Article type : Research Dialogue

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[A1]Production note: Please update pagination once the target article is in proof stage.

[A2]Production note: Requires corrected pagination.

Stigmatized-Identity Cues: Threats as Opportunities for Consumer Psychology

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Abstract

In their review of the literature on stigmatize-identity cues, Chaney, Sanchez, and Maimon (2019 – this issue) summarize evidence that stigmatized-identity threat and safety cues drive consumer behavior through their effects on consumers' inferences about the company's ideology and their consequential impact on feelings of belonging. The authors also identify various factors that moderate the relationship between these identity cues and consumers' belonging perceptions. In our commentary, we identify future research opportunities by: (1) encouraging efforts to broaden the proposed framework to account for stigmatized identities defined in terms of consumption activities, (2) highlighting concepts and relationships that may require re-examination or deeper understanding, and (3) proposing additional consumer behaviors that punish or reward companies that use stigmatized-identity threat and safety cues, respectively.

Stigmatized-Identity Cues: Threats as Opportunities for Consumer Psychology

Introduction

Motivated by the need for companies to respond appropriately to U.S. demographic trends, Chaney, Sanchez, and Maimon's article (2019 – this issue) offers a convincing answer to

the "so what" question and sufficient justification for its focus on such stigmatized social identities as women, ethnic/racial minorities, and LGBT+ consumers. Regarding its answer to the "so what" question, the article describes how companies such as Coca-Cola and Subaru have been lauded for efforts to craft advertising messages that appeal to diverse demographic segments, whereas companies such as H&M and American Airlines have been criticized for widely publicized diversity missteps; hence, the importance of understanding how stigmatized-identity cues affect consumers' responses to companies that utilize them.

To facilitate this understanding, Chaney, Sanchez, and Maimon (2019 – this issue) distinguish between two types of stigmatized-identity cues: threat and safety. They argue that these cues drive consumer behaviors through their effects on consumers' beliefs about a company's ideology and their consequential impact on felt belonging. Their article provides substantial evidence suggesting that the effects of stigmatized-identity cues on belonging are moderated by membership in a stigmatized identity group, vigilance, and stigma solidarity. See Figure 1 for a graphical depiction of the conceptual model implied by Chaney et al.'s article.

By theorizing the effects of stigmatized-identity cues on consumer behavior, the target article contributes a small, but important piece to a large and complicated puzzle. Therefore, we attempt to extend the authors' ideas by using concepts and relationships from their framework to identify opportunities for future consumer psychological research. See Figure 1.

Defining Stigmatized Identity Cues

Chaney and colleagues (2019 – this issue) define stigmatized-identity cues as "aspects of the environment or social setting that communicate the value of one's stigmatized social identities, such as gender, race, religion and sexual orientation (e.g., Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002; Major & O'Brien, 2005), via the assumptions made by perceivers regarding who normatively occupies those spaces (e.g., only men) and the value placed on certain demographics in those settings" (p. 3). Their focus on cues pertaining to members of specific demographic categories is justified by their consideration of the need for companies to respond effectively to demographic trends. However, previous research (e.g., Mirabito et al., 2016) has identified the need to consider stigmatized identities that extend beyond demographic categories to other

consumer characteristics that have been devalued in the marketplace, specifically those defined in terms of consumers' needs, desires, or behaviors (e.g., vegans, smokers, or "credit risks"). For instance, plus-size consumers have felt excluded by the scarcity of fashionable clothing in their sizes (Scaraboto & Fischer, 2012). This group recently was stigmatized by Revolve, a clothing company that advertised a sweatshirt bearing the slogan "BEING FAT IS NOT BEAUTIFUL IT'S AN EXCUSE" (Deabler, 2018). Not only did the sweatshirt alienate plus-size consumers, it also affected how consumers in general perceived the company (Deabler, 2018). Plus-size consumers are just one example of a consumer identity that is stigmatized by the market, but falls outside of the scope of the definition proposed in the target article. Thus, broadening the definition of stigmatized-identity cues can help to expand how researchers think about stigmatized consumers.

In summary, consumers can be stigmatized based on many factors including their demographics, preferences, needs, or wants. Future research is needed to examine the extent to which the authors' framework applies to consumers who are stigmatized along dimensions other than demographic ones.

