



Intersectional political consumerism: Re-examining consumer strategies of The Woodlawn Organization and Jobs or Income Now during the Chicago Welfare Rights Era

Nicole Marie Brown

University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, USA

Journal of Consumer Culture
0(0) 1–20

© The Author(s) 2018

Reprints and permissions:

sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/1469540518773808

journals.sagepub.com/home/joc



Abstract

The study utilizes 18 archival primary source collections related to the Welfare Rights Movement, using both open and focused coding to perform content analysis of 3300 documents. By extending Zygmunt Bauman's theory of the "flawed consumer" to incorporate intersectionality, this article offers an intersectional analysis of political consumerism, which reveals two dimensions of political consumerism: (1) community-based and (2) commercial-based. Findings reveal that while Black, male-dominated capitalist-promoting welfare organizations such as The Woodlawn Organization employed commercial-based intersectional political consumerism, predominantly White, female-led socialist organizations such as Jobs or Income Now preferred community-based intersectional political consumerism. This re-conceptualization of intersectional political consumerism within the Welfare Rights Movement better considers the role of intersectionality in the strategy decision-making of the movement organizations and as such provides a more thorough explanation of the political consumerist strategies of those participating in the Welfare Rights Movement.

Keywords

Intersectionality, political consumerism, Chicago Welfare Rights, flawed consumers, social movement organizations

Corresponding author:

Nicole Marie Brown, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, 1205 W. Clark St., Urbana, IL USA 61801.

Email: brownda1@illinois.edu

Introduction

Rarely do we hear about the collective purchasing power of those in poverty or think of the poor as consumers, particularly if they are African American. Zygmunt Bauman (1998) explains that those he calls flawed consumers are viewed as incapable of adequately performing their roles within a consumer society because they do not have the financial means to participate in a consumer society. This article re-conceptualizes political consumerism within the Welfare Rights Movement to consider the role of intersectionality in the strategy decision-making of the movement's leadership and its members. In comparing the histories and political consumerist strategies of various welfare organizations during the 1960s, with a particular focus on two Chicago Welfare Rights Organizations (CWROs), Jobs or Income Now (JOIN) and The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), I sought to understand how these organizations came to very different conclusions regarding (1) the role of consumerism within the larger poor people's movement and (2) the invoking of various types of intersectional political consumerism (IPC). I identify two dimensions of IPC: community-based and commercial-based. While JOIN, a predominantly White and female-led Northside Uptown neighborhood organization, primarily utilized community-based forms of IPC to achieve its goals, TWO, a predominantly Black- and male-led organization serving Chicago's Southside Woodlawn neighborhood, employed commercial-based IPC.¹

I argue for an extension of Bauman's theory of the flawed consumer to incorporate intersectionality.² I found that an intersectional analysis of political consumerism reveals additional dimensions of political consumerism. Bauman describes the collateral damage of consumerism as its commodification of human life and social relationships. If social relationships are reduced to one's ability to engage with commodities as consumers, the poor have no sustainable point of entry and are, therefore, devalued. In turn, there is no real value placed upon the poor, because they are viewed as useless within a consumerist society.

Bauman (2007) makes a distinction between consumer and (employed) producer. The people of the Welfare Rights Movement would have found this distinction irrelevant. The women and men of the Welfare Rights Era were demanding they be given the opportunity to engage as citizen-consumers (Cohen, 2003), whether unemployed or underemployed. This connection of citizenry and consumerism is key as we discuss the welfare rights organizations, JOIN and TWO, and their efforts to secure consumer entitlements for the poor.

Members of welfare rights organizations did not view access to consumer competence as contingent upon one's position as an employed producer. While Bauman locates the flaw in the poor's lack of resources to spend because of their poverty, the people of the movement located the flaw within a system that denied them access as consumers because of various intersecting identities (including race, class, and gender). The incorporation of an intersectional analysis provides a more nuanced explanation of the political consumerist strategies of those participating in the Welfare Rights Movement. For CWRO members, navigating the world as consumers was viewed as a right of every citizen, and any barrier put between

the poor and their right to engage as consumers was considered a threat to their ability to create, maintain, and enjoy social relationships.

Political consumerism and intersectionality

The research engaging the connection between citizenship and consumerism tends to focus on individual behavior and motivations primarily based on life roles such as parent, student, or citizen (Kotzur et al., 2015; Lorenzini and Bassoli, 2016; Ward and de Vreese, 2011) rather than macro-level motivations. This is particularly apparent for organizations connected with social movements. There is also a subset of literature that considers consumers' levels of trust in the government, but again, this research is focused on individuals rather than organizations (Berlin, 2011; Stolle et al., 2005). Koos (2012) illustrates the value of studying organizations within the context of social movements as a way of understanding citizens' political consumerism. We are beginning to see thoughtful treatments of organizational-level social movement consumerism, and specifically political consumerism, within the literature (Hyman and Tohill, 2017). Still, more research is needed on organizational work within the context of social movements, particularly related to activism of marginalized groups. While there is ample research focusing on collapsing or distinguishing between boycotts and buycotts (Neilson, 2010; Sandovici and Davis, 2010; Wicks et al., 2013), we need more study related to how both strategies exist and are used within social movement organizations that employ political consumerism. Such research would illuminate power relationships that play out through boycotting and buycotting beyond consumers punishing or rewarding businesses.

In addition, much of the research related to political consumerism centers the White middle-class (AbiGhannam and Atkinson, 2016; Atkinson, 2014; McCarthy and Murphy, 2009) and youth (Dultra de Barcellos et al., 2014; Gotlieb and Wells, 2012; Nygard et al., 2016). Within the literature related to privileged classes, there is a prominent subset that focuses specifically on ecological and sustainable political consumerism (Micheletti et al., 2012; Watkins et al., 2015; Willis and Schor, 2012). When marginalized groups are discussed, the focus is oftentimes on those in developing countries with developing consumer markets (Barbosa et al., 2014; Echegaray, 2015a, 2015b). With the exception of a few scholars (Gallego, 2007; Marien et al., 2010), there is still a lack of significant research related to marginalized groups within more economically developed countries, such as the study of African Americans. Also, scholarship on political participation of low-income marginalized consumers in countries like the United States is underdeveloped. There is a paucity of literature focused on these groups' political consumerism as a form of agency and civic engagement. A partial explanation for this dearth in the literature relates to engaging an appropriate theoretical frame that insists on a discussion of political consumerism within the context of intersectional oppressions. Such a theoretical framework draws researchers to a line of inquiry that makes the Welfare Rights Movement not only legible within a discussion of

political consumerism but also pertinent to understanding political consumerism beyond White middle-class individualism. Research focusing on the Welfare Rights Movement combats the erasure of African American low-income consumers' civic engagement by tracing the historical prevalence of this particular group's political consumerism.

