Surviving Rural Pennsylvania: The Use of Social Networks in Livelihood Strategies

Amy Ellen Salsgiver

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Follow this and additional works at: http://knowledge.library.iup.edu/etd

Recommended Citation
http://knowledge.library.iup.edu/etd/1096

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Knowledge Repository @ IUP. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations (All) by an authorized administrator of Knowledge Repository @ IUP. For more information, please contact cclouser@iup.edu, sara.parme@iup.edu.
SURVIVING RURAL PENNSYLVANIA: THE USE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS IN

LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

Amy Ellen Salsgiver

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

December 2012
We hereby approve the thesis of

Amy Ellen Salsgiver

Candidate for the degree of Master of Arts

__________________________________________
Brian Okey, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Geography and Regional Planning, Advisor

__________________________________________
Donald Buckwalter, Ph.D.
Professor of Geography and Regional Planning

__________________________________________
Victor Garcia, Ph.D.
Professor of Anthropology

ACCEPTED

__________________________________________
Timothy P. Mack, Ph.D.
Dean
School of Graduate Studies and Research
Pennsylvania is home to hundreds of coal mining communities that sprang to life at the turn of the century. As mining increased in importance these towns created a lasting landscape, but as the mines closed people living in these rural, isolated, and now impoverished communities constructed social networks and developed livelihood strategies to remain in their beloved communities. This paper addresses the lives of three case study families and the activities they use within their networks to meet their overall household needs in the community of Glen Campbell. The information was gathered through in-depth interviews, genealogical reviews and participant observation.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 AN INTRODUCTION TO WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA COAL TOWNS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 LITERATURE REVIEW</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Background</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gendered Spaces</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Networks, Livelihood Strategies and Sustainability</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 STUDY AREA: GLEN CAMPBELL, PENNSYLVANIA</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Era</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Industrial Era</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 METHODS</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 THE RESULTS</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Opportunities</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“If You Don’t Move on When You’re Young, You Don’t Move On”</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Studies</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert and Carolyn</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randy and Jamie</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becky</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 CONCLUSION</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“There Really Isn’t Anywhere Else I Want to Go”</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Connections</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livelihood Strategies among Informants</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further Study</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORKS CITED</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A - Abandoned Cemetery in Glen Campbell</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B - The Glen Campbell Museum</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C - Civilian Conservation Corps</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D - The Glen Campbell Band</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E - IRB Approval Letter</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F - Becky’s Family Index</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix G - Carolyn’s Family Index</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Coal Companies Operating in Glen Campbell</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Informant Information</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Informant Questions</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Key Components</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Relational Content</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Food Chart Example</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Employment Information</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Location of Carolyn’s Immediate Family</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Robert and Carolyn’s Relation Content Connections</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Food Savings for Randy and Jamie</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Randy and Jamie’s Relation Content Connections</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Location of Becky’s Immediate Family</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Food Savings for Becky</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Becky’s Relation Content Connections</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Social Network of Rural Citizens</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The Allegheny Portage Railroad</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Production in Pennsylvania’s Bituminous Coal Fields</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Employees in Pennsylvania’s Bituminous Coal Field: 1880-1920</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Coal Fields of Pennsylvania</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Pennsylvania Coal Production 2009-2010</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Bituminous Coal Production in Pennsylvania 2000-2001</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Surface Mine in Glen Campbell, PA</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Company Store Located in Iselin, PA in 1906</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 “I” House in Glen Campbell, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Garden and Outdoor Bread Oven</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pennsylvania Railroad: Glen Campbell, PA</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Study Area</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Indiana County Railroad Map, 1895</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Pennsylvania Railroad Station, 1914, Glen Campbell, PA</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Arcadia 11 Mine</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Known Hotels in Glen Campbell, PA</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 The First National Bank of Glen Campbell Advertisement</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Visitors to Mine Owned by Superior Coal Company, Glen Campbell, PA</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 The Neighborhood Youth Corps</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Glen Valley Medical Center</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Glen Campbell Population Trends</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 The Churches of Glen Campbell, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA COAL TOWNS

Western Pennsylvania contains a number of small, coal patch towns that flourished with the coal mining industry but ultimately were devastated by a series of economic blows as the mines began to close and businesses moved elsewhere. Once vigorous, self-sustaining communities, they are now areas of unemployment and poverty. Between 1920 and 1970, mine closings in Pennsylvania resulted in 172,000 job losses (Dublin and Licht 84). The context of resource dependence and economic decline in this region presents an opportunity to examine community adaptation, livelihood strategies through social networks and their mechanisms, as well as the importance of multiscale relations for sustainability.

My thesis explores livelihood strategies of families in a community situated in an economically depressed area of Western Pennsylvania. In this region of the country, there are few employment opportunities. Hence, several informal social links provide forms of capital so that families can sustain themselves in this area. Essential to understanding livelihood strategies, as my exploratory study shows, are social relations and social networks. In particular, social networks with three scales—community, local and regional—are considered strong networks. Those without all three scales are interpreted as weak networks because they lack the flow of information that diverse networks contain. The three scales used in this research are community (live within five mile radius of the borough boundaries), local (6-30 miles from the community) and regional (31+miles from the community), and were based on United States Census information.
pertaining to average commute times for the study area. Additionally, strong social networks help families carry out their livelihood strategies successfully. These evolve over time and some become sustainable while others do not. This study assumes that: Social networks with the three scales are sustainable and useful in livelihood strategies. In line with the qualitative nature of my research, this serves as a basis upon which to conceptualize the research problem and to guide the field research.

A social network (Figure 1) is made up of individuals or organizations that are tied by one or more specific types of interdependencies such as financial exchange, kinship or trade. Social network analysis is based on three assumptions, laid out by Knoke and Yang, regarding the pattern of relationships and the effects they have. First, it must be understood that the underlying structural relationship is more responsible for observable behavior than characteristics such as age, gender or even beliefs and values. Second, social networks influence “perceptions, beliefs, and actions through structural mechanisms” that are socially acceptable to the parties involved. Finally, social networks must be viewed as constantly evolving and changing through interactions amongst the participants (Knoke and Yang 5-6). These assumptions were used as a guide to direct and interpret field observations.

As the Pennsylvania mines closed, some people migrated to urban areas to find employment. However, many stayed for reasons of family or religious ties, home ownership, and a love of rural life (Dublin and Licht 90). The citizens of these towns have a strong, shared history that binds them together. Living in the brutal conditions of mining resulted in generations of people able to overcome hundreds of years of ethnic differences and to come to rely on one another. For instance, in 1900 for every million of
tons of coal hauled from the mines, seven men were killed and twenty more injured (Marsh 342). During these times women and men alike rallied together, despite heritage, to grieve the losses. It was in this sustained sense of community that people thrived through the hardship (Marsh 347).

Fig. 1. Social Network of Rural Citizens, *Social Networks in Time and Space: Homeless Women in Skid Rowe, Los Angeles* (1990); Adapted by Author.

According to Marsh, this harsh existence which linked miners and their families emotionally to the land so strongly has passed a loyalty to community to many through the generations. This sustained sense of community, even though they had no title to the
land, enabled people to survive (Marsh 342). As the towns began to diminish in economic opportunities, people remaining turned to that sense of community to build social networks of family, friends and neighbors to retain their rural lifestyle (Dublin and Licht 91). Further, these networks are based on sustainable livelihood strategies within an informal economy. Research has shown that these networks are vital to daily existence among the rural population (Oberhauser and Pratt 212).
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Background

Industry in the United States lagged behind that of Europe up until the 20th century. It was not until the effective mining of coal, and more importantly the transportation of it, that industry flourished. In 1830, the city of Pittsburgh was the only center that could supply enough coal for industry and residential use. Shipping the coal would have been too costly to meet the demand of industry elsewhere. Even when the Allegheny Portage Railroad (Figure 2) was finished in 1834, very little coal was shipped east. It was not until the Pennsylvania Railroad was completed in 1853 that shipments begin to flow eastward (Chandler 151).

Fig. 2. The Allegheny Portage Railroad, The Department of the Interior, National Park Service.
The bituminous, or soft coal, mining region, in Pennsylvania (Figure 5) is one of the oldest in the United States (E. Miller 94). In addition, nearly five billion tons of anthracite, or hard coals, have been dug from the state’s mountains (Marsh 337). The mining industry has had a lifespan of over 130 years in the region. The first hundred years of the industry was a period of growth and development. The creation of jobs, until the 1920s (Figure 3 and Figure 4) was sustained and production remained high. However, beginning in 1930 the coal industry began to collapse, jobs were lost, entire mines were shut down and thousands found themselves unemployed with little economic opportunity (Deasy and Griess 241).

![Coal Production in Pennsylvania's Bituminous Coal Fields: 1880-1920](image)

Fig. 3. Production in Pennsylvania’s Bituminous Coal Fields, *Coal and Coke in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1996:63).
Fig. 4. Employees in Pennsylvania’s Bituminous Coal Fields: 1880-1920, *Coal and Coke in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1996:63).

Between the years of 1846 and 1850, Pennsylvania was producing 55% of all coal for the United States. By 1889, the state was responsible for 92.9% of the nation’s coal (Haines 329). Nearly a century later, in 1915, coal was powering 55% of the country’s electrical usage. In 1980, Pennsylvania was still a top coal producer and was third in the nation of states mining coal (Elmes 214). Coal continues to be an important economic resource for Pennsylvania. Coal production, with the use of machinery, increased 1.1% from 2009 to 2010 (Figure 6) with a total of 43,712 short tons processed in Pennsylvania in 2010 (U.S. Energy Information Administration 7). It is estimated that at present removal, coal will continue to be available in the state for 250 to 350 years (Enman 20). Mining is still largely done with underground methods, although surface mining and refuse reprocessing (Figure 7 and Figure 8) are also used. Refuse reprocessing is a growing industry, however, where companies purchase refuse piles and use the debris as a fuel source (Busovicki “Interview”).
Fig. 5. Coal Fields of Pennsylvania, *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Conservation and Natural Resources.*

Fig. 7. Bituminous Coal Production in Pennsylvania 2000-2001, *Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Protection*. 
Coal seams in Pennsylvania were separated into high, medium and low volatility seams. Throughout history there have been fifty-nine commercially used anthracite and bituminous coal seams but only three, the Pittsburgh, the Freeport and the Kittanning, were thought to have “enduring significance” (Enman 15). The Pittsburgh seam ranks the highest with the others split among the Lower Freeport, Lower Kittanning, Upper Freeport and Upper Kittanning. The Upper Freeport was the main seam for Indiana County, which was mined beginning in the 1890’s (Enman 17).