Stigmatized Identity Cues

Stigmatized-Identity Threat Cues. The target article identifies a broad range of cues that can threaten the identities of stigmatized others (e.g., representation, ambient cues, or discrimination claims). Presumably, each type of cue operates by conveying information about the value of one or more stigmatized social identities. However, according to Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, and Doosie (1999), threats to value represent only a subset of the social identity threats that people experience. Thus, a more comprehensive treatment of social identity threats has the potential to enrich Chaney et al.'s conceptual framework.

Branscombe et al. (1999) propose a taxonomy that includes categorization, distinctiveness, and acceptance, in addition to value, as distinct classes of social identity threats. Categorization threats occur when a person's social identity is incorrectly defined or addressed, distinctiveness threats occur when one's social group is not seen as having a clear identity, and acceptance threats occur when one's personal role or contribution to a group is questioned (Branscombe et al., 1999). These threats may have different consequences for consumers and marketers. For instance, a categorization threat is evident in the hypothetical case of a transgender consumer who identifies as a male but, while shopping in a retail store, is escorted to

a women's fitting room (see Rank-Christman, Morrin, & Ringler, 2017 for a similar discussion). One can imagine this experience producing negative consequences for both the consumer and the retailer. Yet, different consequences may occur as a result of an acceptance threat (Branscombe et al., 1999). For instance, an acceptance threat occurred when Porsche sports car owners reacted negatively to the introduction of the Porsche Cayenne SUV. According to Fournier and Avery (2011, p. 197), the sports car owners "felt threatened by SUV-driving soccer moms, despite Porsche's hope that its most loyal customers would welcome new drivers into the fold. In protest, online fans banded together to exclude Cayenne SUV owners from joining their discussions or claiming heritage connections to 'their brand.'" Because different types of social identity threats may impact consumer groups differently, future research should leverage the distinctions.

To some extent, each class of threat proposed by Branscombe et al. (1999), especially categorization and distinctiveness threats, may have implications for the perceived value of a particular social identity (i.e., they do not value us enough to identify us correctly or appreciate our uniqueness). Nonetheless, a more nuanced understanding of the context and content of social identity threats may enable companies to reduce the likelihood or impact of sending threatening cues.

In summary, previous research has identified diverse types of social identity threats that are expected to produce distinct types of responses from different types of people, based on the extent to which they identify with the social identity of interest (Branscombe et al., 1999). Future research is needed to examine the extent to which these different types of identity threats lead to unique reactions, not only from victims of the social identity threats, but also from other concerned consumers.

Stigmatized-Identity Safety Cues. These days, any consumer visiting a major metropolitan area during pride month may see rainbow flags or colors in store window displays (i.e., LGBT+ safety cues). Aside from storefronts, some companies (e.g., Nike, Ben & Jerry's, or Tiffany's & Co.) adorn their packages with rainbows, or feature same-sex couples in their ads as ways to express support for those who identify as LGBT+ (Wallace, 2015). As with identity threat cues, safety cues exist in various forms (e.g., representation, ambient cues, or diversity awards). Thus, as was done with identity threats (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999), the development of a taxonomy of safety triggers may aid the advancement of theory and practice. It is possible that consumers

respond differently to various types of safety cues (e.g., subtle vs. blatant cues). Thus, future research may benefit from a deeper understanding of marketplace safety cues.

The target article (Chaney et al., 2019 – this issue) also identifies ways by which companies can signal their intergroup attitudes and ideologies to attract consumers, mostly through their use of stigmatized-identity safety cues (e.g., through corporate social engagement or CEO activism). However, in order for companies to enhance the effectiveness of these signals, it is necessary to understand ways by which these signals can backfire and factors that contribute to such unintended missteps. Anecdotal and scientific evidence suggests that efforts to provide stigmatized-identity safety cues can backfire either by posing a threat to the targeted group or by threatening relevant others.

