

Morganton is working with local companies to find new w handle textiles and furniture. Downtown Morganton is als growing with breweries, restaurants and BY JOSHUA KOMER

LOCAL

The loss of manufacturing once devastated Morganton. Now, it's witnessing a revival.

BY DANIELLE CHEMTOB

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Morganton is working with local companies to find new ways to handle textiles and furniture. Downtown

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shared evenly. Many North Carolina counties are losing people - along with jobs and opportunity. This series examines reasons for that decline. The project was produced by the North Carolina News Collaborative, a partnership of the state's largest newspapers that aims to provide deeper and broader news coverage to all regions of the state.

EXPAND ALL

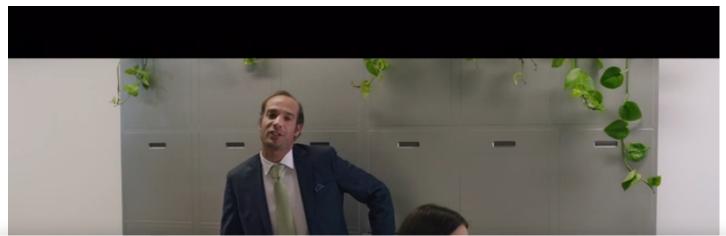
MORGANTON

Inside a warehouse in a town once at the heart of North Carolina's textile manufacturing industry, Bobby Carswell and 18-year-old Angel Rojas sort and bale fabric.

The operation, located in Valdese, is anything but an assembly line: the two work alone, picking up fabric waste from textile and furniture manufacturers in the area, and bringing it to the facility. Carswell's business, Material Return, recycles that waste, which is then used for furniture, T-shirts, hats or other products.

But Carswell's future was far from certain 15 years ago when he first started working in furniture manufacturing.

TOP ARTICLES



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"Some days you would go in and hope you had a job the next day," he said.

Burke County, and its county seat Morganton, was particularly hard-hit during the recession: unemployment reached 15% in 2009 as manufacturing, which the area had long relied on for employment, moved overseas.

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But a decade later, downtown Morganton is thriving. The brick buildings lining its main streets are brimming with new shops, restaurants and nightlife. There's even a downtown hotel under construction.

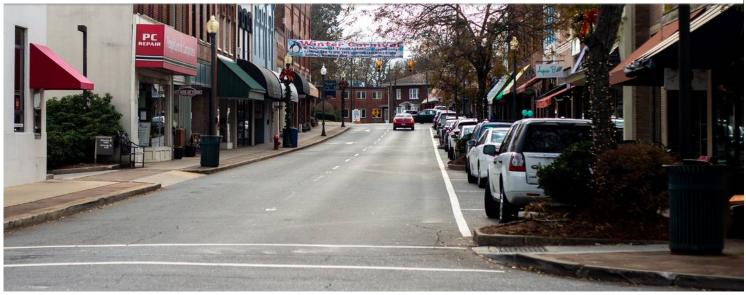
And not all manufacturing jobs are gone, though increasingly, the operations look more like Carswell's than a plant with hundreds of employees.

For Sara Chester, the area's success shows that there's more to communities than just the headlines that often portray despair and decline in small-town America.

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Downtown Morganton has seen a boom of small business in the last five years thanks to expanding manufacturing in different industries and breweries becoming a destination. Joshua Komer *THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER*

Chester moved back to her hometown of Morganton after attending UNC-Chapel Hill and co-founded <u>The Industrial Commons</u>, a nonprofit that helps support manufacturing businesses and launch new ones.

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At the height of the recession, Chester recalls attending job fairs where there were 1,500 people in line to get in.

Part of the problem, Chester said, is that employment was concentrated in a handful of large-scale textile and furniture manufacturers that were not locally-owned.

Some of those companies still have a presence in the county, but their workforces are typically leaner than they once were, and are increasingly relying on new technology.

Through much of the 1990s, there were over 80,000 people working in manufacturing in the Hickory-Morganton-Lenoir metropolitan statistical area, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Now, there are about 43,000.

Still, Chester said the area shouldn't just abandon the expertise its residents have in the industry.

"When you think about economic development, I think it's a lot about chasing things and chasing something new or chasing something that is not really who you are as a community," she said. "So if you already have this amazing infrastructure, how can you do both? You know, how can you chase something, but also leverage what's here and help them do it in a new way?"

To do that, The Industrial Commons encourages small and mid-sized businesses like Material Return, and promotes employee-owned models, which Chester says are key to keeping local jobs.