Beyond Felicia Kornbluh's work investigating the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) and its fight to obtain consumer credit from the Sears Corporation (Kornbluh, 2007), the overlapping of welfare rights and consumer rights has not been extensively explored. This research provides a more nuanced understanding of the impact of political consumerist activities on the members of two CWROs, JOIN and TWO. IPC helps to explain and make meaning of these organizations' consumerist activities. IPC is defined as consumer activities motivated by one's intersecting social locations (race, class, and gender). The major failing of political consumer analysis has been its perpetual focus on social class or some other one category, thus ignoring intersections of social locations, such as race, gender, and class, and their relationships with oppression and resistance.

Instead of consumers being flawed and lacking agency within an environment controlled by class divisions, intersectional analysis allows us to see how interconnected social locations work together, not only to construct oppressive barriers to consumerism but also to politicize consumerist activities to impact a political outcome.

Bauman (2002) describes power as a battle for legitimacy, the ability to define what is legitimate and the ability to exact or impose one's will, agenda, beliefs, politics, and so on, onto another. Through consumerism, we can illuminate one battle for legitimacy – legitimacy as citizens, with consumerism as proxy (Clarke, 2007; Clarke et al., 2007; Cross, 2000). IPC serves to reveal that it is not just class that de-legitimizes some subjects as flawed; it is not just class that causes some subjects to be viewed as incapable of adequately performing their societal roles to be consumers or to engage a capitalist democracy as consumers; it is not one identity plane but a convergence of several social locations illuminated through intersectionality that reveals how power and legitimacy are shaped and determined.

Bauman explores domains through which power within the consumer sphere plays out via class; his flawed consumer theory relates to identity reconstruction of the poor (Marotta, 2000). But intersectionality offers a complexity to Bauman's model by using as a point of analysis the intersection of multiple planes, in this case race, gender, and class. This dynamic intersection of multiple social locations uncovers another dimension of how power operates as a result of race/gender/class identity construction.

Another limitation of the political consumerism literature is its methodological approach, which is heavily based on survey research (Newman and Bartels, 2011; Scruggs et al., 2011; Shah et al., 2007; Strømsnes, 2009). The inflexibility of surveys make it difficult to gain a more nuanced understanding of political consumer meaning-making, specifically as it relates to consumers intersecting social locations such as race, class, and gender. Situations within social movements are not standardized;

therefore, standardized instruments of study would not account for complexities of intersectional oppressions. Survey research also considers variables such as class and gender as if they were additive and independent versus interconnected (Acik, 2013; Copeland, 2014). In contrast, intersectionality is the analysis of interconnected oppressive systems via the study of social relationships and formations (Crenshaw, 1989). For example, an intersectional approach would consider the effects of race, class, and gender together, with the understanding that their interconnected effects cannot be disentangled.

Within feminist literature, there is much debate around intersectionality and its applicability as an analytical framework and method. Critiques of intersectionality include the ways in which the concept has been institutionalized and emptied of meaning to the degree that the concept reconstitutes women of color specifically as the “Other” (Puar, 2012; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Feminist scholars also grapple with the analytical tensions of intersectionality as invested in identity formations versus assemblages prevalent in poststructural/posthuman literature (Grosz, 1994; Nash, 2017; Puar, 2012). Despite its critiques, intersectionality remains a useful theoretical frame with which to better understand political consumerism because it disrupts assumptions that consumer patterns can be understood solely through an individualized White middle-class lens. The study of political consumerism within the Welfare Rights Movement serves to extend previous research beyond the study of individual characteristics and illustrates how to deploy an intersectional critical discourse analysis within a larger social movement context to understand political consumerism embedded in organizations.

By applying an intersectional theoretical framework to the consumption discourse, we gain a better understanding of how poor African American women and men experienced consumerism as a political project during the Welfare Rights Era and how interconnected identities shaped their experiences and consumerist meaning-making.

Methods

In pursuit of understanding how organizations representing poor Black people during the 1960s–1970s made meaning of their political consumerist strategies, I designed a comparative case study of two CWRO organizations. I conducted extensive archival research, reviewing 18 primary source collections, performing close readings and analysis of thousands of collection documents and hundreds of newspaper articles and audio recordings from speeches. Specifically, I conducted close readings of organizational documents, including office correspondence, meeting minutes, letters, press releases, and audio recordings, as well as documents referencing TWO, JOIN, NWRO, CWRO, and related Chicago Welfare organizations existing between 1960 and 1975. A search of special collections catalogs identified the following collections: association of community organizations for reform now (ACORN) Records, 1965–2008; Annetta Dieckmann Papers Records, 1944–1976; Better Business Bureau of Metropolitan Chicago Records,

1940–1980; Charles Chiakulas Collection; Chicago Council on Urban Affairs; CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), Chicago Chapter Archives; Industrial Area Foundations/Saul Alinsky Papers; Chicago Urban League; Hull House Association Papers; Institute of the Church in an Urban Industrial Society; Movement for Economic Justice Records; Brenda Eichelberger/National Alliance of Black Feminists Papers; NWRO Papers – Unprocessed, Accessed August 2013; Peggy Terry Papers, 1937–2004; Social Action Vertical File, 1960–1980; Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality; Wisconsin, Division of Community Services: Bureau of Planning and Implementation Files, 1950–1984; and George Wiley Papers, Early Civil Rights and Poverty Activities 1949–1975. I also searched newspaper articles for the same time period. I reviewed 3273 documents,³ which were identified as particularly relevant to the study. Records identified were categorized by organization and date, scanned and converted to searchable pdf documents. Generally, the unit of analysis was a document (within a collection focused on a specific organization). Selection of documents to include in content analysis took into account whether the document's primary focus was related to the welfare organizations of interest to the study. Data were triangulated and added to the corpus for analysis.