Efforts to provide stigmatized-identity safety cues can backfire and actually threaten members of the stigmatized group that the cues were intended to welcome. For instance, in 1998, Toyota missed the mark when they attempted to connect with African American women with a Toyota Corolla ad placed in Jet magazine, a publication targeting African-American readers. Although the initial effort may have been intended to provide African-American readers with an identity safety cue through media vehicle selection, the effort backfired. The ad, which highlighted the Corolla's legendary reliability, "featured a picture of the Corolla and copy that read, 'Unlike your last boyfriend, it goes to work in the morning. The 99 Corolla. 31 years of being dependable, reliable and more durable than most relationships. Imagine. A lasting commitment without ever arguing over the remote control. Too bad Toyota doesn't make boyfriends.'" (Holmes, 2002). Instead of connecting with African-American readers as intended, Toyota offended them. The advertising copy sent a threatening signal in the form of a negative stereotype that undermined the company's effort to welcome African-American female consumers. Another example of a safety cue backfiring can be seen when BIC introduced a set of pens for 'her,' which offended those who the pens were intended to welcome. The product offering left many consumers perplexed as they did not see the need for pens that differed from those used by men (Felix, 2012). In this case, an ill-conceived product that trivialized gender differences undermined a marketing effort that was envisioned as welcoming, rather than threatening female consumers.

Efforts to provide stigmatized-identity safety cues can also backfire by provoking negative reactions from relevant others who may not be the intended recipients of the safety cue.

As a case in point, consider Porsche loyalists' negative reactions to the introduction of the Porsche Cayenne SUV (an acceptance threat to Cayenne owners) and the company's subsequent effort to provide a safety cue to Cayenne owners. In response to loyalists' efforts to distance themselves from the non-traditional sub-brand, the company ran "a family-of-brands advertising campaign claiming that all Porsche sub-brands were legitimate and equally respected. The campaign backfired and fed the flames of anti-Cayenne sentiment in online forums" (Fournier & Avery, 2011, p. 197). In short, the company's message of brand inclusion for ostracized Cayenne owners became a message of brand dilution to a disgruntled and vocal segment of Porsche loyalists. Additional evidence of a backfire effect can be seen in Um's (2014) empirical examination of consumer responses to 'gay-themed' advertising. The study provides systematic evidence that, in some cases, safety cues that are intended to attract one group of consumers can backfire by having a negative impact on another.

In summary, stigmatized-identity cues can take a variety of forms (e.g., representation, ambient cues, or diversity awards). Thus, a taxonomy of safety triggers could be useful to help researchers explore the possibility that different types of safety cues may prompt unique responses, either in nature or magnitude. In addition, anecdotal and scientific evidence suggests that efforts to provide stigmatized-identity safety cues can backfire either by posing a threat to the targeted group or by threatening relevant others. Further research is needed to gain a better understanding of conditions under which stigmatized-identity safety cues backfire, especially if companies attempt to use such cues to signal their intergroup attitudes and ideologies, as Chaney, et al. (2019 – this issue) suggest.

Mediating Mechanisms

Ideological Inferences. Broadly speaking, Chaney and colleagues argue that stigmatized-identity threat and safety cues prompt ideological inferences of exclusion and inclusion, respectively. They also propose that these ideological inferences interact with social identities and other characteristics (e.g., vigilance and stigma solidarity) to influence feelings of belonging. Thus, the ideologies that different groups of consumers infer from their exposure to specific stigmatized-identity cues are expected to be similar across groups. Research by Chaney and Sanchez (2018; Study 1) supports this expectation. The only way stigmatized vs. non-stigmatized consumers are expected to differ is by their reactions to their ideological inferences and their

subsequent behavioral responses. However, it is possible that different groups of consumers draw unique inferences from the same cue.

Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, and Sanchez-Burks (2010) find that, contrary to views of multiculturalism as an inclusive ideology and unlike the views of racial minorities, White Americans perceive organizations that promote multiculturalism as less inclusive and less attractive than those that promote colorblind ideologies. These findings not only underscore the need for efforts to identify factors that moderate the relationship between stigmatized-identity cues and ideological inferences, but they also provide evidence that one group's safety cue can be another's threat cue. Future research may help illuminate instances in which stigmatized-identity safety cues backfire by provoking negative reactions from relevant others who were not the intended targets of the cue.

The notion that different groups of consumers can draw distinct ideological inferences from the same signal underlies "dog whistle politics," whereby communicators use multivocal appeals strategically to send hidden messages to select constituents, often religious groups (Albertson, 2015). In a marketing context, Green's (2014) interpretation of Chick-fil-A chicken sandwiches as "symbols of a conservative ideological position" suggests that the CEO's opposition to same-sex marriage may have been a threat cue to LGBT+ consumers and a "dog whistle" to Christian conservatives. Chick-fil-A also includes Bible quotes on Styrofoam cups and prohibits stores from opening on Sundays (Green, 2014), both of which can be viewed as identity safety cues for Christian conservatives.