"When you're really rooting that wealth locally, and keeping the decision making and the power local, then there's less opportunity for that work and those jobs to be extracted out of the community," she said

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Angel Rojas, a worker for Material Return, pulls one of the clothing bales that is ready for processing in a warehouse in Valdese near Morganton, NC on Thursday, November 21, 2019. The small manufacturer has brought innovative solutions to a traditionally textile industry in their region. Joshua Komer *THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER*

AVAILABLE HOUSING SHORTAGE

Burke County lost nearly 2,000 people from 2010 to 2017, according to <u>a study</u> <u>commissioned</u> for the local board of Realtors (though the census data shows a smaller loss of 785). Just over half of the households are over the age of 55.

The figures mirror a shift happening in many parts of the state, where young people are leaving smaller communities and flocking to major cities like Charlotte and Raleigh in search of better opportunity.

But there are signs that could be changing: census estimates show that Burke has

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been attracted to the region the way they have to places like Charlotte and Raleigh, said Alan Wood, president and CEO of nonprofit economic development agency Burke Development Inc.

"If you're a builder where are you going to go?" he asked. "You're going to go where the prime market is, and where you're going to make the most money ... which is not necessarily in Burke County."

The study projected that Burke County would see a decline in the number of households under 35 between 2017 and 2022, partially because of that lack of available housing.

Solving the shortage is a key priority for Wood and other leaders, who view housing as critical to economic development efforts.

"You can't get that talent without the housing," he said.



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college after he graduated high school. Many of his classmates' parents worked in manufacturing during the downturn, and discouraged their children from going into the industry.

But the job with Material Return was much different than what he expected.

"When I first came in, I just thought it would be like another factory job — you know, where you're on a plant, doing whatever the boss tells you to," he said. "But here we're actually making a difference with our environment, in our community in general."

On a recent Thursday afternoon, a handful of visitors meander through downtown Morganton's shops and restaurants. Christmas wreaths line the lampposts, and local leaders are setting up for a winter carnival in front of the historic county courthouse.

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Mike Brown, owner of Brown Mountain Bottleworks, stands for a portrait. Business like these have opened rapidly in downtown Morganton in the past five years as the economy bounces back from losing a large portion of the textile industry. Joshua Komer *THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER*

Across the street, Mike Brown, owner of Brown Mountain Bottleworks, is invigorated by that new life. He purchased the bottle shop this year as his "retirement plan" after watching it grow in the five years it had been open.

"I don't think we'll go back to the old Morganton," he said.

"I don't know that we ever need to look back."



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DANIELLE CHEMTOB



Danielle Chemtob covers economic growth and development for the Observer. She's a 2018 graduate of the journalism school at UNC-Chapel Hill and a California transplant.

COMMENTS ✓



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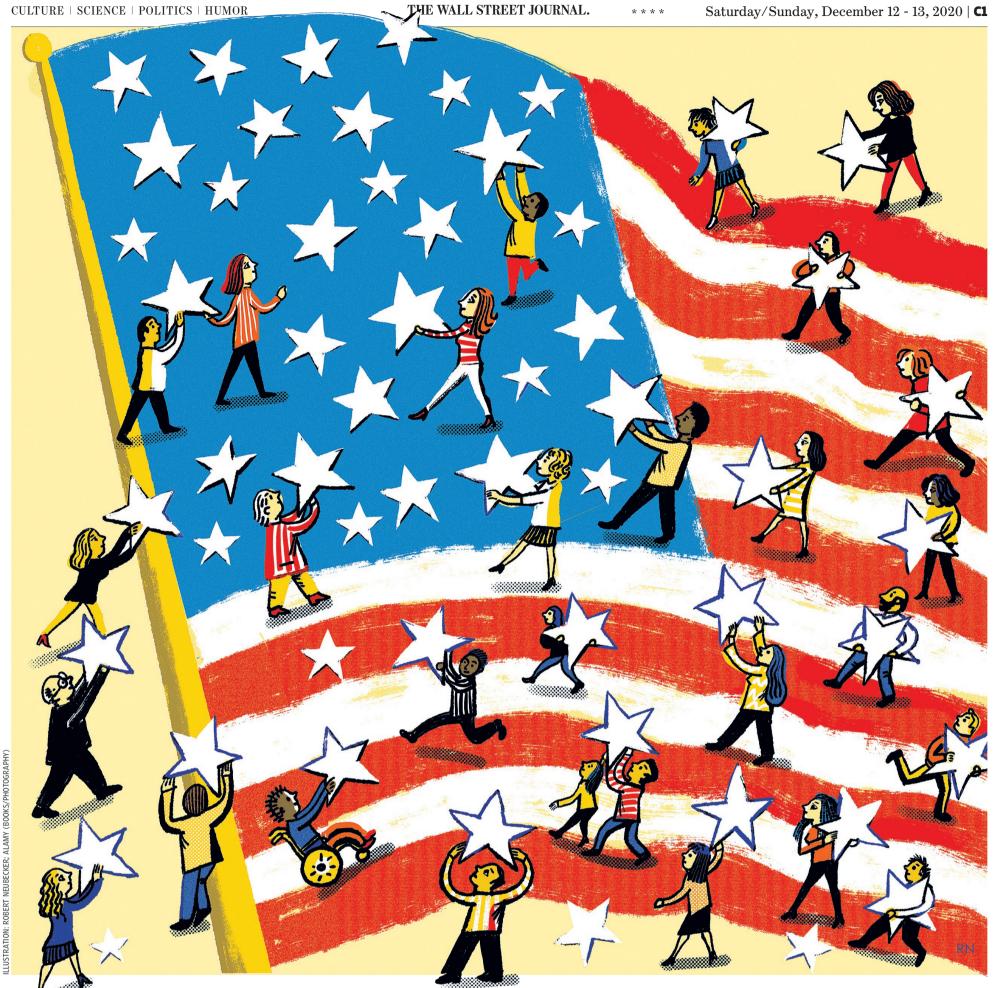
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Far From Washington,