I used open and focused coding (Creswell, 2003) to identify themes within the documents and audio recordings in the collections. The data analysis software used to perform content analysis of documents and to create a codebook was ATLAS.ti. Categories of codes were compared by organization (i.e. TWO, JOIN, CWRO). In order for IPC to occur, there must be a desire to influence some political condition (of one's social locations) and evidence that marketplace sites of consumerism are used or targeted for some political purpose designed to influence how resources are allocated (toward a specific group). Within the coded data, as indicators of IPC, I looked specifically at the Welfare Rights Era for the presence of a political agenda, which engaged the marketplace via consumerism, and intersectional social locations serving as a primary motivation for mobilization.

JOIN

JOIN, a community union in Uptown, started in Fall 1964⁴ as one of a dozen Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) projects in northern cities that came out of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.⁵ With 1200 members, JOIN was the largest organization during the 1960s in Chicago that was organizing poor (Southern-Appalachian) Whites in an urban area.⁶ Peggy Terry, who was White and moved to Uptown Chicago in 1964,⁷ was an active member of the CORE and became active in local welfare rights as a key leader of JOIN.⁸

Many of the estimated 10,000 ex coal-miners of Appalachia and their families who migrated to Chicago moved to the Uptown neighborhood.⁹ By 1967, Uptown was estimated to have approximately 50,000 residents, with the majority being Southern-Appalachian Whites.¹⁰ The Uptown area was frequently referred to (by those outside of the community) as a White hillbilly ghetto.¹¹ Yet, JOIN

described the Uptown community as a multiracial area, with many of its community members being Puerto Rican, Indian, and Black as well as White.¹² In speeches and written communications regarding Uptown, JOIN would frequently make note of the attempts of institutions in power to divide poor people along racial lines as they fought and struggled for rights to quality welfare, employment, and housing.¹³

A focus on JOIN as a comparative analysis of organizational political consumerism is appropriate because it was a high-profile Chicago welfare organization, it engaged in political consumerist strategies, and the organization was open to interracial female leadership. Although it served primarily poor White people in the Uptown neighborhood and used more socialist leaning political consumerist approaches, the organization had strong ties to other Chicago welfare organizations, such as TWO.

Unlike TWO's founders, JOIN members were interested in disrupting status quo inequities related to class, politics, and people's relationships with the state. JOIN was also outspoken in its desire to organize itself from within rather than be organized by outside influences.

Comparison of TWO and JOIN neighborhood and membership demographics and ideologies.

Chicago Welfare Rights Organizations

	The Woodlawn Organization (TWO)	Jobs or Income Now (JOIN)
Community makeup		
Year created	1961	1964
Neighborhood	Woodlawn	Uptown
Intersectional identities		
Membership	Predominantly poor and working-class African American women and men	Predominantly poor and working-class White women and men
Leadership	Predominantly church-affiliated men-led, with majority women taking up organizational and protest roles	Predominantly women-led, with majority of women taking up organizational and protest roles
Power navigation		
Leading ideologies	Patriarchal, capitalist, anti-communist	Feminist, anti-capitalist, socialist
Intersectional political consumerism	Commercial-centered	Community-centered

JOIN and community-based IPC

JOIN's focus was on community-based forms of IPC. Community-based IPC rejects the capitalist model in favor of cooperation and collaboration. Community-based IPC is concerned with sharing of resources to meet needs and

leveraging community resources. On 1 March 1967, during a welfare committee meeting, JOIN first discussed starting a buyers' club food co-op for the poor and working poor of Uptown. The food co-op would allow members to pool their money or food stamps to buy from wholesalers, rather than large chain stores. In *The Firing Line*, Terry makes reference to the "big chain stores who charge us much too much for low grade food, and who would see us die of starvation rather than lower their prices."¹⁴ Within a month, JOIN was encouraging people to join the new Leland Food Buying Club and it expected more buying clubs to be formed in Kenmore, Clifton, and Lakeland neighborhoods.¹⁵ There was a clear sentiment among JOIN that capitalist corporations cared more about profit than the welfare of people. The comments signaled a history of exploitation and distrust of chain stores and corporations and a preference for wholesalers, who were perceived to be less interested in raising prices for profit. With this suggestion of a food co-op, the members of JOIN were allowed to be consumers and, through the process, were relieved of the stigma attached with using food stamps in stores,¹⁶ and were able to choose the items they wanted to purchase. In total, 25 families participated in this particular brand of community-based IPC.¹⁷

JOIN saw a clear link between the realm of consumerism and political protest. Terry writes, "Poor people are fighting back. They are setting up Food Co-ops, forming their own Credit Unions."¹⁸ Tools such as co-ops and credit unions are community-based mechanisms that harness the collective power of individuals without the incentive of profit. JOIN's efforts were not a support of capitalism within the context of consumer activities but rather a call for poor people to work collaboratively without the influence or surveillance of the private sector.¹⁹ This was a very different political consumer strategy than TWO, whose ideological roots embraced capitalism.²⁰

JOIN and its members were privileged in their choosing of community-based forms of IPC, such as food co-ops and credit unions, and in their criticism of the CWRO's efforts to obtain credit from merchants, including NWRO's Nationwide Sears Credit Campaign, because their access to Whiteness did not prevent them from being identified in the role of consumer.²¹ Bauman's theory of the flawed consumer ignores the intersectionality of race and class in understanding how, even as class could have prohibited these White community members from being seen as legitimate consumers, their race did not disqualify them; rather, it validated them as consumers. The Consumer Rights Movement and the legislation that followed were tied to Whiteness, as Whites remained the standard bearers while African Americans protested in consumer spaces for access to equal treatment as consumers.

Still, it is important to acknowledge that African Americans also have a history of economic cooperation in response to capitalism's failings. Beginning in the late 19th century, Du Bois (1907) argued that African Americans' attempts to gain wealth through capitalism were futile because of racism and that, instead, Black people should engage Black producer and consumer cooperatives. These practices for African Americans, though, were extremely dangerous, as White business

owners did not want Black people patronizing Black co-ops (Gordon Nembhard, 2014). As with JOIN, the relationship between race, economy, and role of consumer affected groups' strategic options when fighting for fair treatment.