This coal was removed largely on the backs of immigrant workers. Sixty percent of the workforce in 1908 was Slavic, Lithuanian and Italian. Many of the men lived as boarders with families already in company towns (Maclean 332). The coal companies paid attention to the ethnicity of their workers. They often showed blatant racism and favoritism when placing families in housing. This segregation was an attempt to foster animosity among people, but failed as people pulled together in order to survive (Mulrooney 133-34).
Coal towns were largely the creation of coal companies. The mines were often located in isolated areas and coal companies, wanting to maintain a large workforce, built entire communities adjacent to the mines (Fishback and Lauszus 125). The company owners argued that the rural setting was required to operate the facility efficiently, and since business owners would not establish store fronts in remote areas, the coal companies created their own company stores (Figure 9). They also built and owned the housing. When miners were paid, the cost of rent and the bill from the company store was deducted, often leaving them with very little left over (Fishback 1015).

Fig. 9. Company Store Located in Iselin, PA in 1906, Virtual Museum of Coal Mining in Western Pennsylvania (2010).
Early housing was typically in the “I” Style (Figure 10) with four rooms, two on the bottom floor and two on the top. A kitchen was added to the back which gave it the slanted roof, or “saltbox” shape. These types of homes were generally for one to two families. These early houses, 1860-1880, were lathe-and-plaster on the inside and the outside was covered with vertical planks. This made them well insulated, save cracks around the windows, which generally were one to each room with the usual six panes over six. In addition to several types of one family home, two or four family homes were also built. The double houses, common to coal communities throughout Pennsylvania were cheaper to construct because shared walls meant less construction material (Enman 207-8).

Rent was generally determined by room. In 1900, the general rent was $1.00 per room. With the onset of World War II the rent was increased to $1.50 per room. The rent was deducted and miners often rented to unmarried boarders to help with this cost. The Coal Companies leased the homes and actually were successful in circumventing a centuries old law requiring a 30 day eviction notice. Instead, miners were forced to sign a lease giving them three to ten days notice if work stoppage occurred for any reason. In some cases, the notice was as short as one day. This extended to the widow of a miner killed in the mines unless she had boarders employed with the company. Many found
their belongings, despite any weather conditions, sitting on the road if the Coal Company chose to evict (Enman 247-51).

Often a miner took home no earnings for his work, all of it going back to the Coal Company. Consequently, families living in coal town had various means of coping. They planted large gardens (Figure 11) with prizes often going to the most attractive gardens or the largest vegetables. The children were responsible for helping their mothers with the fruits, vegetables, medicinal herbs and various roots grown. They also tended rabbits, chickens, ducks, rabbits, pigeons and cows. Women and children picked berries to can and sell. The women baked several loaves of bread in outdoor bake ovens (Figure 11) to share and sell. Men contributed to this subsistence as well. They made smoked sausages, kielbasa, sauerkraut and wine. Families often traded foods to provide variety in the winter months (Bartoletti 71-74). The gardens, canning and trading survive to this day in many rural areas.

Ricardo Godoy, an anthropologist, reviewed anthropological literature on miners as well as contributions made in other fields identifying new areas of research. Godoy argued the miner has only recently been discovered by anthropology and believes that the discipline has much to offer in regards to new research. His approach dealt mainly with the economics of mining; while having a place in anthropology, it is not entirely representative of anthropological literature as it does not discuss the culture, lives and the actual daily activities of miners. This leaves an opportunity for further anthropological approaches and investigations (Godoy 199).
Godoy argued that small mining towns were often isolated, and this separation, coupled with the brutal working conditions, generated unique population dynamics. The results were small communities with higher fertility rates, higher infant and adult mortality and a younger marrying age for women. Further, coal companies wanted self-contained towns, which led to a particular social practice of residents drawing together to create their own enclaves throughout Pennsylvania (Godoy 205).

These bonds were vital to people in the times of dangerous mining, the job loss that inevitably followed and, I argue, present conditions of poverty and economic isolation. This theme is overlooked in the research when discussing the former coal mining towns in Pennsylvania. The historical effects are well documented but the ways in which people continue to cope are largely overlooked. The significant number of people residing in these towns, across the nation, should not be ignored.
Gendered Spaces

During the turn of the century, men and women found themselves in new roles. Faced with unemployment as the mines closed in large numbers beginning in 1920, families were trying to find new ways to “make ends meet”. They sought the assistance of “extended kin, friends and neighbors” (Dublin and Licht 82). The men shared prospects for employment, often traveled together looking for work, and refused work if not everyone in the group was offered employment. Men also left their gender sphere and began helping at home and with the children as women left their domestic sphere to secure employment. However, when the men left for weeks to find employment the women found themselves, in essence, single mothers. Many relied heavily on the relatives and the kindness of local store owners. Further, as the two spheres of men and women began to evolve, married couples found that “greater reciprocity in decision making emerged” (Dublin and Licht 97). Thus, changing gender roles shaped the evolving social networks. The small, rural towns were believed to be slowly disappearing, but the strong sense of community bound people to these areas and they simply found a new way to survive with the use of reciprocity (Dublin and Licht 97).

Michrina examined the role of women in Pennsylvania mining towns. Although he did not specifically address social networks, they are apparent in his writing. He writes of women baking together, gathering coal from the refuse piles and canning from the gardens they tended, especially during times of work stoppages (Michrina 34). A culture of mining is still vibrant and thriving today, even though mining employment itself has declined.
Social Networks, Livelihood Strategies and Sustainability

Geographers have studied social networks and sustainable livelihood strategies in a way that is applicable to the rural Appalachian coal towns. Warren and Oberhauser independently studied rural Africa, and have published research on the topic. While Warren focused on social networks Oberhauser delved into livelihood strategies emerging from those networks. Additionally, Pavlovskaya studied the social networks, or multiple economies, of families surviving in post-socialist Russia. Closer to the region, Curry, researched rural farming communities in Iowa in the context of social construction in relation to a worldview based in rurality.

Warren examined sustainably in rural areas, principally in Niger. He defined sustainability as the maintenance of a society that works for the present as well as future generations in an ecological, economical, moral, cultural and political way. Directly tied to this is the concept that a community must live within the limitations of its geographical area, in that members must rely on the resources available to them. Occasionally this requires the substitution of resources; such as in the burning of dung when the wood supply runs low or is depleted. A sustainable livelihood centers on the belief that people in rural areas must juggle five types of capital; natural, economic, human, physical and social in order to manage stressful times while still providing prospects for future generations (Warren and Batterbury and Osbahr 325-26).

Natural capital derives from the surrounding living, physical and working environmental components. It also includes environmental goods and services. Economic capital is resources in savings, credit, remittances and profit. Human capital is the skill,
knowledge and ability to provide labor that one attains throughout a lifetime. Physical capital is basic infrastructure and tools. Finally, social capital includes networks, status, membership in informal institutions and access to formal institutions (Warren and Batterbury and Osbahr 325).

Oberhauser and Pratt focused on sustainable livelihood strategies based on the informal sector through the use of feminist geographical theory. They strove to bring together material as well as cultural components so that the differences in power among women in rural South Africa could be acknowledged and understood. They argue that these livelihood strategies developed by women not only strengthen the families but also the community as a whole. Rural South Africa is plagued by severe economic and social hardship but the “diverse livelihood strategies…reduce pressure on household incomes” (Oberhauser and Pratt 219). I believe that this conceptualization of sustainable livelihood is applicable to rural Pennsylvania, in particular to the small, coal mining towns that remain. The historical context of this region suggests that people have social networks that are based on natural, economic, human, physical and social capital.

Pavlovskaya studied the lives of urban families on post-socialist Russia, specifically Moscow through in-depth interviews and GIS-based analysis of the transition to a more multi-scale economy household (331). While not within a rural research context, the research subjects suffered an economic transition in which they were required to rely on networks of extended family, relatives and friends in order to maintain their households (329). These households developed formal and informal resources within economic and social capital that is often misrepresented in quantitative studies (330). Specifically, the research attempted to understand the extent that “informal
employment, networks of family and friends, and the simultaneity of multiple and gendered economic practices” played in obtaining overall household needs (333).

Further, Curry’s study revealed the need for qualitative and quantitative methods in the understanding of rural communities. His study, specifically, attempted to comprehend rural areas within the context of the worldview, or a community’s picture of the way things are. Through this he was able to contextualize the measure of accessibility and changed within the employment development, or lack thereof. This focus, of geographers and rural geographers, “has led to…the construction of meaning associated with rural landscape and social constructions…” (Curry 693). This statement has direct relation to the study of rural, coal mining communities in Pennsylvania.

In Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, Putnam states that social capital gives individuals the ability to solve problems, and it allows communities to grow at a steady pace and with less associated cost as daily interaction is involved and creates awareness that the fates of society are linked. Social norms provide the mechanism of checks and balances to create a positive social network. People with a positive social network will hold to the social norms, thus benefiting all of society (Putnam 288-89).

Social networks serve as a form of information that is directly related to individuals and groups reaching goals. Many people use personal connections to ensure employment. Those with training and talent, also known as human capital, often rely on social capital to search for and obtain work. People with strong, positive social networks, regardless of economic capital, tend to fare better in times of turmoil and actually recover
quicker than those without. For example, persons suffering from illness have been shown to recover sooner if they have a strong, positive network than those that do not. Even those receiving well wishes tended to be sick fewer days than those who did not (Putnam 289).

Research has shown that even the most impoverished areas are capable of development and sustainability. Glasmeier and Farrigan studied the poorest areas of Appalachia and found that reliance on the informal sector, as well as social and human capital, was vital to the continued existence of rural communities. Natural resource extraction alone will not be enough to ensure longevity of areas where cultural sense of community is lacking. Community development is important and the significance of the citizens residing there has too often been ignored and the result has been failed development in many areas. In order for livelihood strategies to be utilized successfully for sustainability the historical legacy of this area must be recognized, valued and accepted as part of the culture of the citizens residing there (Glasmeier and Farrigan 132-33).
CHAPTER 3

STUDY AREA: GLEN CAMPBELL, PENNSYLVANIA

Industrial Era

The study area (Figure 13) is located in Banks Township, Indiana County, Pennsylvania. The borough of Glen Campbell, a community of 285 residents ("Municipalities” 13), is credited as the first coal mining town in the county. The town was founded in 1889 and developed by the Glenwood Coal Company and its superintendent, Cornelius Campbell. Within a year it was the third largest town in the county (Busovicki, Postcard 110).