Americans Are Finding Solutions

National politics may be paralyzed by partisanship, but local governments and institutions are coming together with ordinary citizens to get things done.

By Gerald F. Seib

As debate about police behavior raged over the summer in the wake of George Floyd's death in Minneapolis, the nation's elected leaders in Washington seemed unable to agree on any response, except perhaps to amplify the shouting.

In Kansas City, Mo., however, Mayor Quinton Lucas took the simplest of steps to build public confidence in police accountability: He moved to make it easier for a citizen to file a complaint about police behavior, in part by removing a strange legal requirement that any complaint had to be notarized. "Washington did not become a place for positive results in law-enforcement reform," says Mr. Lucas, who is a Democrat.

Similarly, while the national debate over abortion rights has escalated in response to Donald Trump's Supreme Court appointments, Kathleen Wilson, the founder of a program in Fredericksburg. Va., that provides homes for pregnant women seeking an alternative to abortion, raised enough money to finish buy-

ing a house for expectant mothers. She had enough funds left over to help young mothers unable to make rent payments amid the coronavirus economic slump. "I don't think of this ministry as being political," she says of her organization, Mary's Shelter.

"We try not to be." And while national politicians lapsed into fingerpointing over shortages of masks and surgical gowns

during the pandemic, two businesswomen in Morganton, N.C., organized a network of small textile companies in the area to begin producing half a million masks and surgical gowns for the region's doctors, hospitals, businesses and citizens. "In the early days it was like Rosie the Riveter," says Sara Chester, one of the businesswomen. "Everybody wanted to do their part."

There are potentially big lessons in such small steps. At a time of deepening national divisions and political tribalism, many Americans have decided to rely less on Washington to deal with problems and have turned for answers to local institutions, state governments, business leaders, their own communities and one another.

It's no secret that Washington isn't working particularly well these days. That may change under the Biden administration. The new Congress will be almost evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans, and there is at least a chance that the close division of power will have a moderating effect on both parties and

One notable

local success

has been

to lower the

volume and

temperature

of public

discourse.

empower centrists who hold the balance of power.

But we are just as likely to see more paralysis and gridlock in Washington and more of the rage that has recently dominated national political discourse. In that case, the need to find solutions to the nation's problems may well find expression elsewhere.

"One of my deepest hopes is that in the midst of all this noise and chaos

and lack of trust people will say, 'Yes, I'm going to vote on who's going to Washington, but I'm going to make my neighborhood, the five blocks around where I live.

> my community, the best possible place to live," says Sen. Marco Rubio, a Florida Republican.

The idea of looking downstream for action and answers has long been a basic tenet of conservatives, who tend to distrust centralized power. But Robert Putnam, the former dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and a self-described "good liberal Democrat," says that localism is increasingly em-Please turn to the next page



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Continued from the prior page

braced by those on the left as well. "Probably 30 years ago decentral-

ization was kind of a right-wing view," says Mr. Putnam, who, along with Shaylyn Romney Garrett, is the author of a new book, "The Upswing," which explores how the nation's social and communal fabric has frayed over the decades and how it might be restored. In the 1960s, segregationists battled the federal government by invoking "states' rights" to fend off efforts to integrate schools and other institutions, while liberals embraced centralized power as a way to force reform.

