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RESEARCH  
REPORT

## COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES:

Coudersport  
Austin  
Liberty  
Emporium

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# COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES:

Coudersport  
Austin  
Liberty  
Emporium

by

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Massive economic restructuring and social change have impacted many rural communities and contributed to modifications of traditional means for meeting residents' basic needs. However, some rural communities' groups, citizens, and governments have actively tried to live with those changes and adopted new strategies for dealing with emerging issues. Through a content analysis of information obtained from key and action informant interviews, this study investigates actions, issues, and projects undertaken by leaders, groups, and citizens in four Pennsylvania rural communities: Coudersport, Emporium, Austin and Liberty. These communities represent typical places ranked on a typology of high/low active/success communities developed by the Economic Restructuring and Rural Community Transformation Project or NRI.

Coudersport, the high active/high success community, has a diversified economy influenced mostly by an aggressive communications company, Adelphia, and by Cole Memorial Community Hospital; both eased the town's transition from manufacturing to service industries. Government's role in this transition is evidenced by the expanding number of county related jobs. In addition, this community is notable for the large number of groups and citizens actively engaged in meeting needs that are not publically provided, including stabilizing community welfare, providing for the needy, and advocating community goals.

Like Coudersport, Emporium, the high active/low success community, has benefitted directly from the presence of government offices and agencies serving the entire county. Moreover, the people interviewed praised county government's efforts to work in close partnership with citizens and groups to provide social, structural, and environmental services. This community has not yet recovered from the loss of its major industry, Sylvania some twenty-four years ago, nor has it moved away from the "company town" mentality.

Austin, the low active/low success community, is organized around services provided by residents who exhibit a high degree of social cohesion. Their strong



collaboration has kept Austin alive despite the community's long history of natural catastrophes, minimal government influence, and fifteen-year-old DER ban on construction.

Liberty, the low active/high success community, is a farming, residential, and bedroom community to surrounding areas. Residents seem satisfied with their community and thus lack of motivation to improve community life. This "laid back" attitude is further shared by local government officials who have passively promoted the community's welfare. However, even in this setting, local churches are quite active and devoted to helping the needy and elderly and to regularly organizing community events.

All things considered, the four communities differ in the range of experiences and patterns of activeness that promote their well-being. Except for Liberty, the communities have tried to improve their well-being regardless of constraints on their actions. Coudersport, Emporium, and Austin, despite being different in type, have revealed themselves to be very active communities.

## P R E V I E W

Among the 173 rural Pennsylvania communities<sup>1</sup> classified by the Economic Restructuring and Rural Community Transformation Project (NRI) as either high/low active or high/low success communities, four were chosen for in-depth case study. The selection of these sites was influenced by diversity across communities and proximity to each other so as to minimize regional variations (see Appendix D). One site was chosen, for each category as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1. Case Study Sites: Four Pennsylvania Rural Communities**

Success		Active	
		HIGH	LOW
HIGH		Coudersport	Liberty
LOW		Emporium	Austin

The selection was followed by interviews with key and action informants in each site to specify local actors' roles and agendas in community restructuring and actions-oriented projects. These interviews also were designed to gather insights into how local residents and groups had participated in actions that could affect the entire community's well-being.

Prospective key and action informants were selected after a windshield reconnaissance or brief visit to the study sites to analyze physical structures, skim and subscribe to local newspapers, peruse area telephone books, talk casually with a few local residents, and generally attempt to get a feel for each community. Initial key informants were identified based on their occupational positions in the community. These were either senior local government officials, representatives of

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<sup>1</sup>Rural communities, as defined by the NRI, are an aggregation of minor civil divisions (MCDs) consisting of a central place (a borough or census-defined place), and surrounding MCDs within 10 miles.



the news media, local business owners, church leaders, or leaders of minority or civic groups. Names and addresses were selected from the local telephone books and from directories of businesses and groups obtained from the county planning offices. On the other hand, action informants were principal actors connected to specific and remarkable actions in the community. These individuals had been identified during key informants' interviews.

Interviews were scheduled by telephone with initial key informants a few days prior to the fieldwork. Additional key and action informants were selected from among people whose names had been mentioned by the initial set of informants. At the end of each interview day, interviewers used a form of snowball sampling to identify people whose names had either been mentioned or recommended at least twice by other informants. The newly identified key and action informants were then contacted the next morning for interview appointments. (See Appendix A for information about interviewers and the actual dates of the interviews.) Except in a few cases, all local informants contacted agreed to participate in the study. The classification of key and action informants interviewed in the four study sites is shown in Table 2.

A pretested instrument (see Appendix B) was used in interviews with key informants from the four sites to assess levels of community activeness and to estimate the role of local efforts during the 1980's related to changing structural socioeconomic characteristics of the communities. The instrument used in the action informants' interview, which also was pretested, sought different information. Its focus was the phases and roles of significant community actions identified during the fieldwork (see Appendix C).

In the remaining sections, the four communities (Coudersport, Emporium, Austin, and Liberty) are introduced as places of residence. Then, the success component of the NRI high/low active/success typology is explained based on the communities' sociodemographic characteristics. Finally, the activeness component is interpreted based on results of a content analysis of information obtained from key and action informant interviews.

**Table 2. Number of Key and Action Informants Interviewed in the Four Sites**

<b>Community Informants</b>	<b>Austin</b>	<b>Liberty</b>	<b>Emporium</b>	<b>Coudersport</b>
Town and County Officials	3	1	5	3
County Directors of Public Offices	2	3	6	7
Leaders of Civic and Cultural Organizations	2	2	5	3
Owners and Managers of Local Businesses	3	5	8	4
Media Representatives and Town Historians	1	2	2	3
Educational and Religious Leaders	1	4	5	0
<b>TOTAL*</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>20</b>

\*Variations were mainly due to interviewers' abilities to contact informants and schedule interviews before the fieldwork periods.



## **Presentation of the Communities**

The Coudersport community is composed of the following places: Allegheny Township, Clara Township, Coudersport Borough, Eulalia Township, Hebron Township, Homer Township, Keating Township, Roulette Township, Summit Township, and Sweden Township (see Appendix D). Located in Potter county, these places cover an area of 329.3 square miles (U.S. Census of Population, 1990). Coudersport Borough has been the Potter County seat since 1807, and is also the central place<sup>2</sup> for the defined Coudersport community. Potter County was established in March 1804 and was named after James Potter, who served as an agent and surveyor of the Sinnemahoning region soon after The New Purchase<sup>3</sup> (Beers, 1890). The county land is suited for both forestation and cultivation; most of its farms are irrigated by local springs and small streams that flow year-round (U.S. Department of Agriculture and Soil Conservation Service, 1958). Potter County covers an area of 1,081.2 square miles with 293 farms that account to 90,065 acres (U.S. Census, 1992).

Austin Community, the second site, is also located in Potter County. It is comprised of Sylvania Township, Wharton Township, and Austin Borough, which is the designated central place (see Appendix D). The community covers an area of 95.63 square miles (U.S. Census of Population, 1990). Austin was originally called Freeman Run Valley after the local creek that is fed by surrounding springs (Wolf and Higgins, 1976; Quarterly Bulletin, 1988). It was then incorporated as a borough in July 14, 1888 (Wolf and Higgins, 1976; Quarterly Bulletin, 1988).

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<sup>2</sup>Each community will be referred to by its central place.

<sup>3</sup>The northwestern part of Pennsylvania, including Potter, Cameron, and most of Tioga Counties, was purchased from six tribes of the Iroquois Indians for \$500 through a deed signed at Fort Stanwix, NY on October 23, 1784. In January 1785, an additional \$2,000 were paid for that same piece of land, to the Delaware and Wyandot Indians who signed another agreement, historically known as the New Purchase (Beebe, 1934; U.S. Department of Soil Conservation Service, 1958; Beers, J.H., 1890).

Throughout its existence, the Austin community has been impacted by a series of natural disasters. The most recent was the 1911 flood caused by a broken dam. This flood (commonly referred to as "The Austin Autograph") destroyed most of the town's infrastructure, private dwellings, and businesses; most importantly, it took human lives. After each misfortune, Austin residents have responded by starting reconstruction immediately. As a result, the Austin community has gained the reputation for being everlasting and refusing to die (key and action informants interviews, 1994).