In summary, although the effects of stigmatized-identity cues on consumers' ideological inferences are assumed to be consistent across social identities, scientific and anecdotal evidence suggests conditions that may violate this assumption. Thus, future research is needed to identify boundary conditions and explore their marketing implications.

Affective Responsiveness. Chaney et al.'s article (2019 – this issue) primarily emphasizes feelings of belonging as affective responses to stigmatized-identity cues. However, the social rejection literature identities four human needs that are impacted by being rejected or ignored by others: self-esteem, control, meaningful self, and belonging (Williams, 2001; Zandro, Williams, & Richardson, 2004). Lee and Shrum (2012) found that these needs impact consumption. Specifically, they found that when consumers are rejected, relational needs (i.e., belonging and self-esteem) are threatened, resulting in increased prosocial behavior. They further show that

when efficiency needs (i.e., power or meaningful self) are threatened, people consume more conspicuously. Thus, whereas feelings of belonging may be affected by stigmatized-identity cues, future research should explore which other human needs are impacted.

In summary, although felt belonging is an important consequence of identity threats and a powerful driver of behavior, other, less obvious, factors have the potential to further illuminate the effects of stigmatized-identity cues on consumer behavior.

Moderating Factors

Consumer Characteristics. The target article identifies two characteristics of consumer groups that moderate their responses to stigmatized-identity cues – vigilance and stigma solidarity – both of which heighten consumers' responses to stigmatized-identity cues. The former increases the probability that members of the focal group will detect identity cues that relate to their stigmatized identity, whereas the latter increases the probability that members of a particular stigmatized group will respond to cues that relate to others' stigmatized identities.

Vigilance, defined as "the propensity to attend to environmental events that could be perceived as involving [bias]" (Clark, Benkert, & Flack, 2006, p. 563), is especially prevalent among ethnic minorities (Hicken, Lee, Ailshire, Burgard, & Williams, 2013), women (Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007), and sexual minorities (Hatzenbuehler & Pachankis, 2016), groups that historically have been devalued. The notion that vigilance is driven by the duration or frequency of past discriminatory experiences suggests that it may be an enduring characteristic that varies across groups. However, research on the spontaneous self-concept (e.g., McGuire & Padawer-Singer, 1976; Stayman & Deshpande, 1989; Wooten, 1995) has found situational variability in the salience of one's social identity. Similarly, can vigilance be cued situationally? For example, should women and racial minorities be even more vigilant in settings with negotiable than with fixed prices, as both groups tend to experience unfavorable outcomes in price negotiations (Schneider, Rodgers, & Bristow, 1999)? Future research is needed to identify situational determinants of consumer vigilance.

Chaney and colleagues (2019 – this issue) also discuss stigma solidarity, which they define as "a belief that individuals from different stigmatized groups are similar and should serve as allies for others" (p. 12). Although groups that are stigmatized along the same identity dimension (e.g., Blacks and Latinos are both stigmatized by their race) may more easily perceive a common fate, groups that are stigmatized on different dimensions (e.g., women and Blacks are

stigmatized by their gender and race, respectively) also have been shown to exhibit stigma solidarity (Cortland, Craig, Shapiro, Richeson, Neal, & Goldsten, 2017). Examinations of the drivers and limits of stigma solidarity have important implications for efforts to mobilize against offending companies. However, it would be interesting to examine situations involving groups that perceive their fates to be negatively correlated, such that one's gain is seen as the other's loss. Would these competing groups exhibit stigma polarity whereby one's threat cue is another's safety cue? As discussed previously, the CEO of Chick-Fil-A's opposition to same sex marriage may be a threat cue to LGBT+ consumers, but a safety cue to Christian conservatives.

Although vigilance and stigma solidarity have been identified as characteristics that heighten consumers' responses to stigmatized-identity cues, little attention has been paid to consumer characteristics that dampen responses to these cues. We suggest skepticism as one such characteristic, specifically one that should attenuate favorable responses to identity safety cues. According to Friestad and Wright's (1994) persuasion knowledge model, consumers use their knowledge of persuasion motives and tactics to evaluate influence attempts by marketers. This savviness and skepticism may lead these consumers to discount the value of stigmatized-identity safety cues, especially if they perceive the cues as blatant or inauthentic (see Forehand & Grier, 2003, for a related discussion).