Now, says Mr. Putnam, "There's been a change in that view on the left. Increasing numbers of people on

> **'State** governments are working much better than the federal government is. The reason is basically they just have to deal with practical problems.

> > YUVAL LEVIN Editor, National Affairs

the left also think that decentralization would be a good idea." In the last few years, a growing number of young liberals have switched their focus from national to local politics, seeing work in their own communities as a better way to expand the stockpile of affordable housing, raise wages for low-income people and address racial tensions.

There are many issues, obviously, that can be handled only at the national level. Only Washington can muster the kind of national response needed to confront a rising China, for example, or to effectively distribute millions of coronavirus vaccines.

But Washington itself might benefit if people weren't turning to it to solve more problems than it can handle in its current fractured state. If the capital's leaders were to focus on those things that the national government is best suited to tackle, they might do those things better. It could be the start of a virtuous cycle.

Some of the poison of the national political debate during the Trump years has seeped down into the grassroots, making it harder to find comity there as well. Debates have raged within states and cities, even within families, over whether to wear masks to fight the pandemic and whether to restrict or close businesses

and houses of worship. Local election officials are being threatened by fellow citizens over the presidential vote count. As more issues have become nationalized, they have been sucked into the vortex of bitter and unproductive national debate.

"I don't even know what it means to encourage people to act locally," says the conservative writer Rod Dreher, who lives in Louisiana. "I talk to people on the left and right, and they all are obsessed with national politics. I fear we are losing what it takes to make these local connections."

Yet a look around the country shows achievements at the grassroots on matters that seem beyond resolution in Washington-starting with lowering the volume and temperature in public discourse.

In Duluth, Minn., a city of about 85,000 on Lake Superior, community leaders were so alarmed about the tenor of public discourse that in 2003 they decided to launch a program called "Speak Your Peace: The Civility Project," which established ground rules for those taking part in debates about local issues—a system that community leaders credit with working through difficult debates over municipal belt-tightening and a new

ordinance on paid sick leave. Since then, requests from other

communities seeking to replicate the program have poured in, and Duluth leaders have shared their experience with more than 100 communities from coast to coast. "We have been especially busy in the last few years," says Rob Karwath, former executive editor of the Duluth News Tribune and now a consultant to the Speak Your Peace project.

One community that picked up the program was the town of Sisters, Ore., which found itself several years ago falling into angry divisions as it grappled with a split between oldtime residents and newer arrivals over how to handle growth. So in 2016 it adopted the Speak Your Peace format to lower the temperature.

And this year, it has found that the program has helped deal with an entirely new 2020 issue: relations between the community and law enforcement. Sisters had no desire to slip into the kind of tensions between police and community that have rocked Portland up the road. One step it took to avoid that fate was to host this month an online forum in which citizens could talk directly with local police officers.

"It was awesome," says Amy Burgstahler, a co-founder of the Citizens4Community organization that hosted the meeting. "People were, like, 'Wow, I'm feeling more at ease' ... It was never our goal to send a specific message. Our goal was to let people talk."

Sometimes the steps that have helped lower tensions between citizens and police are taken at an even more granular level. Sen. Rubio points to the example of a Miami police officer who was hit over the head with a skateboard swung by a Black teenager during a heated summer protest. The incident could have become another episode in the monthslong narrative of tension between police and the Black Lives Matter movement.

Instead, the police officer, Raymon



year, which forces compromises.

REVIEW

There is a fine American tradition of policy innovation at the state and local level. The spread of universal high-school education was fueled by local community activism early in the 20th century, a movement extended in recent years to include free community-college education spearheaded by leaders such as Chicago's former Democratic Mayor Rahm Emanuel and Tennessee's former Republican Gov. Bill Haslam.

The Pew Charitable Trusts has begun issuing a series of case studies called "States of Innovation," which highlight examples of state governvide more services.

Certainly states and governors have had less luck finding consensus on steps to deal with the coronavirus, as Democratic governors have been attacked by those who think they have gone too far in shutting down businesses and houses of worship and Republicans have been excoriated by those who think they have done too little.