JOIN's ideological lineage points to organized labor influenced by Marxism as an ideological movement compass. The group strongly objected to urban renewal plans of the city, stating, "the institutions of housing and urban renewal is a dominant manifestation of capitalism at the local level."²² According to JOIN, middle-class Whites needed to come to terms with the idea that working-class and poor Whites were "their own people."²³ JOIN's multiracial female leadership was visible and critical in the organization, centering women's concerns. The leadership of JOIN reflected and centered the issues affecting the people of Uptown. That these women served in visible leadership positions, protested, and were arrested for their resistance spoke to the integral role these women played in influencing the direction of the organization.

The anti-capitalist, pro-communal, poor, and working poor-centered stance of JOIN as it related to its engagement with IPC is not without its inconsistencies. One JOIN flyer stated,

How long will welfare recipients have to wait to enjoy Christmas?? Forever??? ... As long as Americans think poor people should be punished for being poor. Illinois welfare recipients will get over 30% below the government's minimum income for survival. Their children will grow up hungry and cold, poorly dressed and poorly educated and without anything in their Christmas stockings. Christmas is just like any other day for public aid recipients except their kids will look a little hungrier and sadder knowing other Americans are enjoying their Christmas.²⁴

Here, JOIN acknowledged the discrepancies between the poor and others and the material deprivation of the poor that was magnified during holiday seasons. However, in its effort to demand additional allowances for such holidays, and that these allowances be expedited so that the poor would have some of what others had,²⁵ there was a relenting that this engagement would be with a marketplace that supported and perpetuated capitalism and big business. This message was a different kind of political engagement from the rent strikes, co-ops, and credit unions,²⁶ as it was wrapped in a holiday that is cemented within (White) middle-class consumerism. When JOIN said "Hilliard is no Santa Claus" and "Christmas is like any day on welfare – terrible"²⁷ and implored shoppers to "consider what it would mean to have no money for toys, food or clothes this Christmas,"²⁸ it was calling on (White) middle-class values of materiality. In this way, though JOIN was privileged in its position to choose and more forcefully advocate community-based IPC (because denial of access was not based on race), there was no complete divorcing from capitalism precisely because they used multiple mechanisms of political consumer activism. Within a capitalist society, even those organizations committed to community-based IPC as a strategy were still susceptible to strategies such as commercial-based IPC, which actively engages

capitalism. Try as they might, they were unsuccessful in engaging in a capitalist society as consumers without inevitably engaging in capitalism itself. What all these protests come to represent is a desire for closer proximity to (White) middle-class symbolism and materiality. Ultimately, this proximity did little to dismantle systemic oppression of the poor, White or Black.

TWO

TWO is an ideal organization of comparison to investigate how Chicago welfare organizations employed political consumerism for the benefit of marginalized communities because of their numerous connections to organized boycotts and consumer-driven campaigns, and their long history within the Woodlawn neighborhood. TWO was one of the largest welfare organizations within the CWRO. By the mid-1950s, the Woodlawn area had attracted stable, middle-class, Black families seeking improved living conditions.²⁹ Within 5 years, the community began to feel the effects of discrimination and exploitation in the form of White flight³⁰ of businesses (particularly impactful because much of the area was commercially zoned³¹); conversion of larger residences into smaller, cheaper, and poorer quality dwellings; and the development of transient hotels and taverns. In contrast to Uptown, by the 1960s, Woodlawn was 89% Black, with an equal minority of Puerto Rican and White people in the community.³² With the creation of expressways that annexed the Black-concentrated area, and as the community property deteriorated and crime increased, the area was quickly classified as a “ghetto,” vulnerable to unscrupulous business opportunists, politicians, and other White institutions.

In an attempt to thwart the city’s plans for urban renewal of the area, TWO developed a rehabilitation plan with demands that spoke to the interests of Woodlawn business owners, various community groups and clubs, and religious institutions. Specifically, the plan called for a guarantee that the area would remain a neighborhood that included affordable low- and middle-income housing, and that small, neighborhood retail businesses would be provided with additional incentives that would facilitate their viability.³³ TWO sought the assistance of Saul Alinsky and the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) for organization and administrative resources.³⁴ By August 1961, the IAF would begin formally funding TWO.³⁵

TWO and commercial-based IPC

During the mid-1960s, TWO began multiple financial ventures,³⁶ including managing and renting a 600-unit housing project,³⁷ operating a bus company,³⁸ and opening a supermarket employing 56 Black people in the TWO-Hillmans shopping complex, with two-thirds of the board members of the shopping center belonging to TWO.³⁹ TWO was engaging in commercial-based IPC. Commercial-based IPC engages directly with capitalist institutions and is concerned with manipulating

profit (either its own or another business's) to achieve political goals. For TWO, self-determination included being directly engaged in capitalism and helping to start several Black-operated businesses in the community. One such business, Observer Printing and Publishing, was responsible for publishing TWO's newsletter *The Woodlawn Observer* as well as publications from a dozen other community organizations and commercial businesses,⁴⁰ including a weekly publication for SDS.⁴¹ While JOIN expressed a disdain for capitalism, TWO used its capitalist ventures to promote its political agenda. The Observer's tagline was "Craftsmanship for Self-Determination."⁴² For TWO members to take up commercial-based forms of IPC meant to continue a long tradition of resistance and desire for inclusion into a system that refused to acknowledge them as legitimate consumers. So, the distinction here between commercial-based and community-based forms of IPC is influenced by a long history of people's relationships with consumerism and capitalism, relationships heavily influenced by both class and race. Although Bauman's (2002) conceptualization of power helps us understand how TWO members would seek legitimacy and inclusion through consumerism, intersectional analysis recognizes the role race, gender, and class together play in shaping TWO's economic strategies and approaches to engaging that consumerism. While JOIN sought self-determination in socialism, TWO found capitalism to be a better system with which to fulfill its visions.

