklag, vi var ju som en cirkus. (Erling Johansson)

(14) Nä nä. Man tvätta sig väl i ansikte ibland. Du känner ju på långt håll om det kommer en flottare eller skogsarbetare, det är ju bara så, svettlukta. (Jim Bäck)

(15) Ja de va ju mycket skoj, man skulle ju retes me ens kompisar. Om de int kunne ro. Särskilt på rompa. Sämste de va ju rent för jävligt. De va ju när dom hade lagt en fisk i en regnrock på fredan å låg där till på måndag. De va ju på skoj. De va mycke sånt där. (Torkel Ingelsson)

(16) Vissa va ju lat. (Jim Bäck)

(17) När man gick i land så skulle man ju göra upp eld och koka kaffe (...) Om man var yngst skulle man göra såna här uppgifter som att koka kaffe å sånt. (Sven Hansson)

(18) Han pratade med min mor, dom pratade inte med mig om jag var intresserad. Dom pratade över mitt huvud. Hon tyckte ju att det var väldigt väldigt bra. Jag kände ju det här att det var lite pirrigt, hur ska man klara av det där. (Tora Ekbäck)

(19) Salt sill och potatis var viktigt att dom fick till frukost.(...) En morgon sa jag till nån: kan vi inte äta nå annat än sill, vi kan väl koka en gröt på morgonen och starta dagen på det viset med. Nä nä nä nä nä, det gick inte, sillen var stadigt i deras huvu den. (Tora Ekbäck)

(20) Det var ju sånt som hon trodde jag skulle klara som skala potatis och morötter skiva dom, rulla köttbullar, skära köttbitar till kalops. Å diska, det var ju bra mycket disk. (Siv Larson)

(21) Vi i skogen längtade ju att flottningen skull börj. (Jim Bäck)

(22) Flottningsföreningen dom hade ju förhandlingar med vattenfall, dom som ägde vattenkraften, vi ville ju att dom skulle släppa vatten i rämnorna men dom var ju inte så sugen på det, dom ville ju ha kvar allt vatten, så det var ju lite tufft förhållande. (Svante Pettersson)

(23) Det va ju kraftverken som tyckte att det va jobbigt att släppa fram sex kubik timmer per sekund i timmerrännan istället för att göra ström av det. (Karl-Gustaf Strandberg)

(24) Då vart de ju besvärligare å när det började krypa under bomma. Ja de vart ju mycke minner. (Jan Molinder)

(25) De är nog ett av bästa jobba vi ha haft. (Peder Persson)

(26) Dom som hade börja ve flottningen de ville ju tillbak, dom fleste kom ju tillbak om de kunne. Under sommarsäsongen va nog flottningen de roligaste. Helt klart. (Peder Persson)

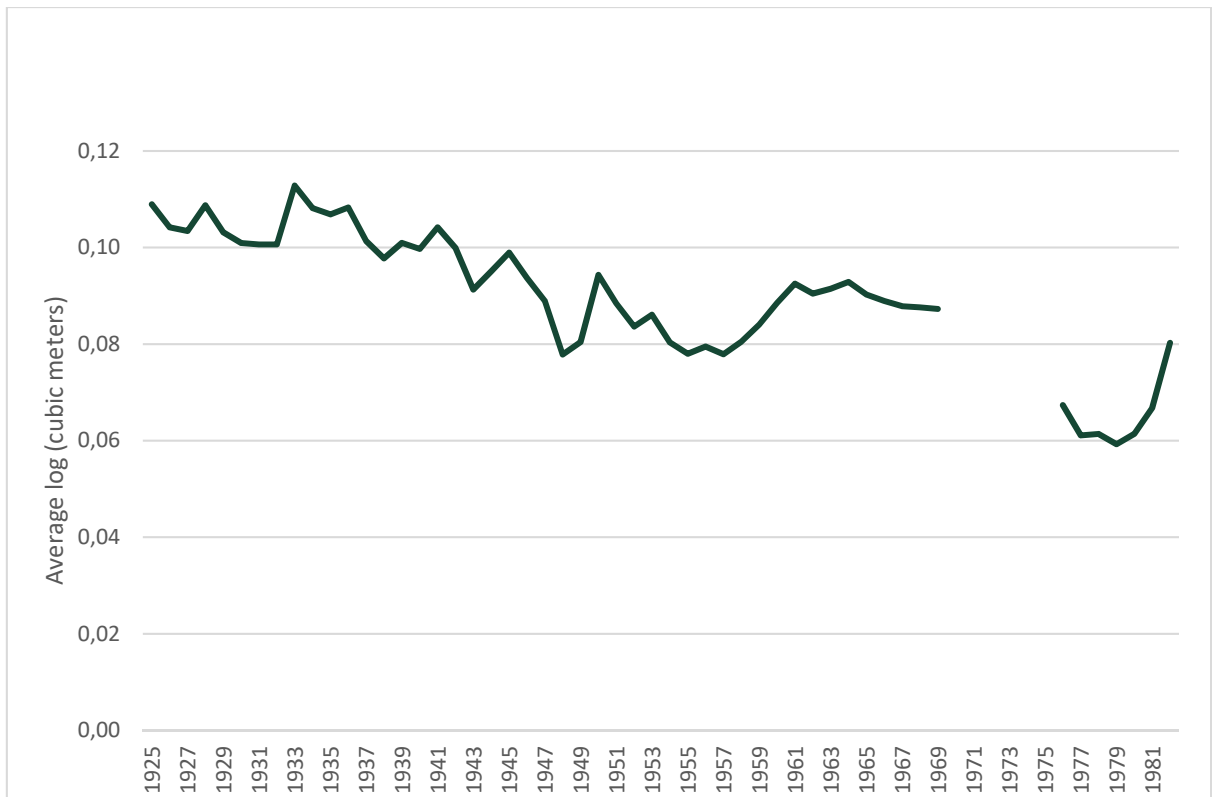
(27) Det fanns filmer om flottare som for ner för forsarna och tjusade tjejerna. Men det skiljer ju från verkligheten, väldigt mycket. Satte, det var ju familjefäder för det mesta som var flottare, i filmerna var det ju snygga ungarlar som for omkring. (Karl-Gustaf Strandberg)

(28) Flottningen va semester jämfört med timmerskogen. (Jim Bäck)

SM. 5. The sorting station in Sandslån

Two informants worked at the main sorting station near the village of Sandslån, Kramfors municipality. One of them said that the logs were sorted manually with boat hooks at the sorting mill until 1965 when a new sorting mill was established. To ensure that not too many logs would come to the sorting mill at once, there were holding areas upward the river where logs were stored. There was a timber slide built from the river to the mechanic sorting mill where logs were transported to the mechanic sorting station. Incoming logs entered the sorting station on a conveyor belt where women, sitting in an operator's hut, and sorted incoming logs with color markings by using buttons and sending them further to the appropriate sorting chamber for each stakeholder. From there, workers sorted the logs manually, and the logs were bundled together with wires and then further transported to a storage where different assortments were collected by towboats and transported further to the companies sawmills and pulp mills. One of the informants was a full-time employee and said that the work during the winter was mainly maintenance of the machines and boats. The new automatic sorting station streamlined the work, and according to one of the informants, the 700 – 800 employees who had worked at the old sorting mill were reduced to about 100 employees. He said that the old sorting mill had for a long time been an important workplace, especially during the time when there was a labor shortage in Sweden. He had been told by his older colleagues that people sat and waited next to the sorting mill when someone was about to be fired, and they would be offered the job instead. The sorting mill was also a popular workplace for younger people during their summer breaks.