Yet even within that maelstrom, some have found practical solutions. Mr. Levin points to his home state of Maryland, where Republican Gov. Larry Hogan arrived at an approach to reopening schools that pushed the In July, a worker at Diamond Brand Gear in Asheville, N.C., stands with boxes of surgical gowns produced for the state's Emergency Stockpile.

down the threat) and how big a response to muster (Sen. Bernie Sanders advocates an economy-altering, multi-trillion-dollar Green New Deal), businesses and local governments are stepping into the breach with modest steps of their own.

JEA, the city-owned utility of Jacksonville, Fla., announced this summer an agreement to shut down a coal-fired electric generating unit in nearby Georgia and to purchase power produced elsewhere by Florida Power & Light Co. The company presented the decision as a hardheaded business move that will save more than \$200 million by switching to natural gas-but also one that will reduce carbon emissions by 1.3 million tons a year by 2024 and open the door for a future move to solar energy.

Similarly, the city of Cincinnati announced late last year that, in a push for more renewable energy, it plans to construct the largest municipal solar array in the country. The new solar farm, about 40 miles east of the city's downtown, will span the equivalent of 750 football fields and contain more than 310,000 solar panels. "Cities need to take action, and that's exactly what Cincinnati is doing," said Mayor John Cranley, a Democrat.

Urgent community needs have also driven businesses to take more direct action, as with the response to the coronavirus in western North Carolina, a region long driven by textile and furniture manufacturers. The seed was planted more than a decade ago when Molly Hemstreet formed her own employee-owned textile company, Opportunity Threads, with one sewing machine and two employees in Morganton, a town of about 17,000. It now has expanded to more than 60 employees and a 30,000square-foot building.

But the region's textile and furniture plants were being hammered by foreign competition, and large firms were taking manufacturing overseas. So Ms. Hemstreet and Ms. Chester formed The Industrial Commons, a cooperative that supports small, locally owned textile and furniture manufacturers by helping them to solve similar problems and work to-

When a local doctor called early in the coronavirus pandemic to say that medical providers were worried about being prepared when the pandemic reached their region, a network

> **State-level** initiatives have been successful at bringing broadband service to laid-off workers, treating opioid abuse and expanding access to dental care.



Above: Mayor Quinton Lucas listens to demonstrators in Kansas City, Mo., May 31. Right: Bella Jimenez and her children at a home provided by Mary's Shelter in Fredericksburg, Va., June 10.

Washington, agreed to meet with the 17-year-old who struck him, and the two started a friendship that has evolved into visits with the teenager's family and attendance at his high-school football games. "That police officer is now that young man's mentor," says Mr. Rubio. "That police officer and what he's doing is 50 times more impactful than any law that you could pass."

Decentralization "can lower the temperature of our politics," says Yuval Levin, a former aide to President George W. Bush and now editor of the conservative journal National Affairs. He adds: "State governments are working much better than the federal government is. The reason is basically they just have to deal with practical problems. At the national level, our politics has gotten used to organizing itself around big, broad debates, and those are hard to resolve." Among other things, state governments, unlike the federal government, have to balance their budgets every

ments successfully tackling practical problems. These include the state of Colorado combining with a county hit by mine layoffs to provide improved broadband service, bringing in both jobs and better prospects for economic development; Indiana's expansion of treatment for opioid abuse to ensure that treatment is no more than an hour's drive away for anyone in the state; and laws passed in more than a dozen states to deal with a shortage of dentists in rural areas by authorizing dental therapists to pro-

decision to lower levels of government. He allowed counties to decide for themselves, while also declaring that private schools could make their own decisions regardless of what their home county decided-an approach that has allowed experiments in different approaches.

Another issue where local action is sometimes proving easier than national efforts is climate change. While leaders in Washington continue to fight over the seriousness of the problem (President Trump plays

was in place to respond by producing face masks and other protective gear. No one company had to turn all its productive capacity over to personal protective equipment; instead, all produced some. Masks and surgical gowns went to the local hospital, to the local $\stackrel{\mbox{\ensuremath{\omega}}}{\exists}$ school district and eventu- ≥ ally out across the state under a government contract. "It gave people an incredible sense of purpose." $\stackrel{>}{ ext{o}}$ says Ms. Hemstreet.

Mayor Lucas in Kansas ₹ City, who is awaiting final =police commission approval for his plan to reform the complaint process, says that the ability to make a direct impact is

what led him back home and into local government in the first place. He grew up in Kansas City, then went \(\) east to get a law degree at Cornell. "My friends thought I would practice

in New York or Washington," he says. But an internship in Washington altered his view of that path. "You g started to see how much friction there was in every piece of legislation, and you saw that it would paralyze the nation." Back in Kansas City, he says, "I saw people trying to do things."