TWO, unlike JOIN, explicitly stated a commitment to fighting communism.⁴³ Early on, TWO incorporated anti-communist rhetoric within its goals and vision statements. Invoking communism was often used as a weapon against Black militant groups, so the organization's efforts to distance itself from communism were understandable and strategic. TWO was capitalist in its economic ideology, as evidenced by its particular brand of engagement with IPC, opting for community and racial uplift by way of business ventures and commercially based political consumerism that sought to engage merchants.

For example, in July 1963, TWO representatives approached Marshall Field's demanding that at least 20 Black people be hired immediately, stating that Marshall Field's had long-standing discriminatory hiring practices against Blacks while benefiting from Black patronage.⁴⁴ Several months later, after threatening a boycott and picket, TWO negotiated with High-Low Foods Inc., a local grocery chain store, to hire 12 Black employees, including a Black manager.⁴⁵ Here lies another distinction between JOIN and TWO. TWO employed its IPC as a strategy to secure employment (in White businesses) for its Black community members. This quid pro quo followed a line of thinking that suggested that merchants who benefited from the money of Black patrons had a responsibility to the Black community to employ some of its members. In essence, TWO attempted, through IPC, to alter the social contract between Black residents and White businesses.

TWO, in contrast to JOIN, was a very patriarchal organization. The president of the organization was Pastor Arthur Brazier, and most of TWO's formal leadership positions were held by men. Despite the fact that 60% of the organization's inaugural delegates were women⁴⁶ and that women were very visible as foot

soldiers on picket lines, TWO, as well as its primary sponsor, the IAF, remained openly hostile toward Black women's leadership within the community.⁴⁷ While doing due diligence to determine whether Woodlawn was a viable project, Nicholas von Hoffman (who was a lead field representative for IAF) in a memo to Alinsky states,

The West Woodlawn area has long been dominated by a clique of formidable matriarchs who have been running their husbands and the show for years. Without a doubt one of the important organizational tasks that would confront us in West Woodlawn would be gathering the men and putting some spine into them.⁴⁸

This hostility toward Black female leadership persisted as the organization grew. For example, in a memo to Alinsky, IAF Woodlawn field representative, Leon Finney referred to TWO member Rosa Pitts (who was also Area Vice President of the South Shore organization) as "an ungrateful bitch."⁴⁹ Rather than finding ways to incorporate indigenous leadership within the area, part of IAF's strategy was to remove women's leadership and influence. In fact, the Black leaders of TWO were being influenced and financially supported by White, male IAF as they led their organizations. The IAF was explicit in its efforts to exclude the leadership of Black women in these organizations. This collusion between White and Black men contributed to capitalist, commercial-based IPC strategies being employed. The hostility and forced removal of Black women leadership exposed the gender dynamics and sexism embedded within TWO, particularly when contrasted with JOIN.

TWO also received harsh criticism in the local Black paper, *The Crusader*, about how the group was influenced by White outsiders. Invoking an internal colonialism narrative, the paper pointed to White-owned businesses of all types (from supermarkets to filling stations) for examples of exploitation of the community (i.e. refusal to hire Black employees and selling of inferior goods). While TWO's call for self-determination seemed very much in line with the Black nationalist paper's insistence that "NEGROES MUST CONTROL THEIR OWN COMMUNITY,"⁵⁰ the paper named outsider organizational involvement as deliberately interfering with and manipulating the initial intent of TWO.⁵¹

According to the paper, the IAF was using TWO to exploit Woodlawn through

stores, apartments and other places made "available" by crooked real estate operations now reportedly busily "scaring" white home owners and tenants out of the district and throwing open homes and apartments at five times the rental paid by whites to the oncoming Negro home seekers.⁵²

Here, the consumer market is viewed as battleground for the claiming and reclaiming of the Woodlawn community's economic liberation, and Black consumer exploitation is laid out as the collateral damage.

Again, the privileging of patriarchal and White-centered forms of organizing communities provides insight into which IPC strategies were chosen and how they

were employed. For TWO, there is a correlation between the patriarchal power structure of the organization and its desire to replicate forms of (White) capitalism for the purposes of community uplift. In contrast, JOIN, whose leadership was not patriarchal but was still embedded in Whiteness, sought out more communal forms of IPC⁵³ – in some ways explicitly rejecting (White) capitalism (as was the case with their criticism of seeking out credit as a viable strategy for transformative IPC) while in other ways proving susceptible to capitalism's allure through promises of middle-class materiality.

Conclusion

In addition to raising awareness around consumer activities of poor and working-class consumers, this study focuses on understanding macro-level motivations and strategies for political consumerism. This study shows how poor consumers demonstrate political consumerism strategies and deploy these strategies as a form of political engagement. Rather than focusing on distinctions between boycotts and buycotts to understand poor people's political consumerist strategies, this study highlights the distinctions in the types of political engagement across welfare organizations by comparing their ideological relationship to the current economic structure.

Today, there is still a tension between community-based IPC and commercial-based IPC that engages capitalism in an effort to improve conditions for African Americans. Traditional boycotts such as the #NotOneDime and #BlackoutFriday campaigns were organized in an effort to draw attention to the lack of police accountability for the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. When thinking about organizational-level political consumerism, more nuance is required to better understand the changing nature of how groups organize. As scholars continue our study of IPC, specifically within the context of social movements centering African Americans, an intersectional analysis is imperative to understanding the tensions and contradictions of promoting capitalism in an effort to influence the state. Rather than flattening the experiences and perspectives of African Americans into one category of blanket support or rejection of protest actions such as Black Lives Matter–sponsored or affiliated political consumerist activities and campaigns, an intersectional analysis can help explain why some group interests may be more tied to the preservation of community-based spaces than others. For example, intersectional analysis of Black feminist leadership within social movement organizations has explanatory potential as it relates to political consumerism strategies that distinguish between community cooperative economics and Black capitalism. An intersectional analysis helps scholars better understand the varying views of protest within these consumer spaces and how those views are tied to race, gender, and class.