Liberty community, the third site, covers an area of 171.47 square miles (U.S. Census, 1990). It consists of five contiguous places in two counties. Bloss Township, Liberty Borough, and Liberty Township are located in Tioga County; Jackson Township and McIntyre Township are located in Lycoming County (see Appendix D). Lycoming County got its name from a local creek that the Wolf Indians called the "Lycoming Creek." This heavily forested county (U.S. Department of Soil Conservation Service, 1986) has 803 farms that account for 123,999 acres (U.S. Census, 1992). Liberty Borough was designated as central place for the Liberty community, and is situated in Tioga county. Tioga county was established in March 1804 and named after the Tioga River which flows through the north side of the region (Elmira Weekly Gazette, 1855). Most of the land is in forests and agriculture. Commercial woodland dominates the county (70%); its 823 farms account for 212,477 acres of land (U.S. Census, 1992; U.S. Department of Agriculture Soil Conservation Service, 1981).

Emporium community, the fourth site, consists of Shippen Township, Portage Township, Lumber Township, and Emporium Borough, which is the central place (see Appendix D). This community is an integrated part of Cameron County and covers an area of 227.4 square miles (U.S. Census of Population, 1990). Emporium has been the county seat since Cameron County was founded in 1860. Cameron County was renamed in honor of Simon Cameron who was a successful U.S. senator (Beers, 1890; Beebe, 1934). The county has 250,000 acres of forested land, 43.0 percent of which are privately owned (the rest are publicly owned). As of 1992, the



county contained only twenty-five farms; the amount of acreage under cultivation was not disclosed (U.S. Department of Soil Conservation Service, 1985). Cameron County covers an area of 392.2 square miles (U.S. Census, 1990).

### **Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics**

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, Coudersport and Emporium households were the largest of the four study communities (see Table 3). Between 1908 and 1990, Emporium, Austin, and Liberty experienced a decline in population. By contrast, Coudersport's population increased by 1.73 percent during the same period. Rather standard sex ratios (between .93 and .96) were observed in Emporium, Austin and Coudersport; Liberty had the highest (1.04) (see Table 3).

During the 1980s, Coudersport lost 2.19 percent jobs in manufacturing and extractive industries for every 100 jobs held in 1980 (see Table 3). This loss is minor when compared with Emporium, which during the same period experienced almost 7.0 percent decline. Austin, however, differed significantly from the other communities in that it lost 20.0 percent of its extractive and manufacturing jobs, a rate almost three times that of the state. On the positive side, Liberty's 490 extractive and manufacturing jobs in 1990 represented a decline of only 2.3 percent from 1980, or about one-third of the state average loss in this category (see Table 3).

Between 1980 and 1990, the Coudersport and Liberty communities gained service jobs at rates (11% and 17% respectively) that were close to the state's gain (16.39%) (see Table 3). This growth accounted for 14.98 and 10.02 percent increase in jobs in Liberty and Coudersport during the 1980s. By contrast, Austin and Emporium's economies pale in comparison with the state's overall employment experience. Austin lost 29.48 percent of its jobs between 1980 and 1990, while the state experienced a 9.5 percent expansion (see Table 3).

Table 3. The 1990 Sociodemographic Characteristics and 1980-1990 Changes of the Four Study Sites Compare to the State of Pennsylvania

Variables	Communities				State
	Coudersport	Austin	Liberty	Emporium	PA
Population	7,185	692	2,554	5,547	11,881,643
Number of Households	2,699	266	917	2,269	4,495,966
Ratio of Males to Females	.94	.93	1.04	.96	.92
People 65 Years Old or Over	1,212	122	352	1,011	1,829,106
Extractive and Manufacturing Jobs	880	120	490	1,059	1,216,427
Jobs in other Sectors	2,183	112	592	1,164	4,218,105
Average Family Income	33,661	25,013	31,446	29,202	42,665
Poverty Rate	12.44	16.53	13.83	10.62	11.21
Unemployment Rate	5.81	7.20	7.12	9.04	5.96
Percent Changes 1980 - 1990					
Population	1.73	-25.03	-1.24	-13.02	0.15
Extractive and Manufacturing Jobs*	-2.19	-20.06	-2.34	-6.69	-6.87
Jobs in Other Sectors*	11.21	-9.42	17.32	3.20	16.39
Total Number of Jobs	10.02	-29.48	14.98	-9.89	9.52
Average Family income**	22.57	-2.15	21.62	1.01	14.64

\*Changes calculated as a percent of total jobs in all economic sectors in 1980

\*\*Changes corrected for inflation

The Austin community's poverty and unemployment rates in 1990 were significantly greater than the state's (16.5% and 7.2%, respectively) (see Table 3). Average family income in Austin was \$25,013 in 1990, 1.7 times less than the state of \$42,665. Although the Emporium community's poverty rate is about one percent lower than the state's, its 1990 rate of unemployment (9.04%) is half again as large as the state's (see Table 3). Despite the fact that Emporium's average family income increased by slightly more than 1.0 percent during 1980s, it still lagged behind the state's average family income. On the other hand, Liberty and Coudersport's average family income increased by almost 22.0 percent from 1980, a rate half again as large as the state's (14.6 %). Despite these improvements, however, Liberty's 1990 poverty rates exceeded the state's by 2.62 percent (see Table 3).

### **High/Low Success Communities**

According to the NRI project, success encompasses for successful adaptation or population stability, employment and income level, and maintenance or expansion of community services. Sociodemographic and economic indicators suggest how successful or unsuccessful the communities have been in their various forms of adaptation to structural changes over the past decade. The following sections synthesize the four communities' patterns of restructuring in regard to the high/low success component of the NRI typology.

Coudersport, the high active/high success community, appears to have managed to turn the corner on some of the more pressing economic difficulties which reduced the vitality of many rural places in Pennsylvania during the 1980s (see Table 3). The community also successfully adapted to changes in its employment structure, income level and population. It has made a relatively smooth shift from employment in the extractive and manufacturing sectors to service industries. Furthermore, the percentage increases in population and average family income during the decade exceeded the state's (see Table 3).



Liberty, the low active/high success community, was pulled from both sides (gainers and losers) in its efforts to keep up with structural changes over the 1980s decade. On the one hand, the community was unable to control a rate of outmigration significantly higher than the state's (-1.24 as opposed to 0.15) (see Table 3). In fact, the 1990 unemployment and poverty rates were slightly higher than the state's regardless of improvements in average family income and jobs in the area. The larger regional trend in employment, as measured by industrial diversity, was impressive. The community's loss of a number of jobs in the older extractive and manufacturing sectors was well compensated by growth in the service sectors (see Table 3).

These patterns of restructuring make Liberty and Coudersport examples of successful communities according to the NRI typology. Both communities are considered successful rural communities because of their overall adaption to economic change. Their success stories could prove informative for other rural communities whose socioeconomic structures were badly shaken during the 1980-1990 decade.

On the other hand, Austin and Emporium have not been successful either in retaining their population or in securing jobs for their residents (see Table 3). The local economies experienced major shocks during the 1980's as they suffered in both the traditional extractive and manufacturing sectors and in all other service sectors. The Austin community suffered even more serious hardships over the past decade. During the 1980's, Emporium lost almost 10.0 percent of jobs at a rate almost three times as large as Austin, while the state averaged a 9.52 percent gain in jobs during the same period (see Table 3). Consequently, outmigration, poverty, and unemployment have increased over the decade. Thus, in their various forms of adaptation to structural changes, Austin and Emporium are low success communities.

### **High/Low Activeness Communities**

Success is only one the factors of interest here; this study also considers levels of local activeness. It investigates community attempts in directing and

mediating structural changes that influence residents' well-being during the last decade. This was accomplished through the documentation of the key and action informants' perspectives on significant community efforts and changes over the preceding ten year period that have promoted residents' well-being in the areas of jobs and economic bases, tourism, recreation and celebrations, environmental resources, municipal services, and infrastructure, and human services.

### **Jobs and Economic Bases**

The economic situations of the four communities were described in various ways by the local informants. The twelve informants interviewed in Austin unanimously agreed that the economy was not good. The majority of the seventeen local informants interviewed in Liberty rated overall economic conditions in their community as either depressed, not too bad, or fair. In Coudersport, however, more than one-third (8) of the twenty informants interviewed described the local economy as being diversified and offering many opportunities. Emporium informants held divergent opinions about their local economy. While about one-fourth of the thirty-one informants interviewed thought that Emporium had a poor or slowly growing economy, the majority (17 out of 31) believed that Emporium's economy was okay. On the other hand, about one-third were convinced that Emporium had a booming middle-class economy.

Coudersport informants unanimously associated the primary forces behind all economic growth over the past ten years with the presence of Adelphia, a communication Company, the Cole Memorial Hospital, or the pure carbon industry. Adelphia, a communication company created in the 1950s, became a national corporation about seven years ago. Best of all from the locality's perspective, four years ago, it moved its corporate headquarters into Coudersport Borough. As a result, Adelphia has invested heavily in the town's recreational activities and physical appearance.