SM. 6. Average log floated on the river Ångermanälven 1925 - 1982



SM. 7. The log drivers' working conditions

Working clothes

Most of the male informants said that they had regular working clothes and rubber boots. One informant said that it was heavy walking with rubber boots all summer:

“It was not nice to walk in those rubber boots on a hot summer day you know. The feet were like charcoal in the evening, you came home, and the feet were very sensitive. You had to try to wash the feet and when you put some lotion on it felt better, you know. But walking with those rubber boots in among the rocks on a hot summer day wasn't fun.” (1)

During the late 1970s, the log drivers received boots with high legs from the timber floating association, something some of my informants thought could have correlated with the strike action in 1975. The log drivers did also receive raincoats and caps during the last years. A couple of the male informants also mentioned that the timber floating association had gloves the log drivers could use for avoiding getting stitches and pain in their hands.

Salary

The salary was based on the collective agreements of the timber floating work (HR 6). There were different salary groups depending on position, age and work area. Log drivers with extra qualifications, such as knowing how to work in powerful rapids and driving powerboats, had higher salaries than those of regular log drivers (figure 9). The salary did also vary depending on where the log drivers worked, in which creek or in the main river and how old the log drivers were. Log drivers who were younger than 19 also had lower salaries compared to those of elder log drivers.

All male informants were employed by the timber floating association which also paid their salaries. Most were employed during the season and were paid with an hourly wage and the other two informants were employed for the whole year and had monthly salary. All informants had a salary based on the working hours and a couple said that they were paid every 14 days. However, one informant said his father had worked on accord during the 1940s. Most of the informants were unhappy with their salary since it was poorly paid. One described it as *pittance*, and two other said:

The salary was so damn low. And we didn't have hundred percent working on the weekends. If we started in the morning and worked day, night, day, but the overtime until midnight. Damn agreement! (...) The worker shall... The employer should make sure there is water bucket in the cabin.²² (2)

²² Referring to both the timber floating - and timber logging agreement

And when it became a new day after midnight, then they paid overtime when you had worked eight hours again. The overtime was over, so they just fooled us. Yes, it was a lower time salary when it became a new day after midnight. (3)

However, a couple of the informants, who were working at a young age, were happy with the salary. One of them said he could afford to take two weeks off and that the allowance for working away from home was a good supplement, and another said it was a good income during the summer for a student.

The male informant's perspectives of working as a log driver

All the male informants liked working as log drivers and many described the work as *free* and *healthy* and valued the work highly. Some said that the nature experience, watching all of nature along the river and being able to fish when there was time, made the experience even better. Others described it as adventurous, rowing in the wild rapids and breaking the large log jams:

It was very exciting! Then you rowed out and placed the boat on the log jam and checked which logs who caused it, and you start working there. Then the log jam started to move, and you needed to run away (from the log jam) (4)

Many liked that the work was outside and that they were outside all summer long: “*You were out all summer. I remember I was so tanned*” (5). At the same time, many of the male informants said working as a log driver was heavy when breaking log jams, rowing in powerful rapids, and cleaning the land from logs that had come there by the high tide. The work was also valued by the log drivers since it was an income source. “*It [the work] meant a lot. I had a job. My income from there was essential*” (6).

The informants had varied opinions about the log drivers' status in the society. Some meant that log drivers had a high status since the work was heavy and risky, and others meant that the work had a low ranking in the society since the low salary and there was no higher education being needed. Some informants though that their work was appreciated by their employers and forest owners since the timber floating enabled the timber transport to the industry. Two of the male informants were also clear about was that working as a log driver was nothing like the romanizations in books and movies. One of them said that the reality differed greatly from the moves where log drivers flirted with women living along the river.

SM. 8. Women in the timber floating on Ångermanälven and the male's sphere

Women had an important role in timber floating in Ångermanälven, both as cooks, log drivers and workers at the mechanical sorting mill. Nevertheless, the timber floating was dominated by men, which in turn created a male's sphere. Therefore, I will here first present the women my informants mentioned during the interviews and second discuss the women's presence in the male sphere.

More women in timber floating in the river Ångermanälven

Many of the informants who followed the final clearing talked about the cooks who made food for the whole working team. All log drivers appreciated the cook's work and some of my informants said that her food was much better than the sandwiches and leftovers they were used to eating during the season. The men talked about different cooks who had worked along the river, but the most common cook was a woman named Jenny, the same woman that Siv worked together with. Tora, who worked on the towboat, had a cook colleague who worked on the same lake but on another boat. Two of the male informants who worked close to Junsele, mentioned that there was a woman who worked as a log driver close by and two other informants mentioned that there was a woman working on a towboat in the river Faxälven.

Three informants mentioned that there were women working at the sorting station in the village of Sandslån. The women worked at the mechanical sorting station where logs with color marking were sorted to the right company or forest owner association. It was mainly women who were working at the mechanic sorting station where they sorted each log according to the color code and had different buttons sending the logs to the right place at the sorting mill. The informants thought the women were quicker than the men doing the work and therefore received that position. One informant said there was also a cook working at the sorting station during the summer, who made food for the workers who paid with coupons that they had bought from the organization.

Timber floating – a male's sphere

The forestry sector was dominated by men and hence constituted a male sphere, both by logging in the forest (Johansson 1994) and the timber floating in the rivers (see also Norén 2019). Women have also worked as log drivers, even though they were few. But why is that? Grånemo (2021) shows women who have worked in the forest with logging, pre-commercial thinning, and planting. She explains that planting and pre-commercial thinning were seen more as women's work, compared

to logging which was heavier and was therefore seen as a men's work. What is important to mention is that most of her informants did not complain about the heavy work. Why women did not work as log drivers on a larger scale may depend on the same reason, that working as a log driver would have been seen as too heavy for a woman from the society's perspective. Johansson (1989; 1994) also means that men were early introduced to forest work as children, and from there they had role models and a picture of a future as a logger. Some of my male informants also said that they were fascinated by timber floating and wanted to be log drivers as children, which shows that male loggers and log drivers had an early introduction to their future employments.