For both TWO and JOIN, battles for legitimacy around access to consumerism for the poor were priorities within their communities. The ways in which the organizations influenced the types of IPC employed by their membership relied

heavily upon the intersecting social locations of JOIN and TWO's leadership. For TWO, patriarchal ideologies, which focused on capitalism, resulted in an affinity for commercial-based IPC. JOIN, a female-led organization with a privileged racial social location (among its primary membership) and a generally anti-capitalist stance, preferred community-based forms of IPC. Neither dimension of IPC was fully exhibited in its allegedly purest form, nor were intersectional social locations of all its members uniform. However, the intersectional locations of the organizations' formal leadership affirm an understanding of the connection between identity, ideology, and political consumerism, which was deployed throughout the Chicago Welfare Rights Era.

This work shows how an intersectional approach is critical to better understand the political consumerism within the Chicago Welfare Rights Movement. The formation of the Chicago Welfare Rights Movement, beliefs, strategies, and overall meaning-making are better understood by examining the commercial and community-based forms of IPC. Applying the theory to contemporary as well as historical consumer movements, such as the "Don't Buy" campaigns of the 1920s–1940s, would not only test the flexibility of the theory and its intersectional analysis but would also help scholars better understand the motivations and strategies deployed by movement leaders and members across various time periods. Thus, intersectionality has the potential to assist scholars in completely reimagining political consumerism itself.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 36, Folder Nat. Welfare Rights Org. Poverty Rights Action Center.
2. The term *intersectionality*, first coined by Kimberlee Crenshaw, relates to the analysis of interconnected oppressions. See Collins (1990), Lorde (1984), Crenshaw (1989), and Hine et al. (1993).
3. These documents are referenced in endnotes along with the primary source information.
4. Peggy Terry Papers, Series Uptown Chicago, Box 6, Folder 4, Living and Working Conditions in Uptown, 1963–1968, Chicago Daily News, 3 July 1965, "In Poverty, They Help the Poor."
5. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 16, The Firing Line, 1967, Booklet titled, "Get Ready for the Firing Line," printed by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), March 1968: 3.
6. Peggy Terry Papers, Series Poor People's Campaign, Box 6, Folder 2, Poor People's Campaign, 1968, Flyer titled, "Poor People's Campaign for Poor People's Power,"

- n.d.; Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 23, Folder JOIN, Uptown Community Union Chicago, Document titled, “Purpose of JOIN,” dated March 1966: 2.
7. Peggy Terry Papers, Series Uptown Chicago, Box 6, Folder 6, Intercommunal Survival Committee, 1972, Lerner Press, 9 October 1972, “White Panthers Hand Out Free Food, Talk Survival.”
 8. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 5, Correspondence, 1963–1997, Letter Addressed to Mr. Lowell Kirby from Peggy Terry, dated 22 September 1967, regarding *The Firing Line* Newsletter.
 9. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 8, JOIN Community Union, 1966, Chicago’s Free Weekly Reader, 19 November 1976, “Who Pays for Black Lung Disease? A Working Man’s Wages,” Vol. 6, No. 8.
 10. Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 23, Folder JOIN, Uptown Community Union Chicago, Document titled “Purpose of JOIN,” dated March 1966: 1.
 11. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 16, The Firing Line, 1967, Booklet titled “Get Ready for the Firing Line,” dated March 1968: 1.
 12. Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 23, Folder JOIN, Uptown Community Union Chicago, Flyer titled “JOIN,” n.d.
 13. Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 23, Folder JOIN, Uptown Community Union Chicago, Statement and list of demands presented to Mayor Daley and Superintendent O.W. Wilson from JOIN Community Union, dated 10 September 1966; Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 23, Folder JOIN, Uptown Community Union Chicago, Flyer titled, “A Message to the Unemployed Workers,” n.d.
 14. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 20, Org History etc., 1966–1968, JOIN Community Union Newsletter, 1–10 March 1967, “Welfare Rights,” column by Peggy Terry, Vol. 3, No. 4.
 15. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 20, Org History etc., 1966–1968, JOIN Community Union Newsletter, 6–25 April 1967 “Welfare Rights,” column by Peggy Terry, Vol. 3, No. 7; Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 23, Folder JOIN, Uptown Community Union Chicago, Hand-drawn/handwritten flyer, “Are You Tired of High Food Prices?” n.d.
 16. Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 23, Folder JOIN, Uptown Community Union Chicago, Welfare Bill of Rights document, n.d.
 17. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 7, Correspondence, 1963–1997, Letter written to Frank Pollatsek, Cause of the Month from Mike James, JOIN Organizer, dated 25 September 1967.
 18. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 15, Welfare Rights, 1964–1968, JOIN Community Union Newsletter, 21 March–5 April 1967, “Welfare Rights,” column by Peggy Terry, Vol. 3, No. 6.
 19. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 1, Material titled “Political Machine.”
 20. IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 798, Industrial Areas Foundation Records – TWO-Chicago, 1965–1966, Letter addressed to Dick Harmon from Saul Alinsky, read to Harmon over the phone as verbal notes, Dated 29 March 1966: 3.
 21. IAF Records, Box 28, Folder 463: 5.
 22. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 16, The Firing Line, 1967, Booklet titled “Get Ready for the Firing Line,” dated March 1968: 6.
 23. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 9, Organizing Committee, 1966–1968, The Movement January 1968, “Let’s Get It On,” by Peggy Terry.