Like Adelphia, Cole Memorial Hospital was described by most informants as a very aggressive community-oriented establishment that offers quality service.

Operating in the community for over fifteen years, the hospital has expanded its physical infrastructure and increased the number of its employees. At the same time, it has actively promoted a better relationship between its employees and patients through home care delivery.

Coudersport informants also commented on some of the influences of the hospital and Adelphia on the community. Over the years, as a result of a constant movement of professionals around town and through Adelphia, positive things have happened. Most informants (12) believed that Adelphia's presence has heightened local residents' expectations in that many see it as a potential employer, offering good quality jobs for local people graduating from college. However, about one-third of the 20 informants felt that the presence of Adelphia and the hospital had helped to increase the prices of commodities and properties in Coudersport Borough. As a consequence, more of the poor are moving from the center and relocating in the county's most remote and rural places. This reflects the centralization of most development efforts, economic restructuring, and socioeconomic adaptations either in the borough or in its nearest towns.

Coudersport's economy also has benefitted from the presence of the pure carbon industry and Couder Component factory, which makes parts for motor vehicles. These industries have been in business for many years and absorbed most of the county's blue-collar workers. However, several informants commented that their wages are low, they are not too bad for people performing mostly routine jobs.

Unlike Coudersport which was able to retain two major employers, both Emporium and Liberty are still coping with stresses associated with earlier losses of their major employers. For instance, none of the thirty-one informants interviewed in Emporium could talk about the community's economy without mentioning two businesses: sylvania, the radio and tube-making company and the pressed or powdered metal industry. All informants remembered Sylvania's closing sometime between the late 1970s and mid-1980s. Many informants referred to Emporium as a "company town;" Sylvania previously employed almost 4,000 people and invested heavily in all aspects of the community. The informants unanimously attested to



Emporium suffering, both in loss of jobs and population when Sylvania closed. Fortunately, three informants also pointed out, Emporium actually has a very high percentage of Sylvania retirees who are making more money from their retirement and social security checks than they did when they worked for the company years ago. However, the reality is that Sylvania has left, most of the white collar and professional workers have moved away with their families. A large number of sylvania employees might return for retirement, but the community will never be the same.

Eleven of the thirty-one informants explained that after Sylvania left, some entrepreneurs from St. Mary's<sup>4</sup> emerged and opened a series of small plants to exploit Cameron County's available supply of raw materials such as lumber and metals. Two of these firms, Lewis Hockenbery and Pennsylvania Pressed Metal were the major employers in the county at the time of the interviews. The informants acknowledged that those entrepreneurs may have benefitted from tax breaks that enabled them to stay in business and be successful over the years. However, one-fourth of the informants explained that the community's employment base has shifted from predominantly white-collar jobs (with Sylvania) to predominantly blue-collar jobs (in the pressed metal industries).

Emporium has also been fortunate, explained four informants to benefit not only from the Emporium Foundation<sup>5</sup> fund but also from the knowledge of former residents who have returned to raise their families. Furthermore, the informants explained that over the past several years, the county commissioners and other public officials have worked together to retain existing businesses and to attract new ones.

In like manner, most Coudersport informants agreed that county officials have always used grant money to help local businesses stay in business and expand.

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<sup>4</sup>St. Mary's is a town located about thirty to forty miles from Emporium Borough.

<sup>5</sup>This fund is a bank long-term deposit established by very rich former residents for education and development purposes.

Indeed, the general consensus was that these officials have always made successfully concerted efforts to stand by local business in both good and bad times. However, some informants also criticized county government jobs for being the most underpaid in the community. According to one popular opinion the county government's constant reinvention had made it unusual for officials to serve two consecutive terms. Consequently, "controversy" is a possible nickname for Potter County.

Liberty, on the other hand, was adjusting from being a heavily farmed area to becoming a bedroom community to Wellsboro, Williamsport, Mansfield, and Blossberg<sup>6</sup>. According to the local informants, Liberty was originally a dairy farming community. However, in the 1970s the closing of the area's only milk processing plant displaced many farmers. About one-half of the informants interviewed (8) thought that the economy was still based on dairy farming. Unstable milk prices and a decrease in the number of active family farms caused a decline in the local economy.

At the same time, many people who sold their farms in Lancaster in order to avoid development relocated to Liberty because of its low land prices and rural milieu. In the midst of that turnover, two good things happened. First, a group of newly arrived farmers began to work with some native farmers and the Cooperative Extension office to establish an Agricultural Security Protection Area Plan.<sup>7</sup> Second, the farmers learned to cope with fluctuations in milk pricing by diversifying their farming enterprises.

While Austin has not lost a major employer in the last fourteen years, it has lost several small businesses, including a gas station, a grocery store, and a garage. The community currently has few employers: a hardware store, local cafe, sportsman

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<sup>6</sup>According to the informant a growing number of professionals and workers live in Liberty but commuted to work in one of these places.

<sup>7</sup>Under this legal plan farms would be protected from housing or other types of development.

shop, bank, factory, the area school district, and several independent lumber harvesters. Emporium Specialties, the only factory in town, employs about 100 people. However, according to company source most of the employees live in Emporium and Coudersport not in Austin. Locals apparently avoid the factory work because its wages are not competitive and because the workers are not unionized, which they believe has led to overexploitation by the plant manager. As a result, Austin residents generally commute to Emporium, Coudersport, and Allegheny for employment.

The Austin school district is the smallest in Pennsylvania. It hired 33 people to educate the 238 students enrolled in kindergarten through high school. According to one informant, the school is underfunded, so teachers have huge workloads. However, these low monetary incentives do not appear to be interfering with students academic performance, as indicated by a relatively large percentage (45%) of the high school graduates who attend college. "They experience culture shock in making the transition from our small community to a college campus," explained one informant. "However, the school encourages them to first start in a community college."

In addition to the school, there is the Austin lumber industry. According to Austin informants, 88.0 percent of the community land is state forest. Despite the absence of a single large lumber harvesting company in town, there are several independent contractors.

Unlike Austin, the lumber industries of the remaining three communities was growing. Coudersport, for example, makes use of its surrounding forests which are being aggressively exploited. One informant reported that investors are capitalizing on wood products. Some timber plants began to refine wood instead of selling their products in bulk to international market in Europe and Asia. Similarly, Emporium and Liberty's timber industry was also growing due to a high demand for wood products.

In addition to lumber, Liberty workplaces also include two major trucking companies, several independent truck drivers, and a factory. According to the



informants, the two major trucking companies in town also were growing while being "in a sort of competition" with a few self-employed truck drivers. For example, one key informant explained that the two trucking companies were "good old established town businesses" that could expand but chose not to do because hiring family members kept them from dealing with strikes.

Liberty's only operating factory, commonly called Wundeis, makes lingerie. Founded in 1967, Liberty Lingerie is a branch production factory of Wundeis Corporation, located in Williamsport. It employs between one and two hundred women depending on the number of orders received for garments.<sup>8</sup> According to a few informants, the factory has covered its employees and their families with a good insurance plan which has also acted to increase employees' loyalty to the factory.

However, the lingerie factory's major economic role seemed to better appreciated by the workers than the borough leaders and officials. For example, a few years ago, one-third of the informants (5) witnessed a level of disturbance in the community when Wundeis considered closing. "With the threat of closing, at least two people individually contacted the main company to voice their concerns about the closing. But, there was no concerted effort by any labor group or borough council to go to the company to find out what might be needed to allow the factory to stay." Fortunately, added one informant, this main employer is still in town but with a very unpredictable future.

## **Tourism, Recreation, and Celebrations**

### **Tourism**

Both Coudersport and Emporium have tourist promotion agencies funded partly by county grants allocated for this purpose. According to majority informants tourism is actively promoted through the work of Potter County Recreation

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<sup>8</sup>Orders for making garments are influenced by shift in demand in the international trade market.

Incorporated (PCRI),<sup>9</sup> Cameron County Tourist Promotion Association (TPA), the commissioners, and the chamber of commerce. Usually, the PCRI and TPA travel to various state shows and hand out brochures that advertised different local festivities. Although, Coudersport and Emporium's tourist promotion program may seem well organized, some informants expressed their frustration with the system. Informants felt that the schedule of tourism-promoting activities was just cosmetic. For example "nothing is new" was a common complaint for some of the Coudersport local informants. The situation was well-summarized by an Emporium informant who said, "People are happy the way things are and do not want strangers in town."