In summary, Chaney and colleagues identify vigilance and stigma solidarity as characteristics that should heighten consumers' responses to stigmatized-identity cues. Although vigilance is treated as an enduring characteristic of historically marginalized groups, it may be useful to consider conditions under which vigilance can be situationally cued. Stigma solidarity occurs when different stigmatized groups perceive a common fate or oppressor. Consequently, these groups respond similarly to stigmatized-identity cues even those that do not apply directly to them or do not address a similar identity dimension. Yet, some stigmatized groups have interests that may be negatively correlated (e.g., LGBT+ consumers and Christian conservatives). It would be useful to examine the extent to which these competing interests result in differential effects at each stage of Chaney et al.'s framework. Finally, in different ways, both vigilance and stigma solidarity are expected to increase consumers' responsiveness to stigmatized-identity cues. Future research is needed to identify consumer characteristics that have the potential to attenuate consumers' responses to stigmatized-identity cues.

Stigmatized Identities. Understandably, Chaney et al.'s article focuses on stigmatized social identities that are defined exclusively in terms of demographic characteristics. However, systematic examinations across a broader range of stigmatized social identities would allow researchers to assess the extent to which consumers' responses to stigmatized-identity cues vary as a function of stigmatized identity type. In addition to similarities and differences along demographic dimensions (e.g., gender and racial identity), stigmatized social identities can vary in terms of the extent to which they are either avowed (e.g., Razzante, 2018) or apparent (e.g., Goffman, 1963).

According to Razzante (2018, p. 392), "avowed identities are self-perceived social identities, whereas ascribed identities are social identities "others" place on an individual." The former involves a level of identification that cannot be assumed by the latter. Thus, Branscombe et al.'s (1999) argument that individuals' responses to various types of identity threats (i.e., categorization, distinctiveness, value, and acceptance) should differ as a function of their strength of identification with the threatened identity suggests that avowed identities may be more predictive of consumers' responses to stigmatized-identity cues than should ascribed identities. Future research is needed to investigate this possibility.

Goffman (1963) focused specifically on stigmatized identities and distinguished between those that are known (to others) vs. those that are knowable (by others). He also discussed behavioral implications of this distinction. For instance, those who are known to possess a stigmatized identity must manage social tensions, whereas those whose differentness is not yet known must manage social information. Consequently, Goffman argued that those who are known to possess a stigmatized identity may resort to "covering" by behaving in a manner that minimizes the potential for their stigma to disrupt their social interactions, whereas those with a hidden stigma have the option of "passing" as one who does not have a stigmatized identity. Extending this notion to a marketing context, consumers who possess a stigma that is "hidden" from others may be more prone to respond privately rather than publicly to stigmatized identity cues. Future research is needed to examine this possibility.

In summary, stigmatized social identities differ along many dimensions, some of which have implications for consumers' marketplace experiences and behaviors. Ascribed identities and known stigmas may be useful indicators of consumers' prospects of facing stigmatization or discrimination in the marketplace, especially through interpersonal interactions with market

actors. The extent to which stigmatized social identities are avowed or known may influence the likelihood or nature of consumers' responses to stigmatized-identity cues, respectively.

Behavioral Responses

Chaney and colleagues (2019—this issue) argue that stigmatized-identity threat and safety cues ultimately influence consumers' efforts to punish and reward companies, respectively. When stigmatized consumers feel threatened, they punish companies by taking collective action, most notably by boycotting, a tactic commonly used by historically marginalized consumers (Friedman, 1999). On the other hand, when consumers feel welcomed, they reward companies with their patronage, loyalty, or love (Batra, Ahuvia, & Bagozzi, 2002). Future research should examine a broader array of rewards and punishments that reflect common responses to customer dissatisfaction and the increasing use of information technology, especially social media.

Broadly speaking, customers can show dissatisfaction with companies by discontinuing their business relationships or complaining about their experience, either to the companies or to other consumers (e.g., Hirschman, 1970). Thus, future research should consider responses such as customer defections, product returns, company complaints, and negative word of mouth behavior as alternative ways for stigmatized consumers to punish companies that threaten their social identities. These behaviors may be attractive substitutes for boycotting, especially for stigmatized groups that lack the cohesion to pursue collective action.