Timber floating was traditionally men's work, which in turn created a masculine sphere, where it might not have been easy for women to fit in as log drivers. Instead, women worked as cooks or in the forest with forest planting or pre-commercial thinning (Grånemo 2021). Many of my male informants also thought that timber floating was their primary employment during the summers and did not compete with any other work other than with the construction of hydroelectric powerplants. Thus, men prioritized work with timber floating and there was more space for women in the forest during the summers. One of my informants also said, "*There were mostly women who were working with forest planting during the summers, but there were also some men.*" (7) It should be mentioned made that there were many women who worked at the mechanical sorting station in Sandslån, sorting logs in operator's hut by using buttons (see also Norman 1966). Norman (1966) explains that the women were more suitable for this work, compared to the male candidates. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that the mechanical sorting station was a new operation compared to the old manual sorting station. These women did not actually enter the male sphere at the sorting station since they did not work with boat hooks or towed logs to the same extent as the male workers at the sorting station.

Even though the jobs were primarily for men, it enabled secondary jobs for women. The female introduction to the forest sector with cooks was important both for the women themselves and the men. Firstly, the women could earn their own money and become independent (see also Löfdahl 2018; Östlund et al 2020), compared to doing unpaid work on small farms (Bäcklund 1988). Secondly, the female introduction to the forest sector upgraded the men's living conditions significantly since there was a great improvement in their diet. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the masculine sphere still was important to preserve even with women entering the forest sector. The forest work made the men into who they were, and this was important for their identities (Johansson 1994).

SM. 9. A broader discussion of the floated timber amount

The amount of timber in river Ångermanälven varied considerably during the studied period. However, two time periods stand out where the amount of floated timber is much lower than usual. The first period occurred at the beginning of the 1940s and the second in the late 1970's and the beginning of the 1980s. During the Second World War, Sweden needed to find a new alternative to car fuels due to limited imports of oil (SOU 1952:50; Kaijser 2022). Gasifiers for wood and charcoal had been introduced in Sweden at the beginning of the 1930's, but only on a smaller scale according to its limited engine power. However, gasifiers were the best alternative to enable car transport during the war period and charcoal furnaces were built, mainly in the forest regions of Sweden (SOU1959:50). The logging of fuelwood for this and other purposes, increased and during the logging season of 1942/1943, the logging of fuelwood was the dominant forest use in Sweden with a share of 58%, compared to pulpwood (27%) and sawn wood (15%). Since fuelwood for gasifiers was mainly birch (SOU 1959:50), and was unsuited for timber floating (Törnlund 2002), this could be an explanation for my results of the general reduction in the floating of timber during the Second World War since the pulpwood and sawn wood were deprioritized. This downward trend of timber floating was also shown throughout the whole country (Törnlund 2002). At the same time, there was a labor shortage in the timber floating in the river due to military service (HR 3), which also may explain the decreasing number of floated logs during this period.

The other distinct period with a downward trend occurred in the late 1970s and the early 1980's during the final years of timber floating in the river. The cessation of timber floating in the river Ångermanälven was a gradual process affected by different factors, such as competition over water with the hydroelectric power (Jakobsson 1996), and competition over timber transport with the railroads and the lorries (Törnlund 2002).

SM. 10. Prospects for future research

The research about timber floating is limited, and there is much more to investigate in this field. Especially the oral history since the people who worked with timber floating and know it by heart are now elderly. If this urgency is ignored, these stories will be lost for future generations. There are many stories from timber floating that need to be preserved. Except log drivers and cooks, there were other important people in the timber floating operations, for example managers and workers at the sorting stations. In this study, I have primarily focused on the actual timber floating in the river Ångermanälven. Therefore, it would be interesting with a study that examines the organization and working conditions at the sorting station at the village of Sandslån, which would complete the documentation of timber floating in Ångermanälven.

The perspective on women in timber floating is limited in this study. Nevertheless, there are more to investigate further in this field. First, there are still limited studies about women working with timber floating. More comprehensive studies are needed to do justice to women's work with timber floating, such as cooks, log drivers and sorting mill workers. Hence, the view and understanding of the male's sphere in timber floating would also be advanced. Second, women had another important role in timber floating since they stayed at home taking care of the small farms and children when their husbands were working as log drivers. This kind of research would then provide a greater understanding of the agrarian connection to timber floating.

Further, in an ecological perspective, it would be interesting to investigate how ecosystems have been affected by timber floating. Studies of how restorations of floatways affect the ecosystems in the river Vindelälven have been done (Helfield et al. 2007; Dietrich et al. 2015) and it would be interesting to apply this kind of research in the river Ångermanälven as well.

Finally, I want to state that the oral history must be prioritize since most of the people who worked with timber floating now are elderly. I hope more oral history will be documented for timber floating in other rivers in Sweden.

SM. 11.References for Supplementary material

- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3 (2), 77–101.
<https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Bäcklund, D. (1988). On the outskirts of the industrial society: the transformation of small-scale farming in Lapland during the period 1870-1970. Doctoral thesis, Umeå University
- Cipolla, C.M. 1988. *Between two cultures: an introduction to economic history* New York: Norton.
- Corbin, J.M. & Strauss, A.L. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Los Angeles : SAGE.
- Dalen, M., 2004. *Intervju som forskningsmetode*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Dietrich, A.L., Nilsson, C. & Jansson, R. (2015). Restoration effects on germination and survival of plants in the riparian zone: a phytometer study. *Plant ecology*, 216 (3), 465–477. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11258-015-0450-3>
- Ernst, C. (2000). *How professional historians can play a useful role in the study of an interdisciplinary forest history*. Methods and Approaches in Forestry History, IUFRO Research Series, No. 3. Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing, 29–33.
<https://doi.org/10.1079/9780851994208.0029>
- Helfield, J.M., Capon, S.J., Nilsson, C., Jansson, R. & Palm, D. (2007). Restoration of rivers used for timber floating: effects on riparian plant diversity. *Ecological applications*, 17 (3), 840–851. <https://doi.org/10.1890/06-0343>
- Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory : strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Gormley, G.J., Kearney, G.P., Johnston, J.L., Calhoun, A.W. & Nestel, D. (2019). Analyzing Data: Approaches to Thematic Analysis. Healthcare Simulation Research. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 135–143.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-26837-4_19
- Grånemo, M. (2021). “I stand here, and I won’t move” : women in forestry in northern Sweden during the 20th century. Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences. Department of Forest Ecology and management