Attitudes toward tourism seemed more positive in Austin where individuals and local organizations advertize different local activities. Hunting and fishing are presently the most viable tourist activities in the Austin community. The Folk Lodge, a sportsmen tavern, has marketed a complete package including food, lodging, and entertainment to adventurous hunters and fishermen. However, one informant sadly added that the number of tourists has decreased over the years because of the many state environmental restrictions.

Austin Pride is an organization devoted to improving the appearance of Austin, and the Austin Dam Memorial Association is working to restore the area around the old dam so that it will serve as a recreational tourist attraction. This project has raised residents' expectations of greater investment in their community and improved quality of live. According to one informant's dream "What would be really nice for this town, would be to turn the entire community into a village devoted to crafts along the dam restoration area."

The seventeen local informants interviewed in Liberty unanimously agreed that nothing has been done to attract tourism to Liberty, primarily because of its residential and bedroom characteristics. However, both counties (Tioga and Lycoming) had undertaken several initiatives to promote tourism in the area. This sparsely populated and rural community, at the time of the interview, had neither the

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<sup>9</sup>PCRI is for the Coudersport community and TPA is for the Emporium community.

hotels nor restaurants needed to accommodate visitors. "In fact," explained two informants, who had moved into the community about two years ago, "this community is very conservative." Local people talk about newcomers, who are not completely welcome and considered primarily to be "flat landers." However, commented one informant who felt hopeful, Lutheran church members were working on a brochure about the community in order to welcome newcomers.

### Recreation

Several informants noted that the school and churches played major roles in organizing recreational events for the four communities including sports, plays, youth activities, and concerts. Usually these events attract a large turn out, with attendance by almost the entire community. For instance, Austin's annual high school graduation ceremony is considered an important event for the community. In Liberty outside the school the only sport activity is a baseball league supported by local businesses. Outdoor activities in the Emporium community are supplemented by some indoor activities that occur mainly in the newly equipped high school, which was originally built in 1929. Among the sport accomplishments that local informants were proud to mention are the following: Austin community baseball team was recently expanded to incorporate a little league team. The Emporium community hosts the State Baseball Little League Championship<sup>10</sup>, in addition to school football and basketball activities that entertain the entire community. Recently, Ski Denton, a recreational facility was reopened in the ski business in Coudersport because of PCRI assistance.

Liberty informants recognized the efforts of a resident to provide a place of entertainment to the community youngsters. About one-third of the informants discussed the opening of a community center last December by the owner of the only hardware store in town. This community center is basically a small game room

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<sup>10</sup>Five teams of boys aged 10 to 15 who are from five sections of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Williamsport, Pittsburgh, and Huntington) participate in this baseball championship. The five-day event usually begins in late July so that the winner can represent the state in the New Jersey Eastern U.S. Regional.



furnished with some pool tables and a snack bar where loud music is played. Several informants explained that this community center was opened just in time and it is very much appreciated by the entire community. The efforts by some fundamentalist churches to entertain community youngsters during the winter and on weekends were also recognized.

### **Celebrations**

The communities have many ways in which residents celebrate their pride and "good old times." Coudersport residents' sense of community is manifested in different annual celebrations such as the Maple Festival, Victorian Christmas, and Farm City Day. The Farm City Day is a one-weekend celebration of farming and an opportunity for interaction between townspeople and local farmers. The Old Home Day Parade allows native residents to express a sense of belonging, pride, and difference from "flat landers." In the same spirit of pride, two key informants expressed their gratitude vis-a-vis the Lumber Museum which contains displays on the lumber era. Other informants saluted a very active historical society that has tried to keep local history alive.

In 1988, Austin organized a parade followed by a day-long celebration to commemorate its centennial of incorporation as a borough. In addition to celebrating national historical events such as the Fourth of July, Memorial Day, Veterans' Day, and Labor Day, the active Austin fire department sponsors an Austin Carnival in May.

One of the most celebrated festivities in the Liberty community is the anniversary of the "Williamson Trail." According to most informants and R.C. Brown (1897), Williamson was believed to have founded the community when the road from Williamsport to New York was under construction in 1792. Historically, in constructing that road, it was necessary to establish depots for supplies at convenient points and also to erect houses in which to lodge families. One of these houses became known as the Block House because it was constructed where the road crosses Block House Run, in Liberty borough. Since 1976, Liberty organized

an annual celebration called the Block House Festival that is sponsored by the fire department.

The Liberty community has other celebrations. The community organizes a parade for each Fourth of July holiday. Blossberg recently held a Coal Festival in honor of the coal mine sources found in the area and the miners who lost their lives in the mines.

Among the annual events mentioned proudly by most Emporium informants were Tom Mix Festival, Super Weekend, Old Home Week Parade, and the fourth of July Parade. Tom Mix was a movie actor well known for his cowboy roles who was believed to have been born in Emporium. A park, a museum, and an annual festival have been instituted and named to honor him. Super Weekend and the Old Home Week Parade, on the other hand, are typical community celebrations where common identity, pride, and a sense of belonging are expressed, shared, and celebrated. The fourth of July Parade is a lively annual tradition cherished by the community.

Cameron county has also preserved an era of its history in a precious building called "The Little Museum" or "The Down Country Museum." In 1985, the county commemorated its "Quasquicentennial" or 125 years of existence.

### **Environmental Resources, Municipal Services, and Infrastructure**

The Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources (DER) is recognized for its strict imposition of environmental regulations. DER's presence in the communities is large; it monitors state forests and enforces regulations on streams and air. Most of the informants have identified DER as a major influence in the area. They agreed that the counties' efforts to protect the environment were often maintained because of DER's strict enforcement of its regulations.

However, DER works have caused controversies and restrictions that weighted heavier on some communities than others. For example, some of the frictions between developers and environmentalists have led to two ongoing lawsuits within the Coudersport community. Likewise, in Emporium one of the controversies

at the time of the interviews was deer hunting. Contrary to DER estimate, local hunters wanted a lower limit on the number of deer licenses granted in order to allow the deer herd to replenish. Eventually, DER completely ignored the hunters' concerns and proceeded to encourage deer harvesting by issuing more licenses.<sup>11</sup>

At the time of the interview, both Liberty and Austin were under a DER mandate that has restricted all construction until local sewage and water systems have been built. As one informant remarked, Liberty was suffering from a lack of vision; the community has not developed a long-term plan for building a sewage treatment and water system. Austin residents, however, are very hopeful about meeting all DER mandates so that some growth may occur in the area. The Austin community water system, which has replaced outdated lines and wells, was completed about three years ago. The community has recently contemplated building a sewerage treatment facility. At the time of the interviews, funding had received from the Farmers' Home Administration to replace "the wild cats' system by an hygienic one," as an informant best described the situation.

Local residents had also taken initiatives to preserve their communities natural environment and local integrity. Emporium informants were proud to explain that Cameron County won the "Tree City USA" award for six consecutive years, since 1988. The honor has been due mainly to the Shade Tree Commission which has been in effect since 1970. The Shade Tree Commission is a voluntary organization whose tree preservation activities are jointly funded by local residents and the borough government. Unfortunately, at the time of the interviews, community residents were highly nervous about the predicted invasion of gypsy moths, which would destroy foliage. Over the past several years, the county government has paid to reduce the gypsy moth population by spraying, thus mitigating possible damage by them. However, this past summer (at the time of the interview, 1994) the problem was predicted to be the worst ever, and state funds

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<sup>11</sup>In this case, the informants have mistaken DER for the Pennsylvania Game Commission (PGC) that usually issues licenses.



were not available to help. Instead, county officials arranged educational programs on handling the potential gypsy moth infestation.

About one-third of the 20 informants interviewed in the Coudersport community felt that the volunteer recycling program sponsored by several local groups was a success. The informants also reported concerted efforts that have been made to preserve the community from becoming a dumping ground. Once, MEDI, a medical waste organization and Brine Byproducts tried to obtain permits to build waste facilities in the community. Residents courageously stood together, protested these proposals, and won -- both applications were denied. During the fieldwork period, there was an ongoing discussion about locating solid waste sites in rural Pennsylvania, which generated a lot of friction as the community prepared its opposition. Recently, opposition to military flyovers "skinhead" gathering on a private farm led to petitions. Another informant explained organized activities undertaken by the community a few years ago to uncover strategies used by the Gospel Tabernacle Assembly (GTA) group. The community successfully displaced GTA members from their positions in different local offices.