The town needed railroad service to be successful. The Berwind-White Coal Company of Philadelphia purchased the Bells Gap narrow gauge line, widened it through to Glen Campbell and extended it in to Punxsutawney, in neighboring Jefferson County (Figure 14). This new line, the Clearfield and Jefferson Railroad (Stephenson, Indiana Volume III 288), was the first to be built in Indiana County since 1856 (Figure 14). The first shipment of coal left the community via this line on October, 21 1889 (Busovicki, Postcard 110). Competition among
markets drove the Pennsylvania Railroad (Figure 12 and Figure 15) (Stephenson, *Indiana Volume III* 288) and the New York Central Railroad to provide service as well (http://visitindianacountypa.org).

Fig. 13. Study Area
Fig. 14. Indiana County Railroad Map, 1895
www.west2k.com/pastations/indiana.shtml, Highlighted area Added by Author
Glen Campbell was incorporated as a borough in September of 1894. At the town’s height it boasted sixty businesses, including an opera house, nickelodeon, four newspapers, six hotels (Figure 17), liverys, its own school system and several newspapers. By all accounts, in 1894 the town was booming. Between 1889 and 1920 at least eleven companies (Table 1) were operating 34 mines (Stephenson, Indiana Volume III 292; Virtual Museum of Coal Mining in Western Pennsylvania). There were 265 men employed by the Glenwood Coal Company, 75 men by the Reakart Bros and Company, 150 men by the Glenfield Coal and Coke Company, 75 men by the Clearfield and Cush Creek Coal Company and 100 men in the neighboring Urey Ridge Coal Company. There are no known photographs

Fig. 15. Pennsylvania Railroad Station, 1914, Glen Campbell, PA, Glen Campbell Oldest Coal Town in Indiana Co. (1949:12)

Fig. 16. Arcadia 11 Mine, Photo Courtesy of John Busovicki
of the mines in Glen Campbell but they were likely similar to the Arcadia 11 Mine (Figure 16) which was located less the two miles away (Busovicki “Interview”). An additional 40 men were employed in sawmills. Glen Campbell became the center of commerce for neighboring towns and farms (Busovicki, Postcard 109; Stephenson, Indiana Volume III 289).

Fig. 17. Known Hotels in Glen Campbell, PA, *Glen Campbell is One of Big Towns in Northern Section of the County* (1916:3), *Glen Campbell: A Busy Mining Town Where a Year Ago Was a Forest of Pines* (1890).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coal Company</th>
<th>Mine</th>
<th>Year Opened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glenwood Coal Company (1889)</td>
<td>Glenwood Number 2 Mine</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenwood Number 3 Mine</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenwood Number 4 Mine</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenwood Number 5 Mine</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenwood Number 6 Mine</td>
<td>1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenwood Number 6 1/2 Mine</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenwood Number 7 Mine</td>
<td>1895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenwood Number 9 Mine</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenwood Number 9 1/2 Mine</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenwood Number 12 Mine</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Winkey Mine</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reakart Bros and Co (1889)</td>
<td>Penn Number 1 Mine</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenfield and Coke Company (1891*)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana Coal Company (1901*)</td>
<td>Indiana Number 1 Mine</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indiana Number 1 1/2 Mine</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indiana Number 2 Mine</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indiana Number 3 Mine</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indiana Number 4 Mine</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indiana Number 5 Mine</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indiana Number 6 Mine</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indiana Number 7 Mine</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indiana Number 8 Mine</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clearfield and Crush Creek Coal and Coke Company (1901*)</td>
<td>Cush Creek Number 1 Mine</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cush Creek Number 2 Mine</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipsy Coal Company (1901)**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark Brothers Coal Mining Company (No Date Available)</td>
<td>Falcon Number 5 Mine</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Falcon Number 5 1/2 Mine</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Falcon Number 6 Mine</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Falcon Number 7 Mine</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Falcon Number 8 Mine</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsdale Coal &amp; Coke Company (No Date Available)</td>
<td>Number 5 Mine</td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number 5 1/2 Mine</td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number 6 Mine</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Coal Company (No Date Available)</td>
<td>Number 2 Mine</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susquehanna Fuel Company (No Date Available)</td>
<td>Falcon Number 9 Mine</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penn Fuel Company (No Date Available)</td>
<td>Penn Number 1 Mine</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* First Date Referenced
**Headquarters Located in Glen Campbell, PA

The stability of the town was ensured when the First National Bank of Glen Campbell was opened on July 25, 1899 (Figure 18). It opened its doors with $50,000 in capital, which grew to $641,000 by 1913 (“Glen Campbell Oldest Coal Town in Indiana Co”. 12). The quick growth of the town and its role as a central supply area lead to the before mentioned business as well as several supply stores, clothing and hardware stores, three butcher shops, three drugstores, feed stores as well as doctors and dentists. The John T. Kane Department Store, opening in 1895, delivered goods by horse and buggy in the summer and horse and sleigh in the winter. It did not close its doors until the 1950s (Busovicki, Postcard 112).

Fig. 18. The First National Bank of Glen Campbell Advertisement, *Glen Campbell Is One of the Big Towns In Northern Section of the County* (1916:3)
More than $12,000 a month was paid to the mine employees and it was believed most of those wages were spent locally (Stephenson, Indiana Volume III 289). However, even with the growth and prosperity, Glen Campbell had its share of troubles. Strikes by the mine workers required the presence of police several times. Four hundred miners stopped work in April of 1894 and demanded higher wages (“Miners Strike-Glen Campbell Is in It” 1). In July of 1894 Sheriff Mack, of Indiana, and thirty deputies were summoned to Glen Campbell by the Glenwood Coal Company which intended to open their mines and requested protection for miners willing to work (“Miners Strike-Glen Campbell Is in It” 1). On July 26, 1894 a reported 100 shots were exchanged between the police and strikers. None of the officers were wounded but it was believed two Hungarian men were killed (Stephenson, Indiana Volume III 291). Strikers did not take well to ‘scabs’, men brought in to fill their jobs. In August of 1927, while participating in the Great Strike of 1927, strikers killed a man labeled as a ‘scab’ (Michrina 1993).

Fig. 19. Visitors to Mine Owned by Superior Coal Company, Glen Campbell, PA, Virtual Museum of Coal Mining in Western Pennsylvania (2010).
In addition to the tensions created by the numerous strikes, the town suffered several great fires. In 1894 a large forest fire nearly destroyed the new community. Several buildings owned by coal companies were burned, as well as many tracts of timber. The residents of Glen Campbell requested assistance in battling the flames from County Commissioners but none was received (“Destructive Forest Fire” 1). A great store owned by Alex Davidson burned in 1911 with no known cause, resulting in a loss of $12,000-15,000. The Glen Campbell Fire Company was unable to save any of the goods but was praised in their successful efforts to save the adjoining bank, stable and residence (“Large Store Burned at Glen Campbell” 1). The first of three devastating fires was in 1914, although many fires plagued the community. On May 15 1914 the fire destroyed an entire block of the community including The Commercial Hotel, a bank, The Odd Fellows Hall and several stores (Busovicki, Postcard 108). The following year in March of 1915 a fire which began in The Moose raged through that business and took with it the Opera House, several stores and a butcher shop. The Snyder Hotel caught fire but was saved by fireman. It was the third large fire to torment Glen Campbell in a six month period (“Fire Destroys Much Glen Campbell Property” 1). On November 22, 1924 another fire consumed Cressley’s Nickelodeon, Conner’s Drug Store, Hamity’s Ice Cream Parlor and a barber shop. In an effort to stop the flames the Burnside Supply Store, a 108 foot long, three story building, was dynamited (Busovicki, Postcard 111). In 1926 a school house burned to the ground. It had been built to replace a school that had burned some years previous (“Glen Campbell High School Burned Friday”). In 1953 a fire destroyed an apartment building, a hotel-tavern and a personal residence. The damages were estimated to total $30,000. The vast majority of the damages were
associated with the $22,000 loss for the hotel (“$30,000 Fire Sweeps Glen Campbell Hotel-Tavern”). Ten years later, a fire burned a coal tipple and loading dock belonging to P.N. Coal Company, Arcadia. In addition to the structures, a 1,000 gallon diesel fuel tank collapsed and was destroyed. The total loss was estimated to be $20,000 (“$20,000 Fire Ruins Tipple” 1).

Through the strikes, fires and tumultuous times Glen Campbell still had its days of celebrations through parades featuring the town’s own band (Appendix D), baseball and basketball games, and marble tournaments. Residents of Glen Campbell remember the parades occurring until the 1980’s. While the big parades and celebrations have disappeared, there are community dinners held once a month at the fire hall. Proceeds from the dinner support the fire company (Dennis).

Though many of the structures were never rebuilt after the 1924 fire (Busovicki, Postcard 108), Glen Campbell struggled on. By the 1930s the coal supply was dwindling, many mines closed, and the community entered a period of decline (“Glen Campbell Oldest Coal Town in Indiana C.” 12).

Post-Industrial Era

It did not, however, disappear. The Civilian Conservation Corps (Appendix C) visited the town in the late 1930’s to enlist unemployed men to work (Those Old Photographs 12). In 1949 The Bell Telephone Company improved the service at the local office situated in the community, phone service expanded from 89 persons to 318 persons (“More Telephones at Glen Campbell” 1). The town received a bit of notoriety when the country singer Glen Campbell and his wife, Billie, visited and spent several hours
speaking with citizens and touring the town (Kologie). Young men participated in the Neighborhood Youth Corps (Figure 20) and assisted on keeping the town clean and tidy (“Glen Campbell Youths in NYC Program” 32). The Salsgiver’s Supermarket opened in 1973 by brothers Robert and James Salsgiver (“G. Campbell Gets New Supermarket”). However, it was short lived and closed just three years later. Linda L. Salsgiver, who had entered into partnership, moved the remaining goods to another location and opened Billie’s Fruit and Flower mart in 1976. It also was short lived and closed its doors a mere two years later (Salsgiver). Glen Valley Medical Center (Figure 21) opened in 1977 and served the local and surrounding communities of Glen Campbell (“Med Center at Glen Campbell to Open Doors” 13) for several years. It ultimately closed in 1985-86 after the presiding doctor was injured in an automobile accident and no one was available to fill his position (Pearce).