24. Peggy Terry Papers, Series JOIN, Box 3, Folder 15, Welfare Rights, 1964–1968, Flyer titled “How Long Will Welfare Recipients Have to Wait for Christmas?” n.d.
25. Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 23, Folder JOIN, Uptown Community Union Chicago, Flyer titled “We Demand . . .,” n.d.
26. Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 23, Folder JOIN, Uptown Community Union Chicago, JOIN Organizing Committee Meeting Agenda, dated 10 June.
27. See Note 26.
28. See Note 26.
29. IAF Records, Box 27, Folder 459, Woodlawn-TWO-general and miscellaneous-correspondence and memoranda, February–September 1959, Proposal titled “The Woodlawn Cooperative Project,” n.d.: 2.
30. IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 800, Industrial Area Foundations TWO-Chicago, 1958–1961, Memorandum regarding State of Woodlawn at this time, dated 23 November 1960, to Saul Alinsky from Nicholas von Hoffman.
31. IAF Records, Box 28, Folder 465, Woodlawn-TWO-general and miscellaneous, May–September 1961, Awareness, May 1961, “A Movement of the People,” Vol. 1, No. 1: 3.
32. See Note 31.
33. IAF Records, Box 28, Folder 462, Woodlawn-TWO-general and miscellaneous-correspondence and minutes of meetings, January 1961, Document titled, “Basis for the Development of a Woodlawn Community Rehabilitation Plan,” dated 5 January 1961: 1–3.
34. IAF Records, Box 28, Folder 465, Woodlawn-TWO-general and miscellaneous, May–September 1961, Awareness May 1961, “A Movement of the People,” Vol. 1, No. 1.
35. IAF Records, Box 28, Folder 465, Woodlawn-TWO-general and miscellaneous, May–September 1961, Letter dated 15 August 1961, addressed to Reverend Robert McGee, President, Temporary Woodlawn Organization from Saul Alinsky.
36. IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 799, Industrial Area Foundations Records – TWO, 1965–1966, 9-page memo addressed to Saul Alinsky from Leon Finney regarding T.W.O., dictated on 13 August 1966, received and transcribed on 17 August 1966: 8.
37. IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 798, Industrial Areas Foundation Records – TWO-Chicago, 1965–1966, Letter addressed to Reverend Monsignor John Egan, subject title “T.W.O.’s Progress,” dated 11 February 1965.
38. IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 798, Industrial Areas Foundation Records – TWO-Chicago, 1965–1966, 8-page memo addressed to Saul Alinsky from Dick Harmon, dictated on 2 April 1966, received on 4 April 1966 and transcribed on 5 April 1966.
39. IAF Records, Box 46, Folder 652, Alinsky Correspondence and memos, 1970–1971, Memo addressed to Saul Alinsky from Edwin Day regarding “The Woodlawn Organization (TWO)” n.d.
40. IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 798, Industrial Areas Foundation Records – TWO-Chicago, 1965–1966, Brochure for Observer Printing and Publishing, n.d.
41. IAF, Box 64, Folder 798, Industrial Areas Foundation Records – TWO-Chicago, 1965–1966, Observer Printing and Publishing memo, dated 29 November 1966, listing of weekly, semi-monthly, and monthly clients; IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 798, Industrial Areas Foundation Records – TWO-Chicago, 1965–1966, 10-page memo addressed to Saul Alinsky from Richard Harmon, dictated on 7 March 1966, received on 8 March 1966 and transcribed on 9 March 1966.

42. IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 798, Industrial Areas Foundation Records – TWO-Chicago, 1965–1966, Brochure for Observer Printing and Publishing, n.d.
43. IAF Records, Box 27, Folder 450, Woodlawn-The Woodlawn Organization – Constitutional Convention Clippings, Chicago Daily News, 24 March 1962, “Negro Civic Group Assails ‘Welfarism.’”
44. IAF Records, Box 29, Folder 482, Woodlawn-The Woodlawn Organization-newspaper clippings-miscellaneous, July–October 1963, Woodlawn Booster, 31 July 1963, “T.W.O. Demands Jobs,” Vol. 30, No. 31.
45. IAF Records, Box 29, Folder 482, Woodlawn-The Woodlawn Organization-newspaper clippings-miscellaneous, July–October 1963, Chicago Daily News, 7 November 1963, “Food Chain Agrees 12 Negro Jobs.”
46. IAF Records, Series 1, Box 27, Folder 448, Woodlawn-TWO-convention delegate list, February–May 1962.
47. IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 798, Industrial Areas Foundation Records – TWO-Chicago, 1965–1966, memo addressed to Saul Alinsky from Leon Finney regarding Woodlawn Report, dictated on 16 April 1966, received 18 April: 2; IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 798, Industrial Areas Foundation Records – TWO-Chicago, 1965–1966, 8-page memo addressed to Saul Alinsky from Dick Harmon, dictated on 2 April 1966: 5–6.
48. IAF Records, Box 27, Folder 459, Woodlawn-TWO-general and miscellaneous-correspondence and memoranda, February–September 1959, Memorandum regarding West Woodlawn, dated 22 May 1959, to Saul Alinsky from Nicholas von Hoffman: 3.
49. IAF Records, Box 64, Folder 799, Industrial Area Foundations Records – TWO, 1965–1966, 9-page memo addressed to Saul Alinsky from Leon Finney regarding T.W.O., dictated on 13 August 1966, received and transcribed on 17 August 1966: 3.
50. IAF Records, Box 29, Folder 475, Woodlawn-TWO-clippings-miscellaneous March–April 1961, The Crusader, 15 April 1961, “Control Your Own Community,” Vol. 20, No. 45.
51. IAF Records, Box 29, Folder 475, Woodlawn-TWO-clippings-miscellaneous March–April 1961, The New Crusader, 25 March 1961, “‘Muscle Men’ Infiltrate Woodlawn Organization,” Vol. 20, No. 42.
52. IAF Records, Box 29, Folder 475, Woodlawn-TWO-clippings-miscellaneous March–April 1961, The New Crusader, 8 April 1961, “Woodlawn Operators Move In for Big Kill.”
53. Social Action Vertical File, ca. 1960–2002, Box 36, Folder Nat. Welfare Rights Org. Workshop report.

References

- AbiGhannam N and Atkinson L (2016) Good green mothers consuming their way through pregnancy: The roles of environmental identities and information seeking in coping with the transition. *Consumption, Markets & Culture* 19(5): 451–474.
- Acik N (2013) Reducing the participation gap in civic engagement: Political consumerism in Europe. *European Sociological Review* 29(6): 1309–1322.
- Atkinson L (2014) Green moms: The social construction of a green mothering identity via environmental advertising appeals. *Consumption, Markets & Culture* 17(6): 553–572.
- Barbosa L, Portilho F, Wilkinson J, et al. (2014) Trust, participation and political consumerism among Brazilian youth. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 63: 93–101.