In Liberty about one-third of the informants (5) said they either were not aware of or believed nothing important occurring with regard to natural resources. Two informants summarized the situation stating that "We are pretty laid back here. Everyone just let's everyone else live his/her own life." Apparently, citizen groups are only outspoken about preserving and retaining wildlife, and pristine, scenic areas. However, added one informant, they enjoy the benefits of using a county-wide landfill operation, and they want it to stay that way.

Unlike Liberty, a recently awarded grant will permit the upgrading of 21 homes in Austin. Presently, solid waste is hauled from the community. Since the borough has an ordinance against burning garbage, residents pay \$2.60 for each bag of garbage collected.

### **Infrastructure**

In general, people in Austin are very active in looking for ways to repair streets, maintain local roads, and replace an old bridge. In the past, two bridges

linked Austin to Coudersport Borough and connected one part of the borough to its main street. In 1980, one of these bridges (the Elliott Street Bridge) was closed because of instability. At the time of the interviews, this bridge still had not been replaced. The Austin residents were mainly concerned that if the remaining bridge was closed or not able to be used for one reason or another, the town would be physically separated from Coudersport. Local people would not have access to the highway to Coudersport, making it difficult to get to jobs and medical facilities. Likewise, according to Liberty informants, local government has been very active in maintaining the community's clean physical appearance. At the time of the fieldwork, funds were still needed to expand the two-lane portion of Route 15, which is connected to a four-lane route travelling north to south as far as Buttonwood.

The Emporium community is very up to date about municipal services and infrastructures. Since Sylvania left, the area has kept a well-structured community maintenance plan. At the time of the fieldwork, several accomplishments were praised while few issues of concern were raised. For instance, the county's sewage system had been expanded and updated, and sidewalks and street lights had been replaced. However, the community's privately owned water company is under a DER order of absolute compliance with regulations to upgrade the water quality; most informants agreed that the water quality was terrible. On the other hand, the informants held quite divergent opinions about the community's landfill and airport. Informants complained about the high cost of closing the landfill according to DER regulations. Reasons for its closing and the expensive procedures were that the landfill was filled; finished up to DER's standards; and, too costly to operate. The airport was closed for a number of reasons: a conflict over jurisdiction, a conflict of interest, a need to use the land for industrial purposes, or a failure of the land to meet airport requirements.

Coudersport's overall infrastructure (including streets, landfill, and sewer) was strong. However, during the fieldwork period, one of the most controversial issues identified centered on the county jail which is located in the downtown area.

Some wish to renovate the jail, while others favor building a new one. This debate has been on-going for at least two terms (eight years),<sup>12</sup> and has involved two different sets of commissioners. On the one hand, some informants thought that "as commissioners come and go agreements change." Despite the task force recommendation to build a new jail, new commissioners came into office and decided not to follow this recommendation. On the other hand, another informant spelled it out this way: "Everyone wants a new jail, but the commissioners want to refurnish the old one. The attorneys, about one hundred of them in town, do not want to drive out to a jail. They just want to walk across the street. Since the attorneys are running the county, the commissioners listen."

### **Human Services**

The provision of human services differs between the communities that are county seats and those that are not. Coudersport and Emporium, as county seats, benefit directly from county government offices which provide public/human services.

For instance, eight years ago, as a result of a concerted effort to reduce Coudersport government inefficiencies, all public agencies providing human services in the county were brought into one building to operate under one management. According to some informants, that plan has worked in ways that have saved the county time and money, since both secretarial and recipients' files are shared. However, most informants felt the human services offered are low quality because the county government has opted for the cheapest available alternatives, only enough "to meet state mandates." Fortunately, many informants mentioned, local churches and the Christmas House, a voluntary organization, have always responded to the needy. The House's principal function is to be a "Santa Claus," assisting economically challenged people in Potter County with food, clothing, and toys at Christmas time. However, the House operates year-round in addressing other issues.

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<sup>12</sup>Potter county commissioners are elected for four-years terms.



The county aging service, though stigmatized as a welfare program, is recognized as the area's best human service. Most informants acknowledged the great job the county was doing in caring for its large elderly population. Recently, a new senior center has been organized to offer not only meals but also a gathering place for the elderly. Moreover, the Pennsylvania Area Transportation Authority (ATA) bus takes the elderly to their doctor's appointments, mall, grocery shopping, and surrounding towns for sightseeing. Two informants agreed that the aging agency has treated senior citizens with respect, not because of the county plan, but because of the dedication of a staff well-trained by the former aging director. This director, a woman, was fired apparently for no good reason. The rumor was that the new director of the county's human services (a man) has been frightened by that aging director's competency and being the commissioners' friend, he fired her without fear of losing his job. Many residents responded by sending numerous letters to the editor in an effort to restore the woman, who has worked with the aged for more than fifteen years, to her former position. However, their efforts failed.

The majority of the informants felt that Cameron County offered a wide range of human services to the general public. Recently, the local school system benefitted from a state grant to upgrade its facilities for children with special needs. Four informants praised a retired teacher who started programs - "Freedom Week" and "American Free Enterprise System"- a few years ago that help prevent serious crime and substance abuse in the community.

The number of family aid programs<sup>13</sup> in the county has increased considerably since 1989. In that year, the community received both state and federal funds to expand and upgrade human services after a boy scout master was accused, tried, and convicted of sexually molesting a number of boys in the community. A large portion of those grants were invested in the institution of a family center that

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<sup>13</sup>Care for Kids, Teen Take Control, family living center, church support groups, family support groups, and the family center were created to help both parents and children deal with problems of abuse and divorce.

works in a joint collaboration with other local organizations to secure the welfare of local families and promote a strong family base.

Also in Emporium, a new fitness center was opened to serve all age groups. In addition, a primary health care facility operates with nurses delivering home care as needed and running routine cholesterol and blood pressure screens on a regular basis. Recently, an ATA bus was brought into service to help the elderly with shopping, meeting doctor's appointments, dining out, and sightseeing.

On the other hand, Austin and Liberty communities residents have access to all human services provided in the county seats (Coudersport and Wellsboro) and other nearby cities. At the community level, several local groups are devoted to serving people and meeting important needs.

For instance, the Liberty community has arranged to ease some of its senior citizens' problems by providing various services. The Endless Mountain Transportation Authority, a multi-county organization, takes the elderly to Mansfield or Wellsboro for shopping, doctor's appointments, or to eat out twice a week. In addition, the Lutheran church has started a Community Health Mission (CHM) that provides information about available government aid programs to the senior citizens (totaling 494). One informant explained that "access is a problem, but many people are too proud to use government aid." Furthermore, the CHM and Area Agency on Aging<sup>14</sup> have worked on health education.

In Austin, besides the Christmas House, local churches collect goods and money regularly to assist the community's less fortunate. Senior citizens (122 of 692 people) are well protected by the active local fire department, which has created programs to serve them. A senior citizen group provides dinner to the aged once a month. The Austin Hospitality Club raises money for senior citizens by hosting inexpensive but well attended community dinners. The ATA bus comes to the community on a regular basis to transport senior citizens to their doctor's

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<sup>14</sup>This agency serves multiple counties and helps to increase awareness of needs or services that can be provided to the aged population, but turns the responsibility over to local residents.

appointments or to shopping in Coudersport.

The Liberty community does not have a health facility; however, North Penn Community Hospital in Wellsboro has delivered home care as a follow-up service to post-surgical patients. The school received state funds to address drug and alcohol abuse problems among the students as well as to help the community's teenagers deal with pregnancy situations.

The teenage pregnancy rate is high in Austin but such pregnancies are not strongly stigmatized by the community. As one informant explained, "People here are very broad minded. No stigma is attached to teenage pregnancy because it is an expected thing in the rural society." Consequently, the school superintendent added, "I give them time off; they come back and make things up; they work with the teachers to attend classes as much as possible. Our main goal is to try to get them a diploma."

## **Summary**

In the process of synthesizing, this study addressed two broad questions: 1) how have the four communities' government officials, local groups, and citizens been actively promoting the community well-being, and why? 2) what type of forces make a difference in maintaining local actions and success?

### **Coudersport: The High Active/high success Community**

Over the last 14 years, the Coudersport community's diverse economy based which is based on farming, forestry, small business, retail merchants, health care delivery, crafts, manufacturing, government services, and tourism was supplemented by two major businesses: Adelphia and the Cole Memorial Hospital. Both have helped to modify the community's socioeconomic structure as well as the residents' visions for their futures there.

The Potter County government has always allocated grant money toward local businesses' expansion an increased competitive. County government has partially financed tourism promotion, mostly through PCRI. They have also found a



formula for saving taxpayers' money by providing a consolidated human service delivery system at the cheapest price.