- Guest, G., Namey, E.E. & Mitchell, M.L. (2013). *Collecting qualitative data : a field manual for applied research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Jakobsson, E. 1996. Industrialisering av älvar : studier kring svensk vattenkraftutbyggnad 1900-1918. Göteborg: Historiska institutionen, doktorsavhandling, Göteborgs universitet
- Johansson, E. (1989) Beautiful men, fine women and good work people: Gender and skill in Northern Sweden; 1850-1950. *Gender and history*. Vol 1 (2)
- Johansson, E. (1994). Skogarnas fria söner: maskulinitet och modernitet i norrländskt skogsarbete. Diss. Lunds universitet. Stockholm: Nordiska museet.
- Kajiser, A. (2021). Driving on wood: the Swedish transition to wood gas during World War Two. *History and technology*, 37 (4), 468–486.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07341512.2022.2033387>
- Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2014). *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*. Third edition. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Löfdahl, A. (2018). *De var så glada och åt allt vi satte fram en studie om skogsarbetarkockan och hennes liv i kajan*. Umeå: Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet. Institutionen för skoglig resurshushållning/Jägmästarprogrammet
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:slu:epsilon-s-9773>
- Norén, L. (2019). “Det var ett äventyr” - en studie om livet som flottare efter Piteälven. Umeå: Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet. Institutionen för skogens ekologi och skötsel /Jägmästarprogrammet
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:slu:epsilon-s-10517>
- Norman, B. 1966 *Samverkan med en flod*. Ångermanälvens flottningsförening. Sollefteå.
- Pope, C., Ziebland, S., & Mays, N. (2000). Qualitative research in health care. Analysing qualitative data. *BMJ (Clinical research ed.)*, 320(7227), 114– 116.
<https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.320.7227.114>
- Ryen, A. (2004). *Kvalitativ intervju: från vetenskapsteori till fältstudier*. 1 uppl., Malmö: Liber ekonomi.
- Törnlund, E. (2002). “Flottningen dör aldrig”: bäckflottnings avveckling efter Ume- och Vindelälven 1945–70. Diss. Umeå Univeritet.

Östlund, L. & Ekman, P. (1997). *Skogshistoria - ett möte mellan olika vetenskapliga discipliner. Skogshistoria - ett möte mellan olika vetenskapliga discipliner.*

Östlund, L., Öbom, A., Löfdahl, A. & Rautio, A.-M. (2020). Women in forestry in the early twentieth century - new opportunities for young women to work and gain their freedom in a traditional agrarian society. *Scandinavian journal of forest research*, vol. 35 (7), sid. 403–416.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2020.1808054>

Official publications

SOU 1952:50 (1952). *Kristidspolitik och kristidshushållning i Sverige under och efter andra världskriget.* Stockholm.

Historical records (HR)

Riksarkivet (The Swedish national archive)

Ångermanälvens flottningsförenings arkiv (Archive of the timber floating associations of Ångermanälven)

A Protokoll

A2 Årsrapporter (annual reports) 1905-1982

A2:2 1928-1951 (3)

F14 Handlingar rörande personal

F14A:3 Arbetsavtal och avtalsförhandlingar
(Salary agreements) 1945-1981 (6)

K Fotografier och filmer (photographs and movies)

K 1:4 Åseleälven och Ångermanälven med
biflöden 1948-1959 (Rivers Åseleälven and
Ångermanälven with tributaries 1948-1959)
(HR10)

Västernorrlands Allehanda 1876-1999

F1 Tidningsinlägg (news)

F1:437 April 1975 (11)

F1:438 Maj (May) 1975 (12)

SM. 11. Quotes for SM. 7.

(1) De va ju inge rolit att gå ti gummistövlern en varm en sommarda, vettu. Föttern va ju som köla på kvällen, man komme in å fötterna va så ömtåli så förbannat! De va till å försöke tvätte tå fötterna å smörje in me nåt så kantes de ju bra. Men å gå me gummistövlern i stenhövren en varm en sommarda de va inge roligt heller” (Rolf Rylander)

(2) Vi hade ju inte hundra procent på helgern e. Om vi börja på morrn å jobba daga-natta-daga. Men då blev det bara övertid tills på natten. Jävla avtal. (...) Arbetstagaren skall... Arbetsgivaren bör se till att det finns en vattenbytta i kojan. (Jim Bäck)

(3) Å när det blev ett nytt dygn då blev det ju övertid efter åtta timmar då blev det slut på övertidstimmar så dom bare lura oss. Ja det blev ju billigare timmar efter nytt dygn (Anonymous)

(4) För det var ju riktigt spännande! Då rodde man ut och drog upp båten på bröten och kollade vilka stockar som orsakat och sen började man röra på det där. Då började bröten röra på sig å så fick man springa där ifrån (från bröten) (Karl-Gustaf Strandberg)

(5) Man va ju ute hela sommarn. Jag kom ihåg att jag blev så brun. (Stig Hällestrand)

(6) De betydde ju mycke. Jag hade ju jobb. Min inkomst därifrån de va ju a och o. (Kurt-Lennart Tarander)

(7) På sommarn var det ju i regel kvinnor som plantera, det var ju vissa män också. (Bengt Almroth)

SM. 12. Pictures from timber floating on the river Ångermanälven



Preparations with stones in the river during the winter and early spring to improve the floatways. *Source: Private archive, Jan Molinder*



Timber floating on a creek connected to the river Ångermanälven. *Source: National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven*



Timber floating on the river Ångermanälven.

Source: Private archive, Jan Molinder



Log drivers who take a break during the final- clear-up. In the back, there is a residential trailer which the log drivers and the cook lived in during the final clear-up stage. *Source: National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven*



Log drivers are served food by the cook during the final clear-up. *Source: National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven*



A log jam in the river of Ångermanälven. *Source: National Archive of Sweden, Härnösand, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven*

Mom. B Tidlöner

1. Allmänna tidlöner till fullgoda arbetstagare

A v t a l s o m r å d e

Vevebe- gruppen	Hasselavattendragen, Ljusnan, Härjedalen m. fl., Testeboån, Dalälvarna	Ångermanälven, Storsjön, Övre Indals- älven	Torne älvs flottningsförening t. o. m. Moälven
--------------------	---	--	---

Prisgrupp

1	1	2	1	2	1	2
6:77	6:77	6:95	6:88	7:07	7:05	7:23

För kördagsverke betalas skogsavtalens för orten gällande timpriser för häst och karl.

Icke fullgod arbetskraft betalas i förhållande till arbetsförmågan.

2. Tidlöner till yrkes- och specialarbetare

7:41	7:41	7:61	7:54	7:74	7:72	7:92
------	------	------	------	------	------	------

Till denna grupp hänföres fullt yrkeskunniga betong-, sten- och träarbetare, kvalificerade motorbåtsförare och arbetare, som är särskilt kvalificerade för det mest krävande arbetet vid svår strömflottning, ävensom arbetare i övrigt med särskilda yrkeskvalifikationer under förutsättning att arbetarna sysselsättes i ifrågavarande arbeten.