Fig. 20. The Neighborhood Youth Corps, *Glen Campbell Youths Work in NYC Program* (1972: 32).
The population reached a height of 1,628 in 1900 (Figure 22). At one time the community was third largest in Indiana County, but now it is now 35th, with just three communities below it (“Municipalities” 13). It never quite recovered from the series of fires, the Great Depression and the decrease in coal production. Population dropped from 1,628 to 588 by 1930, a decrease of 64%, and did not stabilize until the 1960s (U.S. Census Bureau). The community has shifted to a mainly residential area with people commuting elsewhere for employment. The average commute today is 29 minutes or 26 miles (U.S. Census Bureau 3).
The bank closed with the Great Depression resulting in the closure or relocation of many of the remaining establishments. Though not the town it was once, Glen Campbell is still a close knit community. There are three active church congregations: The First Baptist Church of Glen Campbell, The Methodist Church and The Church of the Resurrection (Figure 23). The town still supports a volunteer fire company, which also serves nearby communities. A small museum, operated by Debra Cessna, Borough Secretary, is nestled into the upper level of the old fire station (Appendix B). Businesses,
such as The Glenwood Convalescent Home, Glenwood Used Car Sales (located in the former Glen Valley Medical Center), Brink’s Plumbing and Heating, A.J. Freno Mining, S&S Paving Co., and Fee-Pennington American Legion, still call Glen Campbell home.

Fig. 23. The Churches of Glen Campbell, Pennsylvania

The community is essentially a poor one. The median income in 2000 for residents of Glen Campbell was $24,063 (Figure 24) which is $16,043 less than the mean for Pennsylvania (U.S. Census Bureau 3). In fact, Banks Township is defined as an area suffering from poverty by The Center for Rural Pennsylvania. The area had a 16.5% poverty rate in 2000. However, that data does not include the 12% who are deemed the “working poor”; and those that hover above the poverty line at blue collar jobs and at are the highest risk of descending into poverty with the loss of a job or other extenuating
factors (The Center for Rural Pennsylvania). This is likely related to the education levels (Figure 25) as well as transportation issues, and child care obstacles. Of 151 respondents, 70% had obtained a high school diploma while another 10% attended high school but did not graduate. Only 13% had obtained a college degree (American Community Survey, 2005-2009).

![Median Income 2000 Graph](image)

Fig. 24. Median Income for 2000, *United States Census Bureau* (2000:3).
Residents of Glen Campbell, like many former coal mining communities, have ancestry from many source areas of immigration. Of 166 respondents, 46% claim German ancestry and another 34% Irish descent (Figure 26). And while records indicate there are few with Hungarian descent, historical records indicate Hungarian mining deaths (Appendix A) among the residents of Glen Campbell. There is diversification as respondents claimed Ukrainian, Slovak and Polish descent among others (U.S. Census Bureau 2).
CHAPTER 4

METHODS

My research methods are qualitative and semi-ethnographic in nature. They were designed to observe the social constructs evident in rural landscapes directly related to livelihood strategies. When possible, I stayed in the community to conduct my research and to participate in community activities. In this chapter I will discuss how I recruited my research subjects, the methods used to conduct the research, and tools used to analyze data. The IRB human subjects protocol for the study was approved from July 6, 2010 to July 6, 2011 (Appendix E).

The research site, Glen Campbell, located in Banks Township, Indiana County, has a population of 285 ("Municipalities" 13) and is a former coal mining community. It is also my hometown, and I still have several relatives in the community. I grew up within the confines of this small town and it was not until I moved away as an adult that I became aware of the intricacies of the many social relationships there. As a resident of the community, I was trusted by research subjects. Many citizens in this area are wary of strangers and not likely to provide personal information to researchers. I did not include any relatives or close friends in my study.

I travelled to the community 13 times, including one overnight visit, to conduct interviews. My trips to the community were limited to Saturdays and Sundays, when I knew my informants would be home and available to participate in the study. During these visits I remained in the community from four to six hours, spending several hours with each informant. Additionally, I travelled once to the community to take photographs. On one occasion, I spent three hours with an informant, with the use of his
4-wheeler, to obtain photographs of mining sites, homes, churches and other structures. During another visit I was able to spend five hours researching historical documents located in the Glen Campbell Museum, a private enterprise established by Borough Secretary Debra Cessna.

My research sample consisted of 10 women and 5 men. Table 2 lists them by pseudonyms and provides their age, marital status, and years of residence in the community. From this sample I selected two couples and one individual who were chosen as my key informants. They were selected because they had varying degrees of social networks that showed the functionality and strength of networks formed in the community. A key informant is someone “whom you can talk to easily, who understand the information you need, and are glad to give it to you or get it for you.” (Bernard 150). The use of key informants is common in ethnographic and other types of qualitative research. Focusing on key informants allows the researcher to convey to the reader gather detailed, descriptive data.

My informants were selected using snowball sampling, or respondent-driven sampling (RDS). In this type of interviewing it is important to locate one or two key informants and then “ask those people to (1) list others in the population and (2) recommend someone from the list whom you might interview (Bernard 148). The list will finally become saturated and no new names will be provided. This method is useful upon entry into the population during which the researcher can then ask informants to suggest willing participants. This was chosen because it is recommended for small populations, or
Table 2  
Informant Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant*</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Years of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heather</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valerie</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denise</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becky</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pete</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belle</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennis</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Single/Divorced</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natalie</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn**</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert**</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randy**</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie**</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Pseudonyms  
**Key Informant

Hard to reach populations, where the majority of people know one another and can name appropriate candidates (Bernard 147-48). This method of locating research subjects proved successful as informants offered names of individuals in their social networks as well as others in the community that would be willing to participate. Criteria for participants were to live within the borough limits, regardless of length of residence, and were within the ages of 21 and 65.

I conducted informal interviewing, in which I noted conversations of informants as they went about daily activities, and semi-structured interviews, when I used an interview guide (Table 3). Informal interviewing is understood to have no structure or control, or to speak freely about subjects with the informant. The researcher does not record these conversations but simply tries to recall conversations heard throughout the day. Informal interviewing is usually used with more formal, structured interviewing (Bernard 156-57). Semi-structured interviews are useful when only one interview session
is all that is available per informant. It allows the researcher “to demonstrate that you are fully in control of what you want from the interview but leaves both you and the respondent to follow new leads.” (Bernard 158). Responses to questions were recorded by hand and developed into notes at the conclusion of the interview. As noted, 15 subjects (5 male and 10 female) were interviewed during the period of August 22, 2010 and June 15, 2011. The average age for all informants is 46, with an average of 49 for male and 44 years of age for female and a range of 24-64 years of age. I did not tape record any interviews because nearly all informants were not comfortable with this approach.

The interviews opened with basic demographic questions covering age, marital status, employment and household members. Respondents were asked how long they lived in the community and why they chose to settle or relocate there. Then the interview was directed to elicit answers regarding the composition of the informants’ social network, the size and spatial extent of the network and how often it was used, what forms of capital were exchanged and their relative importance. The questioning sought to determine if the ties were reciprocal in nature and if the net benefit was negative, balanced or positive. Additionally, if the informant expressed assistance that benefitted a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3 Informant Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What is your name, age and marital status?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What is the composition of your household?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Who in the household is employed? Where? For each household member who works is the employment full time, part time or seasonal?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How long have you lived in the community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Why did you choose this community to settle in?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How many friends and relatives do you have in the community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Who in the community do you visit and socialize with the most? How often do you see them? Do you provide each other with mutual assistance? How often? What kinds of assistance do you provide each other?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Who provides you with the most important help? In what ways? How is it reciprocated?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. To what extent do you believe this assistance helps you meet your overall household needs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Without this assistance do you feel you would have to relocate to a more urban environment?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Do you belong to any community organizations? Do you receive assistance from these and if so, what types? Do you assist these organizations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Do you seek help from outside the community? Who? How often? To what extent?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
livelihood strategy, such as hunting or employment, this was evaluated and discussed to
determine the extent that the assistance provided in overall household needs.

I also engaged in participant observation, especially during the overnight stay in
the community. Participant observation “involves immersing yourself in a culture and
learning to remove yourself every day from that immersion [and] experiencing the lives
of the people you are studying….” (Bernard 258). The overnight stay was arranged
around a sled riding party that included five informants and their families. I also
participated in gardening, canning and the preparation for hunting. While assisting in
these activities I conducted informal interviewing through conversations about the
activities. For instance: How long had they been canning, who taught them, and what
types of preparation goes into the process? I did not take notes of these conversations in
order to participate in these activities, but I incorporated them as daily field notes.

I also acquired kinship system information that encompassed immediate family
members and developed genealogies based on that information. A kinship system is “the
predominant form of kin relations in a culture….” (B. Miller 126). A genealogy “is a
schematic way of presenting a family tree, constructed by beginning with the earliest
ancestors that can be traced, then working down to the present.” (B. Miller 127). My
research with kinship systems and genealogies was scaled down to include immediate
generation (i.e. no more than four). This was done to identify living family members in
the area within the community, and especially those family members participating in the
informants’ social network. The intent of this research is to reveal how people within the
community rely on one another for support and as such, the results of the genealogies
were broken down into percentages living within the community, local and regional scales.

I used GenoPro to diagram my genealogies, or family trees. GenoPro is genealogy software for creating family trees. The program allows the user to display the members in a genealogy, as well as manipulate associations amongst people. It does not limit graphical displays which allows for broader use of the program (GenoPro). For the purpose of my research, I used the program to graph a simple representation of families participating in the study. Two complete genealogies can be found in the Appendices F and G.

I also gathered data on social networks of my research subjects. As mentioned earlier, three scales are used—community, local and regional—to identify and measure networks of my subjects. The three are community (live with five miles radius of the borough boundaries), local (6-30 miles from the community), and regional (31+ miles from the community). Community networks are within a five mile radius of the borough of Glen Campbell. Local networks are those extending from 6-30 miles from the community; and regional networks are those found thirty-one miles and greater. Social networks that spanned all three scales would be evaluated as having strong networks. Putnam reports; those with several ties throughout different communities are thought stronger than those in closed, small networks. Consequently, the scale of social networks in the study area will have relevance to its ultimate sustainability (Putnam 295).