Concerned citizens' groups were formed to oppose the building of waste facilities in the community, organized "skinhead" gatherings and overhead flights by military planes. They also worked to displace members of the Gospel Tabernacle Assembly from key positions in the community. The county recycling program is a joint effort of many groups. Both local groups and citizens have contributed time and money to support the charity organization known as Christmas House.

All things considered, the forces that make a difference in maintaining Coudersport's local actions and success are many. First, since the community is centered around a county seat, it has benefitted from the presence of government offices and thus more direct government involvement. Second, Coudersport did not experience large outmigration during the 1980's. It also did not experience a major shift in employment base, but rather a supplement of two dominant employers in the service sector. Third, the community has found ways to defend common causes on different occasions, and cares for its needy in special ways. Fourth, a sense of community and communion is celebrated through regular organized activities such as Maple Festival, Farm City Day, and signified in the operation of the Lumber Museum.

However, Coudersport's community actions cannot be accepted at face value. For instance, neither Adelpia nor Cole Memorial Hospital began as community projects nor have invested in Coudersport for the sake of building community. However, each has been involved in ameliorating different aspects of community life in order to secure the future of its business. Clearly, the larger community has benefitted from these involvements.

We should admit that Coudersport residents have been lucky. This community, though full of controversies, informs us that its activeness is mainly motivated by its diversified and concerned citizens who in trying to address government failures, such as service to elderly and the poor, are willing to take a leadership role in facing community responsibilities.

### Austin: The Low Active/Low Success Community

Over the last fourteen years, Austin has lost several small businesses, including a gas station, a grocery store, and a garage while DER prohibited all constructions unless a water and sewerage systems were built. This DER mandate has aggravated an already long recovery process from the 1911 broken dam that destroyed most of the community's infrastructure and dwellings. Consequently, the Austin community had low success retaining its population or attracting businesses.

Besides, the Austin community is outside the county seat<sup>15</sup> and thus does not have the local government's direct influence on its development. However, local groups and citizens have worked together to improve the community's well-being to the best of their abilities. First, the Austin school district, although under funded, has an average of 45.0 percent of its graduates attending college and works to ensure that all students receive a diploma. While in college, the students are offered support in overcoming culture shock and finishing their degrees. Through a special program instituted by the school superintendent, teenage mothers are encouraged to graduate from high school. Second, Austin Pride Committee is actively looking for ways to revitalize the community through problem-solving. For instance, a grant was obtained to replace the water system. Another grant had been received for installation of a sewage system. Third, the Austin Memorial Dam Committee has taken many steps toward the construction of a memorial park around the old dam's debris. Fourth, fishing and hunting are aggressively promoted by the community sportsmen tavern known as the Folk Lodge. Fifth, the Christmas House and local churches assist the needy. Finally, the active fire department not only takes care of the local elderly but also organizes annual celebrations for the expression of community solidarity and belonging.

Austin's high degree of social cohesion is reflected in the actions of its residents and groups. The community is facing many problems that county officials

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<sup>15</sup>A county seat is a center for major government, commerce, and service activities; providers of such services for the entire county are located there.

and residents are well aware of. However, the primary forces behind Austin area's overall well-being are the residents themselves and their uplifted pride. At the time of the interviews, we witnessed the undefeated spirit that Coudersport officials believe will never die. The Christmas House director expanded on this idea by stating that she has worked with people from all parts of Potter County, and has found that Austin residents generally prefer to be left alone to take care of their own.

### **Liberty: The Low Active/High Success Community**

Liberty is a farming, residential, and bedroom community to nearby places. At the time of the interviews, the success of this community was visible through its diversified farms, good or fair jobs elsewhere, healthy lumber industry, and two major "good old established town businesses" truck companies. Liberty maintained its success regardless of absence of government offices and services within the community.

The most significant local actions that have promoted the community residents' well-being are the following. First, although borough government was silent when the only factory in town, Wundeis, considered closing, few people called the main company to voice their concerns. Second, the owner of the community's only hardware store opened a community recreation center for younger people in the area. Third, local government has actively looked for funds to maintain the community's clean physical appearance. Fourth, community churches, especially the Lutheran church, have served the needy and elderly in special ways. Finally, the local fire company, together with local churches and volunteer groups, has planned and organized the most celebrated historical event in the community, the Block House Festival.

In general, Liberty is a very laid-back community. People are satisfied with the community and they do not share a vision for a better future. Informants expressed this laid-back attitude when presenting community problems as not being real problems. In a sense, their perception of the community's problems seemed to



restrict their planning capacity.

### **Emporium: The High Active/Low Success Community**

Emporium's economy is supported by medium side businesses whose hiring capacities, up to the time of the interviews, could not compensate for the lost a dominant employer, Sylvania. County Government, however, have tried to retained existent business and attracted new ones. For instance, the county government has given tax breaks to firms that enable them to stay in business.

Government also influences many of the community operation. It has worked with the Tourist Promotion Association to advertise the region's beauty, and different activities and festivities. In addition, it has partially funded the activities of the Shade Tree Commission. Furthermore, county government has shared residents' concerns about gypsy moth infestation and disseminated information to manage potential problems. Best of all, municipal services and infrastructures have always been updated, providing the community with well-organized, diversified human services. Finally, the government, local groups, and the chamber of commerce have been involved in organizing community annual celebrations such as Super Weekends, the Tom Mix Festival, and the Old Home Week parade.

Emporium's local groups and residents, on the other hand, formed the voluntary organization, the Shade Tree Commission, to protect community trees. A retired school teacher instituted Freedom Week and American Free Enterprise programs that have helped to lower crime and substance abuse in the community. Residents also were successful in uncovering a child molester. From these successful actions, a series of human services were developed to assist families with various needs.

All things considered, the type of forces that make a difference in maintaining local activeness and success in Emporium are good luck, the government and the people. First, the Emporium community, after losing its dominant employer, Sylvania, was fortunate to have entrepreneurs from St. Mary's take over parts of its economy. Moreover, the community has benefitted not only

from the Emporium Foundation Fund but also from the knowledge of former residents who have returned to and supported the community. Second, the government in Emporium works like a big family; people in key positions work in collaboration with each other in many community programs. Finally, the people of Emporium have been actively protecting the uniqueness of their community.

## **Conclusions**

Information obtained from the key and action informant interviews confirmed that the typology of high active/low active/success communities works within its created context. However, it also informs us that the community-building element of activeness (which was surfaced in Austin) could only have been uncovered in face-to-face interviews.

The Coudersport community is a high active/high success community because government officials, local groups, and citizens share the responsibility for promoting the community's life. Their decisions and initiatives have influenced the course of changes in the community. In general, their actions have served community well-being as a whole instead of concerns of some special interest groups.

Emporium is a high active/low success community mainly because of government involvement in diverse activities for attaining common goals. The community is unsuccessful covering for the lost of sylvania which used to be the major employer. However, Emporium residents, government, and groups have shaped their community to enhance overall well-being.

The Liberty, low active/high success community, only means that Liberty is a farming, residential, and bedroom community that does not have to work hard to satisfy its residents. Farms are diversified, residents have good or fair jobs elsewhere, the lumber industry is healthy, and the two major truck companies are "good old established town businesses." In a sense, what else should residents worry about when active local churches serve the economically disadvantaged?

Nothing else, as translated by the low level of local actions, than a nice quiet place to live.

Austin, the low active/low success community, is in fact very active community because the people make the difference in maintaining local actions. The community is still alive regardless of a series of disasters suffered over the years and the DER mandate against construction of any sort since 1980. Instead, the people are looking hard for ways to both survive and succeed. Thus, Austin's apparent passivity is cosmetic in many cases. Furthermore, passivity is relative. For the people of Austin, poor economic conditions are meaningless compared to the spirit of cohesion and the strong sense of "we" that makes the undoable look possible. Historically, these people have been animated by an uplifted spirit that has never permitted them to accept passivity or silence.

All things considered, Coudersport, Emporium, and Austin are High active communities which experience different level of success. However, Liberty is a low active/high success community.



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## Appendix A

### Information about Interviewers

and

### Interview Schedule

Name of the Interviewer		Date of the Interview	
Thompson		May 2-3, 1994	
Cassidy and Auer		May 9-12, 1994	
Liberty		May 17-18, 1994	



The interviewers, LUMANE CLAUDE and DARLA CHRISTENSEN, were graduate research assistants.