The increasing use of information technology, especially social media, has facilitated a proliferation of word of mouth messages, both positive and negative, conveyed through email, texting, product reviews, online recommendations, discussion boards, or social media likes and dislikes (see Berger, 2014, for a review). These mechanisms facilitate consumers' efforts to reward or punish market actors, while simultaneously conveying information about desired (e.g., Packard, Gershoff, & Wooten, 2016) or threatened identities (e.g., Packard & Wooten, 2013). Thus, future research should consider word of mouth responses, both unfavorable and unfavorable, face-to-face or online, as means by which stigmatized consumers punish or reward companies for using stigmatized-identity cues.

Summary

In this commentary, we identified concepts and relationships presented by Chaney, et al. (2019—this issue) and used them to guide our discussion of identity threats as opportunities for

future consumer psychological research. We suggest additional research questions in Table 1. For better or worse, our efforts to identify research opportunities that broaden the authors' framework, expand their definitions of concepts, or explore unidentified boundary conditions undoubtedly add complexity to their elegant framework.

Our emphasis on broadening the framework by considering its applicability to stigmatized social identities other than those based on demographic factors is driven by a goal of enhancing the framework's generalizability, not an intention to minimize the importance of understanding the experiences of historically marginalized consumers. Marketplace stigmatization and discrimination based on demographic characteristics are pervasive problems that adversely affect the experiences of targeted consumers, especially racial minorities (Pittman, 2017). However, we believe that knowledge of stigmatized-identity cues and their effects on consumer behavior can be enhanced by examining cues pertaining to other social identities *in addition to* historically marginalized consumers. Likewise, we believe that knowledge of historically marginalized consumers can be enhanced by viewing them through other theoretical lenses *in addition to* theories of stigma. For instance, models of racial identity (e.g., Sellers, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) and research on ethnic-racial socialization (e.g., Hughes, Rodriquez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006) can potentially advance understanding of consumer behaviors by racial minorities. Thus, exploring marginalized identities through various theoretical lenses provides consumer psychologists with multiple avenues for future research. See Table 1.

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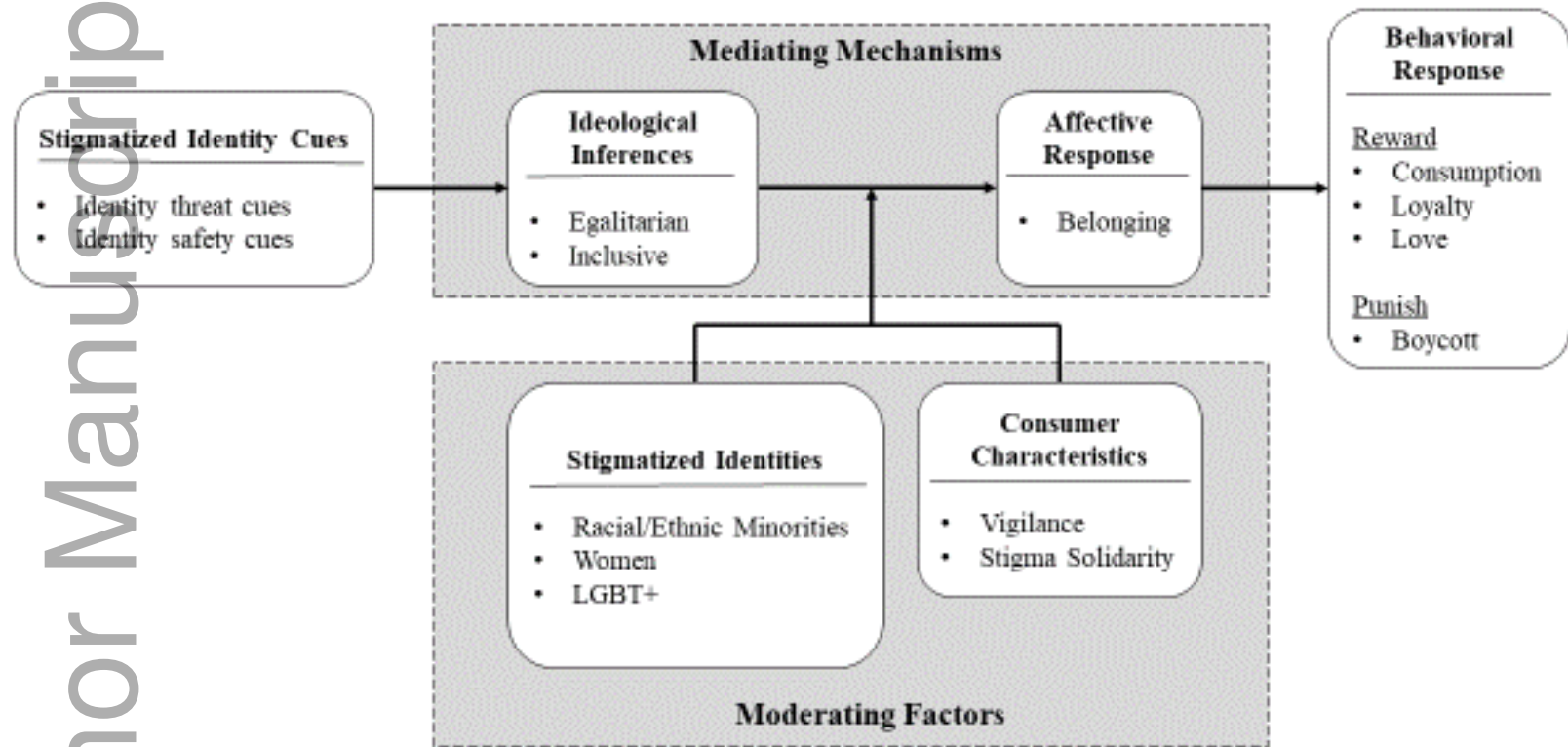
Figure 1. Conceptual model of stigmatized-identity cues and their effects on consumer behavior