Through the use of ArcGIS 9 I mapped the social networks showing the social connections through symbols that are within the community, local and regional scale. Geographic information system (GIS) is technology created to better understand
geography and the decisions made based on geographic data. GIS manages geographic data so that a map can be read for a specific project. Further, a thematic map creates a visual representation of the collected data, in this case social networks (“GIS Best Practices”).

I used social network analysis to determine the network scales and subsequently the strengths, sustainability and positive livelihood strategies of each informant. Social network analysis has grown to be a key technique across many disciplines including sociology, geography, anthropology, communications, information sciences, economics and biology (Freeman 5). The metaphor of a social network has been used to represent the multifaceted relationships between the members of a social network for over 100 years. It has moved from a symbolic metaphor to an analytical approach complete with theory, methods, software and researchers (Freeman 6).

Social network analysis is useful when determining the strength and structural integrity of the networks formed in communities (Freeman 3). The social network is based on the extent of each participating member and the connections between and among them (Knoke and Yang 4). This type of analysis is particularly useful in coal mining communities because a mining community tended to be fluid in nature, nearly always temporary and quickly assembled (Knapp 6). Knapp identifies eight key components for social structures that were used in this research (Table 4).
Despite the fact that coal mining has, for the most part, ceased in Glen Campbell the Key Components, with some modification, are useful. The shift from men employed in mines to those employed within labor unions can be incorporated into Components 2 and 7. Nearly all male informants are members of a Union and the political connections, and struggles that occur with them. Much of the work they are involved in is considered dangerous and therefore is relevant to Component 3. Inhabitants of former coal communities prefer isolation (Components 1 and 4) and many have strong values in religion and communal activities (Component 5 and 8) (Knapp 8). Component 6, the differentiation between gender roles, is also still valid. The roles of men and women are blurred slightly but still largely separate.

The level of analysis done was that of egocentric network which is the information for one individual (ego) and all other members (alters) of the network. The only members included are those that the ego has direct relations with and the direct relation of those alters amongst each other. Each ego can be portrayed through the attributes, the types of relational content, or type of tie, (Table 5) and the strength of each one, (e.g., a positive reciprocal tie). Relational forms are meant to define the significance, or basis, of each tie. The four types of relational contents used in this research are

**Table 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Components</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Physical isolations, and dispersed settlement system;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Economic predominance of mining;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Exacting, dangerous and periodic work;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occupational homogeneity and isolation;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Communal leisure activities (religious, sporting, drinking) where work remains the chief interest and topic of conversation;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sharply segregated family and gender roles;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Economic and political conflict between miners and managers;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Multiple and complex communal social relationships: solidarity, shared histories of work and living, inward focus (Knapp 1985: 6).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

transactions relations, instrumental relations, sentiment relations and kinship/descent relations (Knoke and Yang 12-13).

I also considered transaction and other relations. Transaction Relations are those in which there is control by either the ego or alter, that result in physical or symbolic gestures in gift giving or the exchange of economic goods. Instrumental Relations are useful to obtain information between and among community members. An instrumental tie outside of the community is useful to bring in new ideas, leads on employment and social gatherings. Sentiment Relations are those in which the ego and alter have corresponding feelings of love or affection. Finally, the Kinship and Descent Relations are those in the social network that are bound by blood and marriage (Knoke and Yang 11-12).

Livelihood strategies are used within each of the Relational Contents. For example, one is more likely to receive financial support from a Kinship Relation. An Instrumental Relation can provide links to employment or social meetings. Transaction Relations, where power can play a role, are common in the community. Power in this case should not be negatively attached. Many of the Transaction Relations are based upon positive reciprocity.

Table 5
Relational Content

Transaction Relations — Those involved in physical or symbolic acts such as gift giving, economic sales and/or purchases
Instrumental Relations — Those involved in the exchange of information to obtain jobs, political affiliation or access social groups
Sentiment Relations — Those communicated through affection
Kinship and Descent Relations — Those bound by blood and marriage

Finally, based on the informant interviews I attempted to determine the nature of economic capital livelihood strategies within the social networks provided. To answer this question I turned to the acquisition of food. Nearly all informants indicated a reliance on hunting and gardening as a means to meeting the food needs of their family. In order to determine the amount of savings I used the United States Department of Agriculture study in 2003-2004, *Food Spending in American Households*. This study established the cost of food items for rural and urban families. Expenditures of rural families, per person, were calculated based on food items, (e.g. ground beef, bacon, sugar, eggs, and lettuce). The informants reported the percentage that group hunting, gathering and personal farming played in food requirements. To find the average cost I took the value given and multiplied it by the number of people in the household. I then calculated the percentages, based on respondent’s estimation, to find the savings. This analysis is presented in chart form (Table 6) in the Results.

Table 6
Food Chart Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food Type</th>
<th>Average Cost</th>
<th>Percentage Saved</th>
<th>Family Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>$467.68</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>$233.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>$251.56</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>$176.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh Vegetables</td>
<td>$226.20</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>$130.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$945.44</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$540.03</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Savings</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$405.41</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Average cost based on *Food Spending in American Households, 2003-04*

As mentioned earlier, my study also included extensive archival research. I collected many primary sources from the turn of the century through the use of Indiana University of Pennsylvania’s newspaper archives. Several historical local newspapers are
archived and made available on line. I spent seven three hour days searching these documents. It was time consuming and difficult as print from the late 19th and early 20th century can be difficult to read and did not always clearly scan. Through this, I was able to determine the activities of daily life in the coal mining town, historical accounts and personal accounts. This was useful in discussing the historical background. I obtained several historical photographs and compared them to current photographs, as well as used them for historic reference. The comparison was done in order to show the growing reliance on neighbors, friends and relatives due to the closure of stores, services and media. The once booming town which was formally lined with department stores, business offices, banks, entertainment establishments and hotels is now lined with single family homes. The old stores, offices and hotels were lost to fires or removal.

In addition to the online archives I visited the Glen Campbell Museum and searched historical documents stored there. I spent five hours reading through the community school records from 1900-1930, bank documents from the National Bank of Glen Campbell, personal accounts and archival photographs. These two methods were vital in completing the historical background for this research. Collectively, this information provides a necessary perspective for interpreting the interview data.
CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Employment Opportunities

People in Glen Campbell have a variety of means of meeting household needs. They work, practice subsistence activities, and rely on mutual assistance. All of the respondents, for example, reported relying on another person, such as a friend or kin member, who provided support based on one or more types of capital: social, natural, economic, human or physical. Employment for the most part, is located outside of the community and local residents commute for employment (Figure 27). Figure 27 shows the relative values, or numbers, of centers for employment of individuals living in Glen Campbell. Respondents indicated working within Glen Campbell or traveling regionally within the counties of Indiana, Jefferson and Clearfield.

Table 7 provides employment information on all fifteen research subjects. This table provides the location of employment, the type of position held and whether the research subject holds more than one job. It also includes the distances to each job location.

Of the five men on Table 7, two, Robert and James, reported being members of local unions. Robert is a member of the Laborers Local Union 910 out of Johnstown, Pennsylvania and James is a member of Local 1233 Greater Regional Council of Carpenters out of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Dennis is retired but he, too, was a union member of the United Mine Workers of America. None of the women reported being members of unions.
Fig. 27: Area of Employment for Respondents
Table 7
Employment Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Residence Town</th>
<th>Work Town 1</th>
<th>Miles to Work 1</th>
<th>Occupation 1</th>
<th>Work Town 2</th>
<th>Miles to Work 2</th>
<th>Occupation 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natalie</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Punxsutawney</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nurse’s Aide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heather</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Arcadia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bartender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Seasonal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valerie</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denise</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Administrative Assistant</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Borough Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becky</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Program Coordinator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pete</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Disability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belle</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Courthouse Clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennis</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Arcadia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cattle Rancher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Seasonal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randy</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Disability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Arcadia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Agricultural Technician</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>Clearfield</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Graphic Designer</td>
<td>Punxsutawney</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Graphic Designer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“If You Don’t Move on When You’re Young, You Don’t Move On”

Informants reported a variety of reasons for living in Glen Campbell. Four of the informants from Table 7, Robert, Carolyn, Jamie and Randy, relocated to Glen Campbell looking for a quieter, more rural community. Of those four, two, Robert and Carolyn, had grown up in nearby communities while the others relocated from Ohio. The majority of informants have lived in Glen Campbell their entire lives, married someone who lived there or returned to the area after living elsewhere. All informants have family in the community or in nearby communities.

While all said they liked the community and chose to live there for the benefits they sought, Dennis (Table 7) said he felt trapped. He was in the mining business and said he could not leave, adding, “If you don’t move on when you’re young, you don’t move on.” He has lived in Glen Campbell his entire life. He is now retired but subsidizes his income with a cattle ranch that he owns jointly with his five brothers. The ranch, located in Arcadia, has 90 head of cattle and the brothers have owned it since 1960. They sell the cattle locally to Amish residents.

Sarah and Belle have also lived in Glen Campbell their entire lives. Sarah was born there and Belle’s family moved there when she was in third grade. Sarah is retired and Belle works at the Indiana Courthouse as a clerk. Sarah did not want to leave her family, especially her mother, and so she stayed. Belle was able to purchase her family home inexpensively and so she also remained. Both women know many people in the community but add that the town is not as it was when they were young. They must commute for groceries, doctors and essentials. Both women reported relying on friends,
family and neighbors for borrowing food items and inexpensive items to keep from
driving for these items.

Four informants (Denise, Becky, Marie and Pete) married people who had never
lived outside of Glen Campbell. Pete, Belle’s husband, said, “I moved here for her. I’d
move anywhere to be with her.” He added that he likes the community, and is grateful to
many friends and family members for the help he received when he became disabled. He
never needs to worry about having his driveway plowed in the winter, or having coal
brought in for the furnace because he knows his friends will be there to help him.

Marie, Becky and Denise married men from Glen Campbell. Becky and Denise
both reported “that was what you did in those days; you went where your husband was”.
Marie was from the Pittsburgh area and was happy to relocate to the more rural area. She
has become active in hunting activities and gardening, which she stated she would not be
able to do in a more urban area. All three women commute outside the community for
employment, however, Denise, is employed for the Glen Campbell Borough as well as
commuting for a second job.