The interviews were conducted during three weeks in May 1994. The interview schedule was as follows:

Names of the Communities	Dates of the Interviews
Emporium	May 2-5, 1994
Coudersport and Austin	May 9-12, 1994
Liberty	May 17-19, 1994

## Appendix B

### Instrument Used for the Key Informant Interviews

### Key Informant Interviews

Community:

Date:

Time:

Place:

Title:

Length of time held this position:

- 1) Can you describe the local economy of this area?
- 2) Since 1980, have there been any significant issues or changes in jobs and income in this community by public officials, local groups or citizens?
- 3) Since 1980, have there been any significant actions concerning tourism and recreation in this community by public officials, local groups or citizens?
- 4) Since 1980, have there been any significant actions involving natural and environmental resources in this community by public officials, local groups or citizens?
- 5) Since 1980, have there been any significant actions to create or expand human services in this community by public officials, local groups or citizens?
- 6) Since 1980, have there been any significant actions to celebrate community history and community identity by public officials, local groups or citizens?
- 7) Since 1980, have there been any significant actions involving municipal services and infrastructure by public officials, local groups or citizens?
- 8) Are there any other issues or actions in the local area that you have not yet mentioned?

Can you think of anyone else that I should talk to about the community or issues we have discussed?

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Can I contact you again if I have any more questions?



## Appendix C

### Instrument Used for the Action Informant Interviews

### Action Informant Interviews

Community:

Position:

Length of time in this position:

You have been suggested by several people as someone who might give me information about .....

1) Please tell me, in your own words, how this got started, who did what in it, what groups were involved, and in general, what happened?

\* Actors   \* Actions   \* Groups   \* Dates   \* Resources   \* Outside Contacts

\*Involvement levels   \* Conflicts   \* Effects   \* New groups   \* New Leaders

2) To summarize what you have told me, I would like to fill in any gaps in my understanding of this action.

a) Who were the main actors? What did they do? What groups or position do they represent in the community?

b) What organizations in the community were most involved? And, in what ways?

c) What new leaders and/or groups (if any) emerged in this action?

d) What outside agencies and individuals were involved? And, how were they involved? (was extralocal money or other resources generated? And if so, how much?)

e) What was the total level of resources involved? Financial resources? Number of people? Number of groups? Duration?

f) What groupings in the community were most affected by this action and how were they affected (positively and/or negatively)?

g) What motivated you to be involved in this issue? Are you achieving your goals? Why/Why not?

Can you think of anyone else that I should talk to about the community or the issues we have discussed?

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Can I contact you again if I have any more questions?