För att räknas som kvalificerad motorbåtsförare skall vederbörande ha vana vid båtarbete samt kunna utföra enklare reparationsarbeten.

Sådan svår strömflottning varom fråga är förekommer endast i de större vattendragen.

Salaries for log drivers in 1967 Source: National Archive of Sweden, The archive of timber floating association of Ångermanälven

300 skogsarbetare uppmanar förbundet uppta förhandlingar

SOLLEFTEÅ (VA) Förbundsstyrelsen bör ta till vara alla möjligheter att få i gång förhandlingar för att få slut på strejken.

Den uppmaningen beslöt omkring 300 skogsarbetare i avdelning 12 Mellannorrland, dit också cirka 400 ängermanlänningar hör, att rikta till

sitt förbund vid ett möte i Hammarstrand i lördags. Själva förhandlingen mörklades för pressen efter förslag av styrelsen och sedan mötet röstat om saken.

— Diskussionen var väldigt livlig och intressant, säger avdelningens ordförande Gösta Hägglund, Kälarne, till VA.

På plats var också förbundsombudsman Åke Pettersson, Gävle. Han redogjorde för läget i förhandlingarna och förbundets syn på konfliktsituationen.

Frågan om själva strejken togs enligt Gösta Hägglund inte upp vid mötet. Avdelningen har tidigare uppmanat sina medlemmar att fortsätta jobba, men trots det strejkar alltså nästan alla just nu.

— Det är nog bara någon enstaka traktorförare kvar ute i skogen, tror Gösta Hägglund.

Avdelning 12 tillhör alltså de avdelningar som officiellt inte stöder strejkaktionen fastän avslutningen i strejken är så gott som total. Det är ett av de märkliga inslagen i den här konflikten.

— Vi kan ju inte uppmana medlemmarna att återgå till jobbet eftersom vi inte har uppmanat dem att lämna det sammanfattar Gösta Hägglund läget.

ORDFÖRANDE HAR INTE TID STREJKA

Hur som helst antog mötet ett uttalande som skickas dels till Skogs' förbundsstyrelse, dels till strejkkommittén. I uttalandet heter det att representantskapet uppmanar förbundsstyrelsen och förhandlingsdelegationen att tillvarata alla möjligheter att få i gång förhandlingar för att få slut på strejken. Samtidigt uppmanas strejkkommittén att besinna sitt ansvar och medverka till en lösning av konfliktsituationen.

Avdelning 12 har totalt omkring 2.000 medlemmar. Omkring 400 av dem bor i Ängermanland, d.v.s. de var tidigare anslutna till avdelning 32 Sollefteå, som för ett par år sedan slogs samman med 12:an.

Varför utestängdes pressen? — Vi trodde att deltagarna bättre skulle tala fritt ur hjärtat då, förklarar Gösta Hägglund. Förslaget om att inte tillåta

pressen att vara med väcktes vid ett styrelsemöte tidigare på dagen. Förslaget antogs sedan vid en omröstning med — enligt Gösta Hägglund — klar majoritet.

Strejkar Gösta Hägglund själv?

— Nej, jag har inte haft tid, säger han.

Han har haft så mycket att göra med fackliga arbetsuppgifter att han ändå inte har kun-

nat arbeta i skogen den senaste tiden. Han är huggare. Nu har han dessutom tagit ledigt för att ordna med ved för egen del. Officiellt strejkar han alltså inte, fastän han inte arbetar.

Officiellt sympatiserar inte heller avdelning 12 med dem som strejkar.

— Men kravet på månadslön har vi för länge sedan uttalat oss om, säger Gösta Hägglund.

— HANSO

Skogsarbetarnas kampfond har nu 130.000 kronor

ÖRNSKÖLDSVIK (VA) Pengar börjar nu strömma in till skogsarbetarnas kampfond. Insamlingen som började för fjorton dagar sedan har nu inbringat 130.000 kronor. En miljon kronor hoppas man ha i fonden omkring 1 maj. En mängd insamlingslistor cirkulerar just nu i landet och dessa ska vara inne till den sista april.

Förutom ren insamling har skogsarbetarna även tryckt upp 40.000 sk skogstior som i dagarna har distribuerats över hela landet och ska säljas till allmänheten.

Förutom våra egna insamlingar pågår även en del andra på olika håll i landet, säger kassören i skogsarbetarnas kampfond Kuno Morén, Lycksele.

— Upp i Malmfälten pågår en större insamling av gruvarbetarna. Det ryktas om ett stöd från dem på över 100.000

kronor men något definitivt besked har vi ännu inte fått.

De större summorna som skogsarbetarna fått in till sin fond kommer från Hammarbetareförbundet och Billinge-Hus staderskor vilka har bidragit med 10.000 kronor vardera. Från de skogsarbetare i Korpilombolo som på försök har månadslön har det kommit 7.000 kronor.

— Det kan tyckas att det är lite pengar i fonden i förhållande till antalet strejkande skogsarbetare som är i behov av pengar och det är det på sätt och vis, säger Kuno Morén.

Det blir i första hand de skogsarbetare som är i akut nöd som får pengar ur fonden.

— Tidigare har det beslutats att några pengar inte kommer att delas ut den första månaden eftersom många fortfarande har lön inestående.

Nu går man och hoppas på gruvarbetarna i Malmfälten att deras insamling ska inbringa en rejäl slant till fonden.

RABATT
100:-

när du köper Konica Autoreflex T3
(kamerahus)

En proffskamera för lekmannen som är lätt att jobba med och som ger fina bilder. Konica Autoreflex T3 kamerahus i krom kostar 1.130.—, i svart 1.180.—. **Ta hem idag! Handpenning endast 200:-**

Just nu! Dessutom

<p>15% på Hexanon originalobjektiv finns från 21 mm vidvinkel till 1000 mm tele. Normalobjektiv 1,7/50 mm kostar 365.—. Handpenning endast 75:-</p>	<p>15% på Chinonflex kvalitetsobjektiv till lågpris. Vidvinkel och teleobjektiv från 280.—. Handpenning 60:-</p>
---	--

Erbjudandet gäller tiden 7/4—19/4 1975.

Samverkande
fotofackhandel

Polyfoto
Storgatan 27 — Härnösand — Tel. 0611/117 21

News about the strike action in 1975. Source: *The National Archive of Sweden, Västernorrlands Allehanda 1876-1999*

Förhandlingarna i skogskonflikten inledda men 15.000 strejkande har inte en aning om vad man talar om

STOCKHOLM (VA) - Vi vet inte mer än vad som stått i tidningarna. Det är ganska irriterande, säger Göran Burén i Holmsund. Hans uppgift är att vara kontaktman mellan de strejkande skogsarbetarna och skogsarbetarförbundet. I går morse började förlikningsförhandlingarna mellan förbundet och arbetsgivarna, men de 15.000 strejkande vet inte vad man talar om.