Table 1. Threats and opportunities for future research

Research Questions	
Stigmatized-Identity Cues	• Some companies (e.g. Target) are moving away from the use of demographic labels in stores/restaurants. **How do consumers respond to a context that does not use identity cues?** • Many companies own various brands (e.g., Unilever owns both Dove and Axe). These brand names may use safety or threat cues as ways to appeal to their target market. **How do consumers respond to companies that send mixed signals?** E.g., Dove uses inclusive safety cues; Axe uses exclusive threatening cues (Barden, Rucker, & Petty, 2005). • Some consumers may experience social stigma from consuming certain products. For instance, when men consume sustainable products, they may be seen as 'unmanly' (Brough, Wilkie, Ma, Isaac, & Gal, 2016). Further, if a woman orders a Pumpkin Spice Latte or wears UGG boots, she may be labeled as 'basic' (e.g., Malone, 2014). **How do social stigmas that are associated with product consumption impact subsequent consumer behavior?** • **How does the nature of the threat (e.g., categorization, distinctiveness, value, or acceptance) impact consumer behavior?** • **Does the type of stigmatized identity (e.g., avowed, ascribed, achieved, etc.) affect consumer reactions to stigmatized identity cues?** • **How and why do identity safety cues backfire?** • **Under what conditions do cues intended to include some consumers, get interpreted as efforts to exclude others?** • **Are stigmatized identity cues judged more on warmth-based or competence-based dimensions of social cognition?** • **How do consumers themselves use stigmatized-identity cues as props in their social performances?** • **Do stigmatized-identity cues that are blatant vs. subtle have the same impact on consumers?** • **How do stigmatized consumer segments use stigmatized-identity cues as symbols of empowerment (e.g., pink hats)?**
Mediating Mechanisms	• **What roles do anger, disappointment, or frustration play as affective responses to stigmatized-identity threat cues?** • **Aside from belonging, what other consumer needs (e.g., self-esteem, safety, physiological) are impacted by the use of safety or threat cues?** • **In addition to belonging, what other human needs (e.g., self-esteem, power, meaningful self) are impacted by the use of stigmatized-identity cues?**

Moderating Factors	• **Under what conditions does consumer skepticism moderate consumer responses to stigmatized-identity safety cues?**
	• **Can consumer vigilance be cued situationally? For example, should women and racial minorities be even more vigilant in settings with negotiable than with fixed prices, as both groups tend to experience unfavorable outcomes in price negotiations?**
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