- Bauman Z (1998) *Work, Consumerism, and the New Poor*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bauman Z (2002) Violent in the age of uncertainty. In: Crawford A (ed.) *Crime and Insecurity*. Portland, OR: Willan Publishing, pp. 52–73.
- Bauman Z (2007) Collateral casualties of consumerism. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 7(1): 25–56.
- Berlin D (2011) Sustainable consumers and the state: Exploring how citizens' trust and distrust in institutions spur political consumption. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning* 13(3): 277–295.
- Clarke J (2007) Consumers, clients or citizens: Politics, policy and practice in the reform of social care. *European Societies* 8(3): 423–442.
- Clarke J, Newman J, Smith N, et al. (2007) *Creating Citizen-Consumers: Changing Publics and Changing Public Services*. London: Sage.
- Cohen L (2003) *Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Collins PH (1990) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.
- Copeland L (2014) Value change and political action: Postmaterialism, political consumerism, and political participation. *American Politics Research* 42(2): 257–282.
- Crenshaw K (1989) Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. *Chicago Legal Forum* 1989: 139–167.
- Creswell J (2003) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cross G (2000) *An All-Consuming Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Du Bois WEB (1907) *Economic Cooperation among Negro Americans*. Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University Press.
- Dultra de Barcellos M, Teixeira CM and Venturini JC (2014) Personal values associated with political consumption: An exploratory analysis with university students in Brazil. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 38(2): 207–216.
- Echegaray F (2015a) Corporate mobilization of political consumerism in developing societies. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 131: 1–13.
- Echegaray F (2015b) Voting at the marketplace: Political consumerism in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review* 50(2): 176–199.
- Gallego A (2007) Unequal political participation in Europe. *International Journal of Sociology* 37(4): 10–25.
- Gordon Nembhard J (2014) *Collective Courage: A History of African-American Cooperative Economic Thought and Practice*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.
- Gotlieb MR and Wells C (2012) From concerned shopper to dutiful citizen: Implications of individual and collective orientations toward political consumerism. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 644: 207–219.
- Grosz E (1994) *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*. Indianapolis, IN: University of Indiana Press.
- Hine DC, Brown EB and Terborg-Penn R (1993) *Black Women in the United States: An Historical Encyclopedia*. New York: Carlson Publishing.
- Hyman L and Tohill J (eds) (2017) *Shopping for Change: Consumer Activism and the Possibilities of Purchasing Power*. Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press.

- Koos S (2012) What drives political consumption in Europe? A multi-level analysis on individual characteristics, opportunity structures and globalization. *Acta Sociologica* 55(1): 37–57.
- Kornbluh F (2007) *The Battle for Welfare Rights: Politics and Poverty in Modern America*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kotzur PF, Torres CV, Kedzior KK, et al. (2015) Political consumer behavior among university students in Brazil and Germany: The role of contextual features and core political values. *International Journal of Psychology* 52: 126–135.
- Lorde A (1984) *Sister Outsider*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press.
- Lorenzini J and Bassoli M (2016) Gender ideology: The last barrier to women's participation in political consumerism? *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 56(6): 460–483.
- McCarthy B and Murphy L (2009) Who's buying organic food and why? Political consumerism, demographic characteristics and motivations of consumers in North Queensland. *Tourism & Management* 9(1): 72–79.
- Marien S, Hooghe M and Quintelier E (2010) Inequalities in non-institutionalised forms of political participation: A multi-level analysis of 25 countries. *Political Studies* 58(1): 187–213.
- Marotta V (2000) Zygmunt Bauman: Order, strangerhood and freedom. *Thesis Eleven* 70(1): 36–51.
- Micheletti M, Stolle D and Berlin D (2012) Habits of sustainable citizenship: The example of political consumerism. *The Habits of Consumption* 12: 141–163.
- Nash JC (2017) Intersectionality and its discontents. *American Quarterly* 69(1): 117–129.
- Neilson LA (2010) Boycott or buycott? Understanding political consumerism. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 93(3): 214–227.
- Newman BJ and Bartels BL (2011) Politics at the checkout line: Explaining political consumerism in the United States. *Political Research Quarterly* 64(4): 803–817.
- Nygard M, Soderberg P and Nyman-Kurkiala P (2016) Patterns and drivers of political participation among ninth-graders: Evidence from a Finnish regional survey. *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research* 24(2): 118–138.
- Puar J (2012) "I would rather be a cyborg than a goddess": Becoming intersectional in assemblage theory. *Philosophia* 2(1): 49–66.
- Sandovici ME and Davis T (2010) Activism gone shopping: An empirical exploration of individual-level determinants of political consumerism and donating. *Comparative Sociology* 9: 328–356.
- Scruggs L, Hertel S, Best SJ, et al. (2011) Information, choice and political consumption: Human rights in the checkout lane. *Human Rights Quarterly* 33(4): 1092–1121.
- Shah DV, McLeod DM, Kim E, et al. (2007) Political consumerism: How communication and consumption orientations drive "lifestyle politics." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 611: 217–235.
- Stolle D, Hooghe M and Micheletti M (2005) Politics in the supermarket: Political consumerism as a form of political participation. *International Political Science Review* 26(3): 245–269.
- Strømsnes K (2009) Political consumerism: A substitute for or supplement to conventional political participation? *Journal of Civil Society* 53(3): 303–314.
- Ward J and de Vreese C (2011) Political consumerism, young citizens and the Internet. *Media, Culture & Society* 333(3): 399–413.
- Watkins L, Aitken R and Mather D (2015) Conscientious consumers: A relationship between moral foundations, political orientation and sustainable consumption. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 134: 137–146.

- Wicks JLB, Morimoto SA and Maxwell A (2013) Youth political consumerism and the 2012 presidential election: What influences youth boycotting and buycotting? *American Behavioral Scientist* 58(5): 715–732.
- Willis MM and Schor JB (2012) Does changing a light bulb lead to changing the world? Political action and the conscious consumer. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 644: 160–190.
- Yuval-Davis N (2006) Intersectionality and feminist politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 193–209.

Author Biography

Nicole Marie Brown is a critical technology studies faculty affiliate to the National Center for Supercomputing Applications (NCSA) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her research utilizes archival and computational analysis to investigate how intersections of race, class, and gender influence methods of inquiry as well as processes of legitimized knowledge claims. Recent work focuses on her sociological research method of inquiry, computational digital autoethnography, used to reclaim knowledge of African-American women in digital spaces.