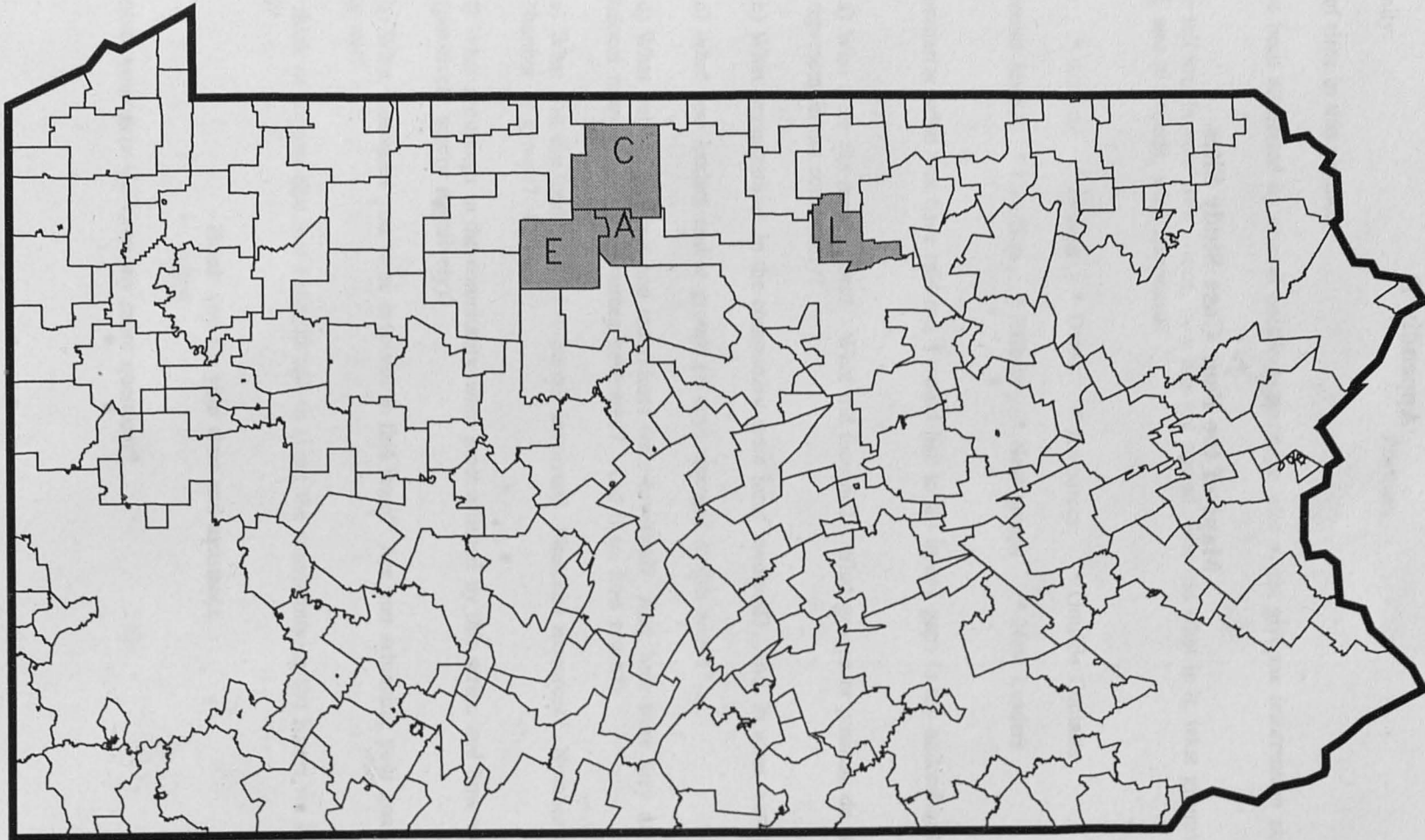
## Appendix D

### Maps of the Four Case Study Sites





## Pennsylvania Communities Selected for In-depth Study

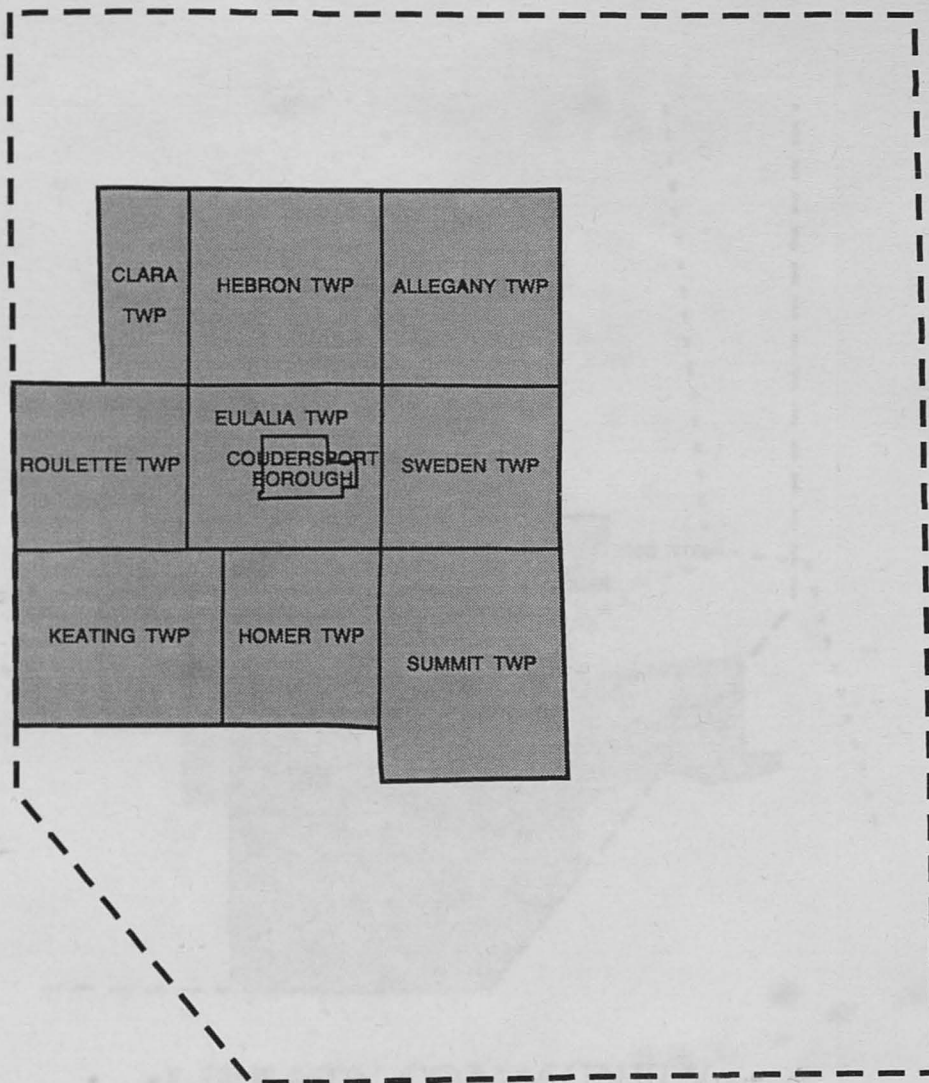


A – Austin

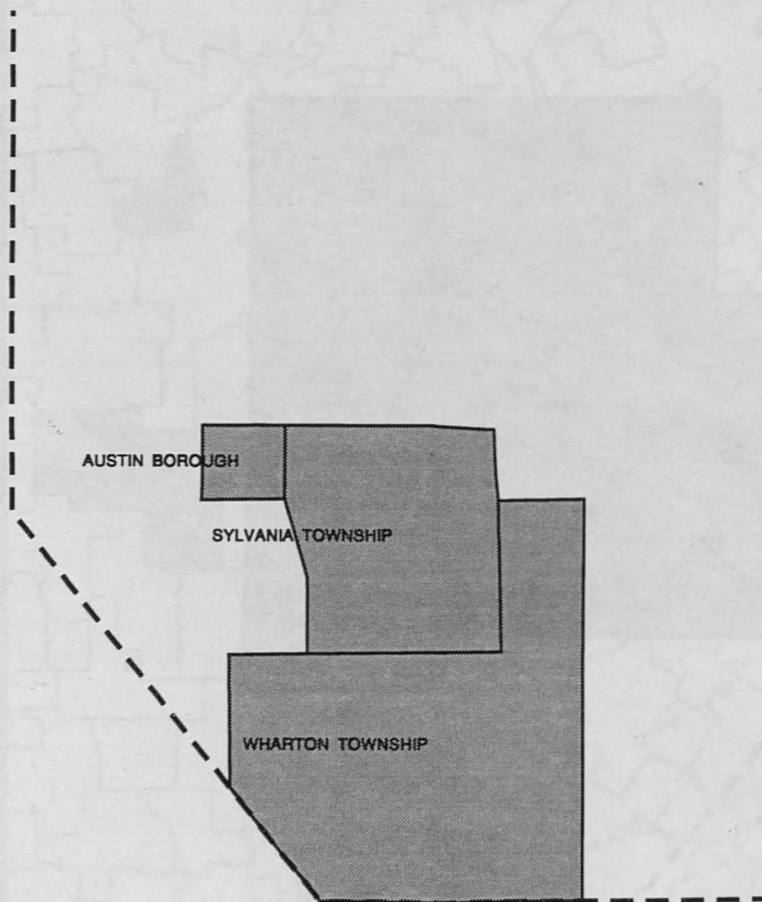
C – Coudersport

E – Emporium

L – Liberty

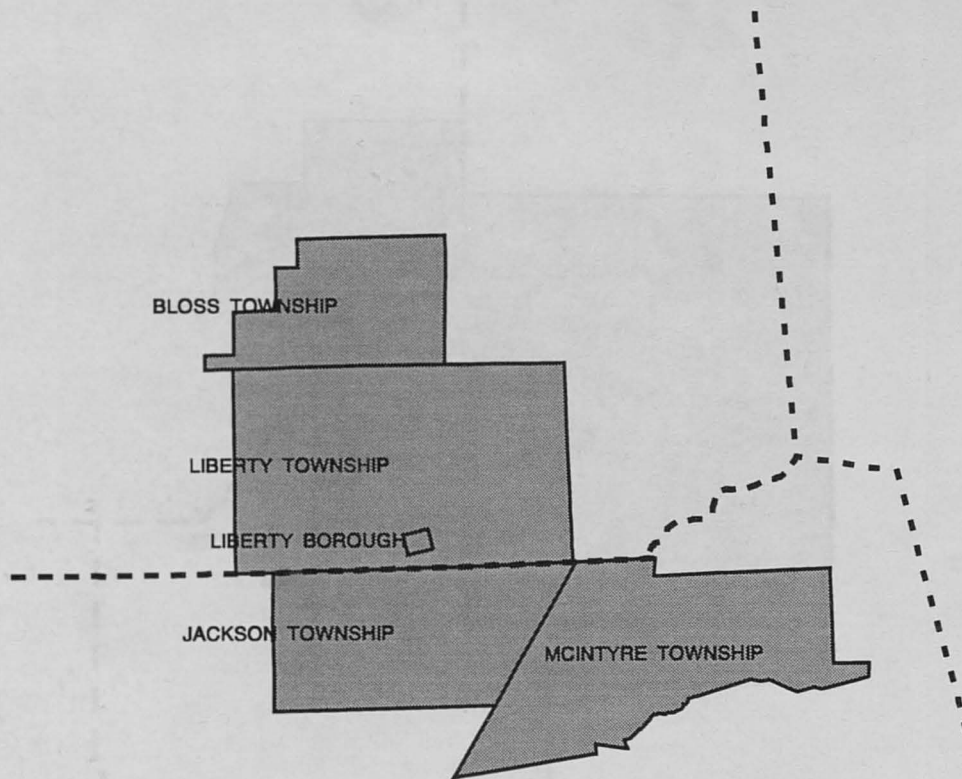


## COUDERSPORT COMMUNITY

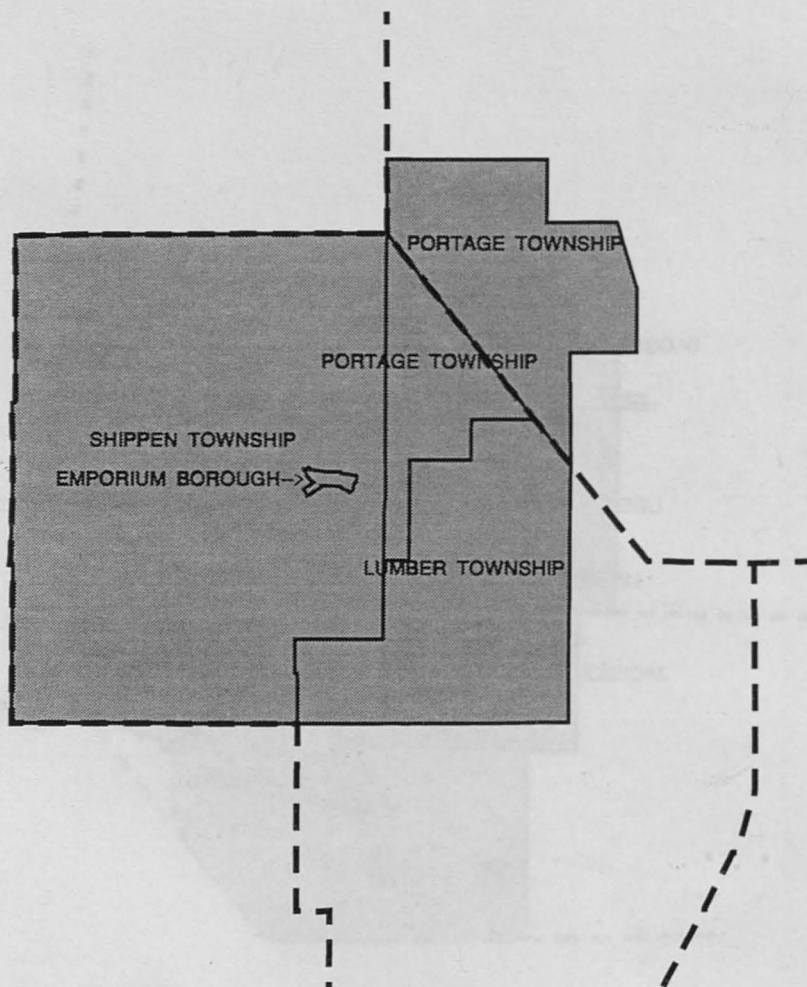


## AUSTIN COMMUNITY





## LIBERTY COMMUNITY



## EMPORIUM COMMUNITY



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