Four informants (Valerie, Heather, James and Natalie) returned to the area after
leaving for a period of time. Valerie returned after living in an urban area of New Jersey.
She was distressed about how she perceived her children to be responding to urban life.
Her husband remained in New Jersey and she returned to Glen Campbell to raise the
children. When her husband retired, he joined her. Until that time, the family commuted
to visit one another. Heather returned because she was able to purchase her
grandmother’s home. She had grown up in and around Glen Campbell, had many friends
and family members in the community and felt it would be a good area to raise her children. Natalie, who moved from Glen Campbell with her mother at ten years of age, returned when she was nineteen. She missed her family and the small, safe environment Glen Campbell had to offer. Her mother and sisters soon followed her return to Glen Campbell and currently reside in the community. James, Heather’s husband, returned to the community when they married but had lived locally all his life.

Robert and Carolyn relocated to the area but had grown up in neighboring communities. They chose to live in Glen Campbell for the affordable housing, need of a rural area and they both had family in the area. Randy and Jamie discovered Glen Campbell when visiting family in the nearby town of Punxsutawney. They were living in Ohio but felt the school was inadequate and becoming increasingly dangerous. They chose Glen Campbell because it was small and rural. Randy stated, “I wanted a tight knit community with no strangers. I know there are bad guys but at least I know who they are.”
Case Studies

Robert and Carolyn

Robert is 39 years old, married to Carolyn and has two children. His wife, Carolyn, is 34. Their daughter is 13 and their son is 2. Robert is a member of the Local 910 Laborers Union in Johnstown, Pa. His work is seasonal and he receives unemployment compensation when laid off. Carolyn recently returned to school after being laid off from her position. She receives unemployment compensation at this time.

The family (Figure 28) has lived in the community for nine years but both grew up in surrounding communities. They settled in Glen Campbell because of affordable housing, a love of rural area and for hunting. While they know most people in the community, they have 15-20 friends at the community scale.

Fig. 28. Robert and Carolyn’s Family

Robert and Carolyn’s Family
(Photos Courtesy of Carolyn)
Robert socializes daily with Timothy and Randy, and several times a week with a neighbor, Shawn. All three men live within the community. Robert and Timothy plow snow for community members in the winter. They also help each other with landscaping and vehicles repairs. Robert and Randy swap household repairs and general upkeep. Robert believes Randy and Timothy provide him with the most assistance. He says, “I cut Timothy a load of firewood and he fixes my truck.” Robert shares food, guns and vehicles with Shawn. He admits without this assistance meeting his household needs would be difficult and he’d “have to find a better way of doing things.”

Carolyn socializes at the community scale on a weekly basis with Derek (her father), Geraldine (her grandmother) and Heather (her friend). She relies on her father for transportation and childcare. She provides transportation and company for her grandmother. Carolyn and Heather provide childcare for each other, share food items and she values the friendship. Carolyn also shares food items on a weekly basis with Shawn and Marie and the two couples provide cooked meals for each other several times a month.

Robert is a member of “The Gang” (Figure 29), which is a hunting group consisting of 24 related and non-related members. Of these individuals, twelve live in Glen Campbell, four in neighboring communities and eight are from the Lancaster, Pennsylvania area. Two of the individuals travelling from Lancaster are former members of the community and are bringing their extended families with them for the hunt. Robert became involved in this hunting group through marriage.
The Gang hunts deer, bear and turkey. They hunt as a group; all participate in the hunt and processing, especially of the deer. Deer hunting is the most important animal, as it provides the most meat. Each member successfully shoots one deer each year and many get both a buck and a doe, averaging 24-30 deer a year. The deer are processed at Derek’s house in a shed modified for this purpose. All members share in the meat regardless of who was successful in killing the deer. Derek also makes jerky and bologna from the deer meat that is shared among the group. Robert has been participating in The Gang for fifteen years. This activity provides 5-10% of their red meat for the year. Carolyn states that even though hunting supplements their meat needs she still purchases the majority necessary for household needs.

Robert and Carolyn both rely on someone outside the community for assistance. Carolyn relies heavily on her mother, who lives in the nearby community of Cherry Tree, which is located 12 miles outside of Glen Campbell. Carolyn counts on her mother to help with childcare, provide cash assistance when needed and to provide food. Robert relies of his brother, Frank, who lives in Patten, Pennsylvania which is 30 miles outside the community. They rely on one another to help with family issues; Frank provides childcare and the men collect scrap metal to sell to supplement their incomes.
Fig. 29. Hunting Group in Glen Campbell, Pennsylvania
“The Gang”
They believe these livelihood strategies enable them to remain in the community. Neither expressed a desire to relocate to a more urban area without the help. They stressed the importance of staying in a rural area. They have several family members in the community and feel it is the safest environment for the children. In fact, all if Carolyn’s immediate family live in Glen Campbell or the nearby community of Cherry Tree (Table 8). Carolyn’s Family Index can be located in Appendix G. It shows that 8 of 11, or 73%, of her immediate family members live within the borough of Glen Campbell.

Table 8
Location of Carolyn’s Immediate Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alter Residence</th>
<th>Miles from Glen Campbell</th>
<th>Number of Alters</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry Tree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robert and Carolyn have developed a strong social network (Figure 30). They have links throughout the state of Pennsylvania, encompassing all three scales, which provide them with opportunities that more closed networks prohibit. This social network also has all four relation contents (Table 5). The hunting group, which has the largest scale of regional, acts as a Transaction Relation Content. The group shares information and materials needed to hunt. The local scale is Robert’s membership in the Local 910 Laborers Union which acts as an Instrumental Relation. They also have strong Sentiment and Kinship and Descent Relation Content. For example, there are four generations of
women in Carolyn’s family (grandmother, mother, Carolyn and her daughter) living locally. Table 9 indicates these relative types of Relation Contents and acts in conjunction with Figure 27.

Table 9
Robert and Carolyn’s Relation Content Connections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Alters</th>
<th>Relation Content</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Miles from Glen Campbell</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Type of Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sentiment</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kinship/Descent</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kinship/Descent</td>
<td>Cherry Tree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kinship/Descent</td>
<td>Patton</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Johnstown</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Transaction</td>
<td>Lancaster</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>Subsistence/Hunting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 30. Social Network for Robert and Carolyn
Randy and Jamie

Randy is 39 years old, is married and has two children. His wife, Jamie, is 36. Their daughter is 16 and their son is 14. Randy receives Disability payments after suffering a stroke in 2009 and Jamie is employed at Faught’s Greenhouse, which is seasonal-full time work. Their daughter works part time at Dear Haven Skilled Care. The children receive CHIP health insurance from the state of Pennsylvania. Randy receives health insurance from Injured Workers with Disabilities. At this time, Jamie has no health insurance.

The family has lived in Glen Campbell for five years. Randy moved his family from Cleveland, Ohio. He discovered the community while visiting family in Punxsutawney, Pa. He wanted a closer knit community with no strangers to raise his children. Jamie added that the school system in Cleveland was deteriorating and becoming dangerous. Together, they chose Glen Campbell because they have relatives in nearby Punxsutawney and liked the small, rural setting of the community. Although they have no relatives in the community itself, they have become friends or acquainted with 50 individuals.

Randy socializes daily with Robert and Timothy. They assist him with ‘anything’ he needs. This includes vehicle repairs, household repairs and child care. The men also plow his drive way in the winter months since Randy’s injury has left him unable to do it. Before his injury, Randy assisted Robert and Timothy with household repairs such as installing new windows for Robert and laying a new bathroom floor for Timothy. Even
though he is unable to help with the physical aspect of household repairs he still provides his knowledge, or human capital, and direction when these jobs need to be completed.

Jamie is grateful to Robert and Timothy and it gives her peace of mind to know they are checking on Randy daily. She knows how important it is to her husband to have someone to talk with because she does not want him to get lonely as he deals with his disability. Jamie and Carolyn, Robert’s wife, socialize several times a week. They share food items, help each other clean their homes and share child care, especially transportation to and from school events.

Randy and Jamie believe the assistance they receive helps them meet their overall household needs. Neither would relocate without this assistance. Randy stated, “Without the help from friends life would not be easy but it is not because of the monetary savings. It is what it does for you in your life is what matters. People need nurturing.” Jamie also believes that it would more difficult to survive in the community without this assistance but trusts her husband to always provide for them.

Randy and Jamie rely extensively on livelihood strategies such as hunting, fishing and gardening to meet their household needs. The entire family hunts bear, deer, turkey, pheasant, rabbit, squirrel and grouse. Randy also processes deer for others and receives a portion of the meat as payment. Randy and his children fish to provide food for the family. They fish local streams and lakes for trout, bass and pike. They also raise ducks for meat and chickens for eggs. Once a chicken ceases to lay eggs it is slaughtered and butchered for soup. These activities account for 50% of beef/red meat and 50% of fish that the family consumes (Table 10).
They also plant a large garden (Figure 31), averaging 18x30 feet, every year. They plant tomatoes, peppers, squash, zucchini, peas, corn, cabbage and cucumbers. They also grow their own herbs including rosemary, parsley, thyme and lemon balm (Figure 31). They freeze the squash and peas. They can tomatoes, pickles and peppers. Randy makes sauerkraut from the cabbage. The canning process normally takes four eight-hour days to complete while the sauerkraut is a weeks long process. The garden accounts for 1/3rd, or 33%, of their vegetable intake.

These activities save the family $417.99, on average, every year. Without these activities Randy feels his family would not eat the variety of foods needed because they would be unable to purchase them. He takes great pride, despite his disability, that he is able to provide this food for his family.

Table 10
Food Savings for Randy and Jamie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food Type</th>
<th>Average Cost</th>
<th>Percentage Saved</th>
<th>Family Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>$467.68</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>$233.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>$107.60</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>$53.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>$69.64</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>$13.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh Vegetables</td>
<td>$226.20</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>$151.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$871.12</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$453.13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Savings            $417.99

* Average Cost based on Food Spending in American Households, 2003-04
* Red meat costs averaged at 50% with a reported saving of 40-60% from informant
They are members of community organizations as well. Randy is a member of The Fee-Pennington American Legion and the Montgomery Rod and Gun Club. Each of these organizations holds a separate Kid’s Fishing Day at Lion’s Park, where children 12 and under can fish for free and win prizes. Randy helps with these activities by cleaning debris from the river bank to ensure the children’s safety. Additionally, he has permission to hunt on the lands on the Montgomery Rod and Gun Club in return for helping to keep the grounds clean, especially after functions. He says, “It is a community effort.” Jamie is also a member of The Fee-Pennington American Legion where she is captain of the Pool League. In addition, they are also members of the First Baptist Church of Glen Campbell.