- Vid mötet i Lycksele för en månad sedan, då vi inbjöd förbundet, kom vi överens om ett samarbete med representanter i förbundet. Men vi har inte fått reda på någonting, säger Göran Burén, som valdes till en av fyra i den så kallade kontaktkommittén.

Därför vet inte de strejkande vad deras fackliga förbund ställt för krav eller vad man sagt eller kommer att säga till medlingskommissionen. Medlingskommissionen tillsattes i torsdags sedan förhandlingarna mellan skogsarbetsgivarna och skogsarbetarförbundet strändat. Ordförande i kommissionen är landshövding Bengt Lyberg och de två övriga medlarna AMS-chefen Bertil Rehnberg och tingsdomare Bertil Malm från Sundsvall.

- Jag har ju ringt till förhandlingarna, men bara fått höra att medlingskommissionen begärt av förhandlingsparterna att inte säga något för att inte försvara förhandlingarna, säger en gans-

De strejkande skogsarbetarnas talesman Paul Lestander ser kanske något ljusare på tillvaron.

En medling som inte leder till en avblåsning av strejken är ingen medling. Vi får väl se om den här medlingen leder någon vart, säger han.

Paul Lestander har i alla fall ett visst förtroende för medlarna, åtminstone för ordföranden Bengt Lyberg.

Han kan branschen. Han har bl.a. varit direktör för Mo och Domsjö ett tag. Fast hans förflutna har inte någon betydelse i sammanhanget.

BRISTANDE INFORMATION

Också Paul Lestander upplever den bristande informationen från förbundet som besvärande.

- Vi har inte fått någon information. Vi känner inte till arbetsgivarnas bud, vi vet inte vad förbundet sagt och vi vet inte var skillnaden ligger.

Och han fortsätter med att

än en gång poängtera att de strejkande skogsarbetarna vill ha månadslön och att lönen bör ligga på 4.000 kronor plus traktamente enligt statens normer. Och han säger att de strejkande kommer att hålla ut.

- Vi är nu inne på 9:e strejkveckan och vi kan hålla ut åtminstone till älgjakten i september. De strejkande skogsarbetarna är kolossalt eniga om kraven och kampvilliga, tillägger han.

VISS TILLTRO

Paul Lestander hyser också en viss tilltro till Sixten Bäckström, förhandlare och ordförande för skogsarbetarförbundets 25.000 medlemmar. Detta för att Bäckström gjort uttalanden med innebörden att om inte medlingen lyckas då går alla förbundsmedlemmar i strejk.

- Fast i sina offentliga uttalanden har han aldrig tagit ställning för vår strejk. Men han kan inte göra upp med arbets-

givaren över huvudet på en tredjedel av förbundets medlemmar, säger Paul Lestander.

Av förbundets 25.000 medlemmar strejkar 8.600. M n till dessa kommer också bland annat de oorganiserade medlemmarna och då är man uppe i runt tal 15.000 strejkande skogsarbetare.

Paul Lestander tror också att trycket på arbetsgivarna bör vara rätt stort vid det här laget. Det förnekas däremot på arbetsgivarhåll.

- Strejken har inte drabbat skogsbolagen särskilt hårt. Just nu är det lågkonjunktur när det gäller skogsprodukter. Redan förra varen blev lågkonjunkturer känbar för sågverksprodukter och sedan årsskiftet för massa, säger Göran Sjöberg på Svenska Cellulosa- och Pappersbruksföreningen. Han säger att man under alla omständigheter hade behövt minska produktionen.

- Men de strejkande har ju skött om minskningen... Det är det man ofta sagt vara de strejkandes stora dumhet. Strejken kom vid fel tidpunkt. De enda negativa följderna av strejken är effekterna vid skogsplanteringen. Plantskolorna strejkar inte men de som sätter ut plantorna kan strejka. En annan effekt är att flottningsföreningen i norr försenas. Men effekterna av detta märks först om ett par tre månader.

ÖPPET BREV

Flottningsarbetarna skrev i sitt öppna brev till Olof Palme att stora nationalekonomiska värden står på spel om inte arbetet sätts igång omedelbart. Annars kan en stor del av timret bli kvar i silvorna.

Vad som kommer att hända och vilken upplösningen blir återstår att se. Alla parter hoppas dock att det snabbt skall gå att lösa frågan. Och hos föreningen skogsbrukets arbetsgivare där medlingskommissionen och de två parterna sitter och förhandlar har man reserverat sammanträdesrum för en tid framåt.

EVA RÅDAHL

Flottningsföreningen har bara 15-20 av 150 i jobb Sysslar med skyddsarbeten

SOLLEFTEÅ (VA) I avvaktan på att skogsstrejken skall avblåsas inriktar Ångermanälvens flottningsförening sig på skyddsarbeten. Någon flottning kan inte bli aktuell eftersom merparten av flottarna sympatistrejkar. Det är 15-20 man i arbete. Man behöver 150 för att flotta för fullt.

**Ny film
på köpet**

när du lämnar din negativa
färgfilm till oss för

News about the strike action in 1975. Source: *The National Archive of Sweden, Västernorrlands Allehanda 1876-1999*

Konflikten i skogen har skärpts 15.000 deltar i strejken

SOLLEFTEÅ (VA) Konflikten i skogen verkar ha skärpts efter vad som hände i fredags då Skogs' avtalsråd inte tog ställning till förslaget om varsel för en totalstrejk. Vid ett möte i Lycksele på söndagen beslutade strejkkommittén att kräva bindande löfte om månadslön innan de omkring 15.000 som strejkade på måndagen återgår till jobbet. Kommitténs talesman Paul Lestander, Arjeplog, säger också till VA att det måste bli en verklig självprövning inom

förbundet efter den här konflikten i skogen. Strejkkommittén har tidigare haft som krav att förhandlingar om månadslön skulle tas upp innan arbetarna avbryter strejken. Nu kräver man alltså ett bindande löfte om månadslön i hela trädpriserområdet och i andra områden där det finns enkel majoritet för månadslön.

— En klar skärpning, säger Paul Lestander. När det gäller kampfonden bakade kommittén på söndagen i sina förhandlingar med syndikalistiska SAC. Kommittén har tidigare sagt att de strejkande SAC:erna skulle få gå ut ur fonden först sedan SAC:ens eget strejkbudrag hade räknats bort. Detta godtog inte SAC vid ett förhandlingsmöte i

Lycksele i torsdags. SAC beslutade därför att starta en egen kampinsamling. Nu har vi nått enighet om att SAC:erna ska få lika mycket ur kampfonden som alla andra, säger Paul Lestander. SAC får också en representant i styrelsen för fonden. Vi rekommenderar dessutom SAC att inte ta pengar ur sin egen strejkkfond.

