Boom, Bust, Exodus: The Rust Belt, the Maquilas, and a Tale of Two Cities

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structural position, and gender” (90) provide them the means to build networks that span the nine communities located in the United States and Canada. Just as important, because of the emphasis on cultural and social connections grounded in language revitalization organizations and the annual Potawatomi Gathering that started in 1994, this evolving Potawatomi nationhood has not competed with the political and economic interests of those nine distinct sovereign governments.

This is a critical point that rests at the core of the book. Wetzel emphasizes that “changing economic and political circumstances, rather than being directly causal, create conditions of possibility for the Potawatomi Nation to develop” (72). The Potawatomis are building a nation that relies on their history and culture, not one built on external notions of economic and political institutions. Wetzel directly confronts this idea near the end of the book when he writes that at “the community level, the Potawatomi national renaissance is a shift away from the arbitrary imposition of ‘tribes’ by non-Native governments” (137). Yet in this relatively brief book he does not pursue that idea in much depth. It would be particularly interesting to put his analysis in conversation with Glen Couthard’s recent study, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (2014).

Wetzel developed his analysis in collaboration with the Potawatomis, and the inclusion of their responses to his analysis substantiates the conclusions he draws. My primary critique of *Gathering the Potawatomi Nation* arises from his comparison of the Potawatomi experience to that of other fragmented Native communities to explain why the Potawatomis in particular have experienced this revitalization. Why choose the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles and not another Great Lakes community? Yet that question does not overshadow what is ultimately a very good introduction to contemporary expressions of a Potawatomi collective identity and the need to place indigenous conceptions of nationhood within proper historical and cultural contexts.


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book reviewed here, Chad Broughton’s *Boom, Bust, Exodus*, takes a different approach. Broughton makes interviews the foundation of his study and narrates the impact of globalization on the working class in Galesburg, Illinois, and Reynosa, a border town in Mexico.

Broughton’s book describes two urban areas and the people inhabiting them: displaced Rust Belt factory employees in Galesburg and migrant farm laborers in Reynosa. Appliance manufacturing connects the two places, with Galesburg losing workers and Reynosa gaining them. Workers found their lives transformed by the forces of multinational capitalism.

The author constructs his narrative around talks with workers, managers, and union leaders in both locations. He read newspapers and immersed himself in the local culture. The economic upheaval revealed itself in a spectrum of human reactions—production and community pride, anger and vulnerability, family and gender shifts, hope and resilience.

Broughton sketches the historical context for his study. The post–World War II era produced shared prosperity, with profits increasing and wages boosted by productivity gains. The period from 1945 to 1975 witnessed a kind of golden age for unions as well. During the boom years, consumers purchased modern kitchen appliances. Galesburg became known as “Appliance City,” with Maytag’s side-by-side refrigerators as the leading brand. By 1974, Galesburg was booming, with more than 10,000 unionized manufacturing jobs in a town of just 36,000 people. Appliance production at the Galesburg plant soared. About 5,000 people worked there in its heyday and enjoyed good pay and benefits. Appliances produced by Admiral and Magic Chef dominated until Maytag, the washing machine producer headquartered in Newton, Iowa, took over in 1986.

Consolidation within the industry combined with competition from domestic giants like General Electric and foreign companies like Haier brought authoritarian management, a singular focus on cost cutting, and demands for union concessions. A strike was barely averted in 2002, and a few months later the company announced the closure of the Galesburg plant. With the Galesburg plant shuttered in 2004, former Maytag employees struggled to secure a livelihood. Some found decent jobs with railroads, hospitals, and schools while many others eked out an existence with the help of public assistance programs and part-time work.

Maytag reopened operations in Reynosa, Mexico. Nearly a decade later, in 2012, the company’s Newton headquarters was sold for one dollar. While the middle of America deindustrialized, the industrializa-
tion of Mexican borderlands was well under way. In Reynosa and other border towns, migrants filled factories and lived in slums.

The surge in border manufacturing shifted employment from rural to urban areas. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1994 took away protective import tariffs and speeded up the loss of Mexico’s small-scale farming. Subsidized U.S. grain flooded the Mexican market and swept rural laborers off the land. The displaced workers headed for the booming border factories as the only hope for a livelihood. Low wages, high turnover, and deskilling characterized the Mexican labor scene. The rise in wages, per capita income, and trade promised by NAFTA promoters on both sides of the Rio Grande has proved largely illusory.

While Broughton’s ethnographic study tells the story of how multinational corporations changed the lives and landscapes of two cities—Galesburg and Reynosa—it also provides a unique and moving account of the human consequences of economic globalism. “With economic globalism,” Broughton writes, “companies like Maytag had found a way to slough off not only union wages, pension obligations, taxes, and regulations, but also any sense of obligation to the place where they made their money” (155).

Broughton believes that America’s rising inequality results not from inevitable and intractable market forces but rather from a political system that rewards businesses and harms workers. By contrast, European countries have publicly funded labor and social policies in the areas of wages, health care, skills-building, retirement, and unemployment. Such policies can provide employers with flexibility and workers with more economic security.

The book closes without the benefit of a collective profile of the workers. Yet Broughton remains true to his goal of chronicling workers’ views on economic issues. Nuanced, moderate, and insightful best describe the account.


Reviewer Erika Doss is professor of American studies at the University of Notre Dame. Her most recent book is _Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America_ (2010).

Midwestern artist Scott Hocking explores the artifacts of modern urban detritus. Excavating discarded objects found in the postindustrial ruins