While Randy reports he receives no help from people outside the community, Jamie relies on a fellow worker who lives in the nearby community of Cheery Tree. They use each other to relieve one another’s anxieties about family and work issues. Without her, Jamie believes she would feel more isolated.
The social network that Randy and Jamie have developed (Figure 32) has strengths but does not offer the scale needed to be considered a strong network. However, they are involved in many community organizations that link them with others who live regionally. They have faith in their ability to survive in the community despite facing underemployment, lack of health care and disability. Jamie, while reaching to touch Randy’s hand, stated, “I trust my husband. We’ll stay here because I know he will find a way to provide for us.”

Randy and Jamie lack Kinship and Descent Relation Contents (Table 5) as their immediate family lives outside the state of Pennsylvania and they have no reciprocal ties of help with them. They do have strong Sentiment Relation Contents in the community as well as Transaction and Instrumental Relation Contents. About these relationships he stated, “It is a community effort.” They must all work together to live comfortably in Glen Campbell. Table 11 indicates these relative types of Relation Contents and acts in conjunction with Figure 32.

Table 11
Randy and Jamie’s Relation Content Connections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Alters</th>
<th>Relation Content</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Miles from Glen Campbell</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Type of Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Sentiment</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Transaction</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Community Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Transaction</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Transaction</td>
<td>Arcadia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Community Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Cherry Tree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sentiment</td>
<td>Cherry Tree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Friend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 32. Social Network for Randy and Jamie
Becky

Becky is 52 years old, married to William, and has three children. She lives in Glen Campbell with her husband, her brother-in-law and her son. Her two daughters have graduated from college and reside in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania for employment. Becky is employed full-time with Indiana County Community Action Program in Indiana, Pennsylvania. Her husband works full-time for the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation, her brother-in-law, Frank, works full time as a prison guard in Indiana, Pa and her son, Brian, also has full-time employment.

She has lived in Glen Campbell for thirty-one years and her husband has lived there his entire life (54 years). Becky was born and raised in the neighboring community of Mahaffey, Pennsylvania. She settled in Glen Campbell when she married because that is where her husband lived. She also had family in the area (Table 12), her husband’s father owned land in the community and it was inexpensive to purchase the house. Becky’s Family Index can be located in Appendix F. The Family Index shows that 21% of Becky’s immediate family lives within the borough of Glen Campbell.

Table 12
Location of Becky’s Immediate Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alter Residence</th>
<th>Miles from Glen Campbell</th>
<th>Number of Alters</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahaffey</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LaJose</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Becky socializes with Belle weekly. Additionally, she is a member of the First Baptist Church of Glen Campbell and has four very close “church family” friends in Glen Campbell that she visits often. She also sees her mother-in-law several times a week. She borrows food items from her mother-in-law on a regular basis. She stated, “If it wasn’t for her cupboards we’d be running to town for this or that.” The nearest area to purchase groceries is Punxsutawney, which is twenty miles from Glen Campbell. Becky and her mother-in-law also provide each other with transportation. Access to transportation, Becky stated, is very important to those living in the area.

Becky is active in the First Baptist Church of Glen Campbell and assists in many of the community events they hold. At Christmas, all three local churches (Figure 30) in Glen Campbell hold a drive for a Love Basket distribution. Becky assembles the list of up to 50 local families who receive a turkey, several bags of groceries and a gift certificate for $50.00 for Tate’s Supermarket in Clymer. In June, the Baptist Church celebrates with an annual Strawberry Festival complete with games, food and music. The largest event held is the Friends and Family Harvest Celebration in November. Families come from Glen Campbell and surrounding areas to celebrate the harvest and everyone brings a covered dish. Becky believes these events help to show the community that “when the storms come they know someone is there”.

Becky relies on her mother, sister, and brother-in-law from outside the community for assistance. Her mother helps her can vegetables from their garden as well as makes jellies. They can beets, stewed tomatoes, salsa, mustard relish, and duck butter. They make elderberry, grape and blueberry jellies. Her brother-in-law repairs the families vehicles. She was recently given an estimate of $1500.00 for a vehicle repair but her
brother-in-law was able to fix the car for $267.00. She relies on these family members weekly to monthly depending on what occurs. Referring to this, Becky stated, “It depends on what is happening that week. Who knows what will happen? Living paycheck to paycheck you have to do whatever you can to make it work.”

Her family plants a garden every year, measuring 25x50 feet. They grow beets, tomatoes, cabbage, rhubarb, peas, yellow squash, and winter squash. They also raise chickens and have them butchered to divide among immediate family members. In 2010, they butchered 21 meat chickens and 10 soup chickens. They also raise quail and pheasant to release as wild game. Her husband and son hunt for deer and turkey. The deer is their main source of red meat as the family cannot afford to purchase beef. Father and son hunt and Becky and her mother are responsible for processing the deer. These activities save the family $665.29, on average, every year (Table 13).

Table 13  
Food Savings for Becky

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food Type</th>
<th>Average Cost</th>
<th>Percentage Saved</th>
<th>Family Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>$467.68</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>$0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>$251.56</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>$176.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh Vegetables</td>
<td>$226.20</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>$130.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jams and Jellies</td>
<td>$26.04</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>$0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$971.48</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$306.19</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Savings</strong></td>
<td><strong>$665.29</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Average cost based on *Food Spending in American Households, 2003-04*

The social network built by Becky (Figure 33) does not incorporate all three scales. In fact, she has the majority of her links at the community scale. Her employment
and family members that assist her are the only local links she has. With no regional links, her social network is determined to be weak. Becky is not blind to this and stated many times that they survive day to day in Glen Campbell, praying nothing happens that would acquire a monetary need to fix it. While she has strong Sentiment and Kinship and Descent, and Transaction Relation Content, she has weak Instrumental Relation Contents (Table 5) as she has concerns that state budget cuts will eliminate her job. This is a constant state of worry for Becky as she struggles each day to make ends meet. Table 14 indicates these relative types of Relation Contents and acts in conjunction with Figure 33.

Table 14
Becky’s Relation Content Connections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Alters</th>
<th>Relation Content</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Miles from Glen Campbell</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Type of Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Transaction</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sentiment</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kinship/Descent</td>
<td>Glen Campbell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kinship/Descent</td>
<td>Mahaffey</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Employment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite this struggle, Becky has no desire to live elsewhere. The family loves the rural area because they “are outside people.” She also stated, “Where else would I go? I have only ever lived with my parents and my husband. This is our home. Why would we leave?”
Fig. 33. Social Network for Becky
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

“There Really Isn’t Anywhere Else I Want to Go”

The residents of Glen Campbell face many struggles living in an economically depressed rural area and yet no informants indicated they would want to live elsewhere. As identified earlier, the challenges are access to food, employment and transportation. Livelihood strategies, as described earlier, allow all of my informants to stay in the area and to overcome hardships rather than moving to more urban areas that may possibly have greater economic opportunities. Additionally, all of my informants shared that they would simply find other means of survival if their social networks were to break down. At this time, even weak social networks are enabling people to live comfortably in Glen Campbell, even though they struggle to make ends meet.

The networks created in Glen Campbell meet the criteria Warren laid out for sustainability in rural areas in that they contain the five sources of capital: natural, economic, human, physical and social. The clear example of this is the hunting group referred to as “The Gang”. They use the natural landscape around Glen Campbell as ample hunting grounds. Each member of the group receives economic capital because they share in the meat and therefore have savings in food costs. The human capital is the knowledge of hunting and processing meat that they bring together. The weapons and shed built for processing are the physical capital and the network itself serves as the social capital. This network has a high likelihood of being sustainable, and even increasing in activity, as the community declines.
However, The Gang is not the only network, or informants, that were using all forms of capital. Randy, even though he is unable to do physical activity due to his disability, provides much needed human capital to those who need to do home improvements or repairs themselves in order to save money, which increases their own economic capital. Becky also relies heavily on the human capital of her brother to repair her vehicles. Without it, she fears she would not be able to pay for repairs leaving her without transportation to and from work.

Warren further supposes that members of the community must live within their geographical limitations, using the resources available to them in that area and making substitutions when needed. Becky uses local berries to make jellies and jams while her male counterparts hunt locally for deer. Randy and his family use the local rivers and lakes for fishing as well as surrounding areas for hunting.

Despite the determination to sustain these networks, some residents have no choice but to leave Glen Campbell because it is entering another period of decline. Population has dropped from 306 in 2000 (U.S. Census) to the current population of 285 (“Municipalities” 13). All places of businesses that sold essentials, particularly food (e.g. milk and bread) have now closed. Residents fear the young are moving away and no one is replacing them. However, a young couple with two children, not associated with this study, did move in last year but it is not enough to sustain the population (Sarah).

Houses are also quickly deteriorating in Glen Campbell, especially abandoned ones (Figure 34), and homes simply not being cared for (Sarah). Additionally, strip mines are encroaching on the playground (Figure 35) which has since been abandoned.
Residents believe people no longer have pride in their homes and let them fall in disrepair (Dennis and Sarah). Children also have no where to play and as they get older are becoming involved with alcohol. Valerie states, “My sons say the only thing to do here is drink” (Valerie).

Figure 34: Abandoned Properties in Glen Campbell, Pennsylvania

Abandoned Properties in Glen Campbell
(Photos Courtesy of Melissa Salsgiver)

Figure 35: Abandoned Playground in Glen Campbell, Pennsylvania

Abandoned Playground with Current Strip Mining Job Present in the Background
(Photos by Author)
Community Connections

Despite the current conditions, people feel strongly tied to the community. This may be due to the fact that many of the informants grew up in the community and have never lived elsewhere. However, a strong sense of community has been reported in coal mining communities and former coal communities independently by Marsh and Michrina and described earlier.