RISK FÖR SPLITTRING Varför bakade kommittén? Jo, därför att det fanns en — Jo, därför att det fanns en — som Paul Lestander uttrycker det — uppenbar risk för splittring. Enigheten mellan de strejkande skogsarbetarna, varav omkring 1.000 tillhör SAC, skulle kunna spricka.

Det ville alltså strejkkommittén förhindra. Från och med i måndags räknar kommittén med att minst 15.000 man deltar i strejken. Den uppges nu vara i det närmaste total även i Härjedalen

och den sprider sig längre och längre söderut. **PASSERAT STADIUM** Paul Lestander vill inte närmare kommentera avtalsrådets beslut i fredags. Det är ett passerat stadium, menar han. Där emot uttalar han som sin åsikt att förbundet inte har dragit de naturliga konsekvenserna av läget och upprättat en strategi för fortsättningen.

Förbundsledningen måste ju ta hänsyn till medlemmarna och deras vilja, säger han. Det får inte bli en rent prestigebesättning. Har det funnits prestige med?

— Det anser jag. Paul Lestander hävdar med skärpa att det är förbundsledningen som har gjort att medlemmarna tycker. Utvecklingen hittills visar att det finns en förtroendeklyfta som måste överbyggas framhåller han.

Enligt Paul Lestander är det ännu bara två avdelningar, nämligen avdelning 22 i Arvidsjaur och avdelning 26 i Skellefteå, som vid sina årsmöten har beslutat att stödja strejken. På de flesta andra håll är situationen den här: Styrelserna vill inte godkänna strejken men medlemmarna strejkar ändå till nästan hundra procent. De som sitter i styrelserna är alltså vada av medlemmarna.

Ar inte den situationen konstigt? Våldigt konstigt, tycker Paul Lestander. Enligt Paul Lestander, som själv har varit fackligt aktiv i förbundet i 30 år, måste enigheten snarast upprättas inom förbundet.

— Men det måste ske på medlemmarnas villkor, säger han. Medlemmarna måste verkligen se till att det blir en självprövning efter det här. HANS O.A.L.FREDSSON

Arbetarna tror på lång konflikt ingen råvarukris för industrin

STOCKHOLM (VA) Positionerna har härdat betydligt i kampen mellan de strejkande skogsarbetarna och arbetsgivarna. Strejkkommitténs beslut i söndags att kräva bindande löfte från arbetsgivarna om månadslön innan arbetet återupptas, har skärpt konflikten betydligt, inte minst genom sammanbrottet i LO-SAF-förhandlingarna. Genom att skogsarbetarna nu frångått det tidigare "mildare" kravet — en garanti om förhandlingar — och ställt hårt mot hårt, är osäkerheten närmast total om framtiden.

De strejkande skogsarbetarnas kampfond uppgår till cirka 50.000 kronor, vilket är småpennor när 15.000 arbetare, enligt strejkkommitténs beräkningar befinner sig i strejk. Det råder ändå stor tillförsikt bland skogsarbetarna om möjligheterna att hålla stånd en längre tid.

— Vad strejkkassan innehåller för närvarande tycker vi är ganska ointressant. Vi har naturligtvis räknat med att öftra rätt mycket själva. Solidaritets-

arbetet har ju knappt börjat. Vår bedömning är att vi kan hålla ut någon eller några månader helt utan extra kampmedel. Genom systemet med efterskottsbetaling är den första strejkmånaden säkrad helt och hållet. Vi hoppas också att solidaritetsarbetet kommer att gå mycket. 50.000 kronor fick vi in mycket snabbt. Om pengarna börjar strömma in, kan vi hålla ut praktiskt taget hur länge som helst, säger Paul Lestander, strejkkommitténs pressombud.

— Vi har beslutat att hålla ut tills vi löst frågan på ett riktigt sätt. I vår strategi ingår bl.a. att tvinga de statliga företagen (ASSI och Domänverket) att gå ut och göra egna avtal med sina anställda, säger Lestander. — Skogsindustriens företagare måste i det här läget göra en väldigt realistisk bedömning och måste komma att inse att man inte kan driva skogsbruk utan skogsarbetare, slutar Lestander.

SKOGSTIA Som ett led i solidaritetsarbetet har en "skogstia" tryckts upp i Östersund i 10.000 exemplar. Den säljs för tio kronor, och pengarna går oavkortat till strejkkommittén. Solidaritetsutgåvan har kommit från en rad fackliga organisationer och FCO-distrikt

i bl.a. Norrbotten. Solidaritetsmötet har planerats i bl.a. Stockholm och Göteborg. Redan nu har strejken gett effekt i Norrbotten. Under måndagen tvingades ett 20-tal privata timmerkare ställa in sina lastbilar därför att det inte längre fanns något timmer att frakta. Från och med nästa vecka blir troligen resten av timmerkarna i Norrbotten — det rör sig om totalt ca 200 man — ställda utan arbete. Det finns inga försäkringar som täcker åkarnas inkomstbortfall, som blir mycket betydande, och det finns heller inga möjligheter att omplacera bilarna i annan åkeri-verksamhet eftersom det rör sig om specialfordon för skogstransporter. Lastmaskinägare blir också lidande av konflikten, säger Norrbottens åkeriförening.

På industrisidan uttrycker man ännu ingen direkt oro för konflikternas följder. Åtminstone inte när det gäller råvaruleveranserna. De flesta pappers- och massaindustrierna har reaktivt stora lager och klarar sig utan större problem minst en månad framåt, i en del fall betydligt längre. Inom MoDo exempelvis är lagerhållningen så betydande att man inte förutsätter några problem "förrän om åtskilliga månader". Skulle strejken däremot pågå till långt in på sommaren, vilket mycket få industrier på allvar tror, riskerar hela skogsindustrin att lamsalas.

Egentligen har skogsstrejken inträffat i ett för skogsindustrin ganska "gynnsamt" läge. Den minskade efterfrågan på papper, massa och sågade trävaror har tvingat industrierna att begränsa produktionen och därför minska virkesåtgången. Flera företag kan därigenom leva på lagren betydligt längre. Hade strejken inträffat förra året, då skogsindustrin gick på högvar, hade situationen varit betydligt allvarigare, säger företagsrådgivaren för branschen.

Det viktigaste problemet för skogsindustrin tycks i stället vara hur man i det långa loppet skall klara arbetskraften i skogen. Genom strejken ser sig många skogsarbetare om efter nya arbeten, speciellt den yngre arbetskraften och skogsarbetarna ledan avtappas ytterligare. Redan före strejken var det på vissa håll om arbetskraft.

JÖRN TENNHOLT

Ingen risk för permitteringar i Tågsjöberg

JUNSELE (VA) För dagen är det ingen risk för permittering vid sågverken i Tågsjöberg, Junsele, och Strömsund på grund av skogsstrejken. På båda ställena har man virke i lager så att man troligen klarar sig fram till semestern, enligt vad chefen Olle Westerlund, Junsele uppger för VA.

— För vår del kom väl den här strejken vid en ganska läglig tidpunkt, säger han. Vi brukar ju fylla lagren så här års för att ha en sorts buffert när det

blir tjallossning och sågarna avstängs. Normalt brukar sågverken ha ett lager för 5-6 månader. Nu finns virke så att man klarar sig kanske hälften så lång tid. Det betyder förstås att det blir problem efter semestern, om strejken pågår någon längre tid. — Det är naturligtvis inte alls bra det här, säger Olle Westerlund. Men för dagen klarar vi oss. De båda sågverken sysselsätter totalt 64 man. De fördelas ungefär jämnt på Tågsjöberg och Strömsund.

Lastbilsförare i Junsele riskerar mista arbetena

JUNSELE (VA) I Junsele blir omkring tio lastbilsförare arbetslösa om skogsstrejken fortsätter längre än 14 dagar till. Då kommer fem lastbils- ekipage att stå stilla. Det är en tredjedel av hela lastbils- parken vid Junsele transport- förmedling.

— Ett mycket besvärligt läge, kommenterar disponent Sven Hildebertzohn. Vi klarar oss högst fjorton dagar till.

I själva verket kan fler bilar och anställda drabbas. Transportförmedlingen brukar nämligen så här års kalla in extrabilar för att klara timmertransporterna innan tjallossningen börjar.

— Men av vår ordinarie styrka berörs fem bilar och omkring tio chaufförer direkt, säger Sven Hildebertzohn. Bilarna är i praktiken privat- företag. Det är alltså lastbilsäka- ren och hans anställda som drab- bas i första hand. Det är förstås inte särskilt lyckat att ha så dy- ra maskiner stående utan att de ger någon inkomst.

Fyra av bilarna är special- byggda just för timmertansport

och kör två-skift året runt. Den femte kan möjligen användas för annat typ av transportuppdrag, men att hitta sådana är nog inte lätt i Junsele-trakten. Transportförmedlingen utför jobb åt Domänverket och skogsbolag.

— Sen vet man ju inte vad som händer, säger Sven Hildebertzohn. Även om jobbet i skogen kommer i gång på värkanten blir det en väldigt fördrivning för vår

del. Vi måste ju vänta till efter tjallossningen innan vi kan börja köra. Och sen är det semestertid.

Det medför förstås också en kännsär — och förlustbringande — försening för dem som ska ta emot virket och använda det.

Med andra ord kan tredje part drabbas ganska hårt om strejken fortsätter mer än ett par veckor. HANSO

Även avd 3 Åsele har anslutit sig

SOLLEFTEÅ (VA) En klar majoritet av medlemmarna i avdelning 3 Åsele av Skogs har nu anslutit sig till strejken. I Västerbottensdelen är strejken så gott som total och även i den del av avdelningen som ligger i Ångermanland strejkar de allra flesta. Totalt har avdelningen 1.350 medlemmar.

De flesta tycks nu också ha tagit ställning.

— Det är inte många som ringer hit numera och ber om

råd, säger ombudsmann Vilmar Henriksson, Åsele. Alla vet nog hur läget är vid det här laget.

I Ångermanland har avdelningen 3 medlemmar i Junsele och nolaskogsmrådet. Några stormöten i likhet med vad som sker i Strömsund har inte hållits vid sidan av förbundet i det här området. Avdelningen har inte heller hållit några fler möten efter årsmötet, då ordföranden Sixten Bäckström deltog.

Styrelsen har tidigare uppmanat medlemmarna att inte lägga ner arbetet, men trots det strejkar alltså de allra flesta.

Vid sortering reparationsseri Greta Larsson som arbetar m

— D även SANDSLÅ maren och h betarstrejke flottningspe för de säson feriejobb. Flottning onständigh flottning i fof Kamp. Blir flottning m s.k. skyddst Skyd tillgripas i part, förla gäller i det re som fått vatten! Axel Ka strejken ki varig att flottning i rande har betare gåt dessa str föreninge medan ett Strömsun Trots s nan för kommer fallen att ningen k man att a betare se Vi k och därn mycket i ger Ax

Sk ba ar RJ strejk inom Strön ligår de ri måni drog mitt dags M som de ha nad arb — om och 20M pla be S tåg de St b

News about the strike action in 1975. Source: *The National Archive of Sweden, Västernorrlands Allehanda 1876-1999*

SENASTE UTGIVNA NUMMER

- 2023:04 Författare: Johan Engström
Increased carbon sequestration of actively restored tropical forests in Sabah, Malaysia
A comparison of natural regeneration and active restoration
- 2023:05 Författare: Magdalena Fassel
Tree-growth and climate-growth relationships of Scots pine and downy birch in a
natural forest in northern Sweden
- 2023:06 Författare: Ruben Baan Hofman
Riparian vegetation ecology
An observational study into the effects of forest management on understory vegetation
communities along boreal headwaters
- 2023:07 Författare: Nils Helge Havertz
GIS and remote sensing based mapping of microtopography and vegetation
composition in a boreal mire complex
- 2023:08 Författare: Lydia Kruse
Identifying training needs for the implementation of Continuous Cover Forestry in
Sweden
- 2023:09 Författare: Ylva Kungsman
Från expansion och äventyr till revolution och landsflykt
Svenska sågverk och sågverksarbetare i norra Ryssland 1898–1925
- 2023:10 Författare: Elijah Ourth
Consequences of Alternative Forest Management in Different Widths of Riparian
Buffer Zones: A GIS Analysis
- 2023:11 Författare: Eric Lundström
Major forest companies and owner associations interpretation of policies and
certification programs regarding riparian buffer zones
- 2023:12 Författare: Gaya Marike ten Kate
Plant community responses to 15 years of nitrogen and phosphorus fertilization along
an elevational gradient in the subarctic tundra
- 2023:13 Författare: Elle Eriksson
“The reindeer does not move faster than the human walks” – Sámi traditional reindeer
herding knowledge in a forest landscape in Váhtjer community
- 2023:14 Författare: Ludwig Olofsson
Demographic equilibrium modelling of single tree selection stands in Siljansfors.
Judging the sustainability of single tree selection systems in Sweden
- 2023:15 Författare: Ester Andersson
The restoration period - A new era in forestry
- 2023:16 Författare: Anna Swärd
Ecosystem services from woody vegetation in East African rangelands
- 2023:17 Författare: Olivia Forssén
“It was a free and healthy job” – timber floating on the river Ångermanälven in the 20th
century