The social networks people have created, through their livelihood strategies, are based in a sense of community survival as well as individual survival. Informants repeatedly referred to their social networks as “community efforts” or “benefitting the community”. Informants did not always differentiate between their own livelihoods and those meant for community improvement. For example, Robert and Timothy routinely maintain side roads, as well as driveways, in the winter. Even though the side roads are borough responsibility, Robert and Timothy contribute to borough efforts to keep them clear. They assist in this activity without being prompted, and the borough is not negligent, they merely see it as a civic responsibly to help because they are able. When asked about the difference between personal driveways and side roads Robert could not see any difference, as keeping them both clear was what was best for everyone (Robert).

Some informants did mention that the community is not as close-knit as it once was. At one time, everyone knew one another. Today, that is not the case. More homes are becoming available to rent and families are moving in and out. Many of these homes are purchased by “outsiders” who are absentee landlords (Becky). These people are perceived as not willing to contribute to community and are regularly pointed out as
keeping the property unkempt (Becky and Sarah). In fact, one property that was rented was completely destroyed by renters to the extent that is now scheduled for demolition. However, residents worry the property will actually sit vacant, an eye sore to all and a potential fire hazard (Marie).

Livelihood Strategies among Informants

Hunting and gardening are the most important livelihood strategies for residents of Glen Campbell. Eleven of fifteen informants rely on hunting and nine of fifteen rely on gardening for food to varying degrees. Informants also provide services, such as vehicle and home repairs, for some cash or some kind of reciprocal service such as swapping child care. Half the informants said they relied heavily on friends and family to repair their vehicles.

Livelihood strategies among women also included child care. The three female informants with children reported that their children have never been in a private daycare facility. They rely on friends and family in their networks to provide this care. All three women were linked in providing this care and have shared child care on several occasions. The cost of private daycare is prohibitive to them and therefore helping one another in this fashion is their only affordable option. This form of mutual reciprocal assistance supports Oberhauser’s claim that women’s livelihood strategies reduce the pressure on overall household expenses as all three women said they would be forced to consider leaving employment to care for their children if they had to pay for child care.

In addition to child care, all the female informants reported the necessity to share food items. Many stated that they relied heavily on the cupboards of others. Marie stated
that she would be in the middle of meal preparation and realize she is missing an ingredient and nearly always can find someone to “borrow” it from. The exact item is not always returned and money is not exchanged for the item. The women know they can count on one another to provide in the future if they are in the same situation.

Further Study

Glen Campbell is in a period of mild instability and yet families and individuals are remaining. The drop in population of 21 residents in a single decade, from 2000 to 2010, is not a major loss. However, in a community so small, even this small loss is a cause for concern among remaining residents. It would be beneficial to continue to follow residents of Glen Campbell over a period of years to determine if social networks and livelihood strategies are sustainable and of value to rural communities. Possible research questions would be: To what extent does education play in the decision to remain in the community or relocate? What types of livelihood strategies did their parents rely on and did they adapt these or create their own?

While this study was able to show that social network and livelihood strategies help individuals in their overall household needs it was not able to determine sustainability of the community, and therefore the residents themselves, over time. Further, if young people continue to relocate, the population of the community will age significantly which likely also increase poverty and exacerbate the rate of decline.
WORKS CITED

“A Big Celebration At Glen Campbell.” Indiana County Gazette 5 September 1906. Print.


“Becky.” Personal interview. 16 September 2010.

“Belle.” Personal interview. 16 September 2010.


---. Local Historian. Personal interview. 10 February 2010.


“Carolyn.” Personal interview. 6 March 2011.

Cessna, Debra. Personal interview. 29 August 2010.


“Denise.” Personal interview. 29 August 2010.

“Dennis.” Personal interview. 2 October 2010.


“Glen Campbell- A Busy Mining Town Where a Year Ago All Was a Forest of Pines.” Indiana County Gazette 26 November 1890. Print.


“Glen Campbell Is One of Big Towns in Northern Section of the County.” Indiana Progress 103rd Anniversary Edition 1916. Print.


“Glen Campbell School Burned Friday.” Indiana Progress 3 February 1926. Print.


“Heather.” Personal interview. 22 August 2010.

“James.” Personal interview. 22 August 2010.

“Jamie.” Personal Interview. 20 March 2011.


“Large Store Burned At Glen Campbell.” Indiana Evening Gazette 15 May 1911. Print.


“Marie.” Personal Interview. 17 April 2011.


“Natalie.” Personal interview. 10 March 2010.


Pearce, Lisa. Telephone interview. 10 December 2010.

“Pete.” Personal interview. 16 September 2010.

“Randy.” Personal interview. 20 March 2011.

“Robert.” Personal interview. 6 March 2011.


“Sarah.” Personal interview. 22 August 2010.


---. Census Bureau. Glen Campbell borough, Pennsylvania. 2005-2009 American Community Survey. 6 November 2010


“Valerie.” Personal interview. 22 August 2010.

Virtual Museum of Coal Mining in Western Pennsylvania. 5 August 2010


Print.
Appendix A
Abandoned Cemetery in Glen Campbell
(Photos by Author)

George Bumba was born in 1865 in Padhorad, Austria-Hungary. He was married to Anna Bumba Watso, who was also born in Padhorad. They emigrated to Glen Campbell, Pennsylvania where George Bumba worked as a pick miner for The Glenwood Coal Company in the Glenwood Number 4 Mine. On October 28, 1895 he was fatally killed when he and another miner were removing a pillar. The roof began to collapse, and though he was warned to vacate the mine by fellow workman he believed he was safe, and was instantly killed when a rock struck him in the head. He left behind his wife and four month old son, who had just been born on June 13, 1895 in Glen Campbell (Virtual Museum of Coal Mining in Western Pennsylvania).

The old cemetery is located in a wooded area off of Jefferson Street in Glen Campbell, Pa. People remember an older gentlemen tending the graves into the 1980s (Salsgiver) but it has since fallen into disrepair. Several wooden crosses (lower left photo) remain with no names to attribute them to. No information was located for Hannah Williams and her infant daughter Martha (lower right photo).
Appendix B
The Glen Campbell Museum
(Photos by Author; Bank Note Courtesy of Sean Salsgiver)

The Glen Campbell Museum is largely the creation of Debbie Cessna, Glen Campbell Borough Secretary. When the old schoolhouse was torn down, which was built in 1910 and used as the town school until the 1950’s (Glen Campbell Calls for Help 1), Cessna salvaged school ledgers, desks, books, a science collection on coal (middle right corner photo) as well as other school documents. She then began collecting Glen Campbell memorabilia from friends, yard sales and other means. The fire wagon (lower left corner photo) was disassembled, repaired and reassembled by her son, Jason Cessna. The fire wagon has become a tangible source of heritage with the town’s history of fires. She was able to collect bottles and ceramic dishes when the sewerage system was installed. Among other artifacts are the Glen Campbell Police badge (top left photo) and several copies of The Glen Campbell News (bottom right corner photo). The Glen Campbell Comet began publishing in May of 1892 (Stephenson, “County’s”). Her favorite items are bank ledgers and a bank note (top left photo) from The First National Bank of Glen Campbell. The museum is housed in the former fire house that now serves as the borough office building. When Mrs. Cessna asked why she saves these items she replied, “My mother was a history teacher. I guess I couldn’t bear to see this history thrown away. I wanted to save it in some way”
The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was created in March 1933 by President F. D. Roosevelt for the “Hundred Day Package” in association with the New Deal to combat the Great Depression. The CCC created jobs to fight high rates of unemployment by planting trees, fighting erosion, building state parks and restoring historic places. To qualify for jobs you had to be an American Citizen, aged 18-25, single or unemployed with needy dependents. The program ended in the summer of 1942. The program provided thousands of jobs while providing an important service to the country. Pennsylvania was hit by the Depression in 1929. Coal production began to decline and many found themselves unemployed (Speakman).

A CCC representative visited Glen Campbell sometime between 1933 and the 1940. The exact date is not known. Newspapers would carry information on sign-ups such as the depicted in these photographs along old Route 80 at Glen Campbell. Cars lined the highway as hundreds of men desperate for jobs came seeking employment. Barely visible in the upper photo is a tent (marked by the red arrow) where Patrick J. Stapleton collected names for those interested in public works projects (Those Old Photographs 12)
Most mining communities had their own band and Glen Campbell was no different. According to local historian, John Busovicki, the communities began celebrating with Memorial Day right on through Labor Day (Busovicki). They would have parades (lower photo) all through summer as a chance to come together as a community and celebrate (Dennis). The Glen Campbell Labor Day Parade in 1909 had the sign “Hail to the Chief. Wm. B. Wilson. Champion of Labor” affixed across the street (Stephenson, Indiana Volume V 717). The Glen Campbell Band of 1908 (upper photo) surely would have marched in the parade. In 1901 the Glen Campbell Band won second place in the Pennsylvania and Eastern New York Band Contest. Their rendition of “Bohemian Girl” earned them 71 points of a possible 100 and a cash prize of $75.00 (“The Glen Campbell Band”).
Appendix E
IRB Approval Letter

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

July 6, 2010

Amy Salgitr
2002 Knox Way
Indiana, PA 15701

Dear Ms. Salgitr:

Your proposed research project, “Surviving Rural Pennsylvania: The Use of Social Networks in Livelihood Strategies,” (IRB No. 10-121) has been reviewed by the IRB and is approved as an expedited review for the period of July 6, 2010 to July 6, 2011.

It is also important for you to note that IUP adheres strictly to Federal Policy that requires you to notify the IRB promptly regarding:

1. any additions or changes in procedures you might wish for your study (additions or changes must be approved by the IRB before they are implemented);
2. any events that affect the safety or well-being of subjects, and
3. any modifications of your study or other responses that are necessitated by any events reported in [2].

Should you need to continue your research beyond July 6, 2011 you will need to file additional information for continuing review. Please contact the IRB office at (724) 357-7730 or come to Room 113, Stright Hall for further information.

Although your human subjects review process is complete, the School of Graduate Studies and Research requires submission and approval of a Research Topic Approval Form (RTAF) before you can begin your research. If you have not yet submitted your RTAF, the form can be found at:

http://www.iup.edu/page.aspx?id=91081

I wish you success as you pursue this important endeavor.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

John A. Davis, Ph.D., ABPP
Chairperson, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Professor of Psychology

[Address]

cc: Dr. Brian Okey, Thesis Advisor
Ms. Beverly Deitzl, Thesis and Dissertation Secretary
Appendix F
Becky’s Family Index
Appendix G
Carolyn’s Family Index