Stigmatized-Identity Cues in Consumer Spaces

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Consumers with stigmatized identities may be especially attentive to organizational cues that signal to them whether or not they are welcomed and valued consumers. These stigmatized-identity cues can become a part of a company's brand, influencing the attractiveness of the company and consumer loyalty, and allowing consumers to draw inferences about an organization's ideologies and attitudes toward multiple stigmatized groups. Consumers with stigmatized identities attend to stigmatized-identity cues that signal inclusion (or exclusion) toward other stigmatized groups, resulting in stigmatized-identity cue transfers, especially when similarity mindsets are activated, and among consumers who are high in stigma solidarity. Because identity is central in consumer behavior, stigmatized-identity threat cues can at times result in anti-consumption, including boycotts, allowing consumers and companies to engage in collective action. This article reviews this growing body of research, demonstrating the important influence of stigmatized-identity cues on consumer behavior and discussing ways in which companies can better signal their inclusive attitudes and ideologies to attract consumers.

Keywords Social stigma; Stigma transfer; Identity threat; Diversity

As diversity has increased in the United States (Cohn & Caumont, 2016), companies have employed numerous strategies to appeal to a diverse consumer base, depicting diverse consumers in advertisements, creating products that appeal to a diverse group of people, and engaging in organizational political activism. Consider the recent Nike advertisement which featured the activist and former NFL quarterback Colin Kaepernick and other athletes such as Serena Williams which led to increased sales and online engagement with the company. The depiction of activist athletes of color signaled the (positive) value Nike affords racial social identities, thus serving as a *stigmatized-identity cue* for racial minority consumers. Yet, this advertisement garnered attention from people of all races, in part because of the broader company ideology Nike made evident by showcasing Collin Kaepernick. Indeed, it is this inferred broader ideology, we propose, that ultimately allows this advertisement to serve as a stigmatized-identity cue for White women and LGBT+ individuals.

Stigmatized-identity cues refer to 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., Major & O'Brien, 2005; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002), via the assumptions made by perceivers regarding who normatively occupies those spaces (e.g., only men) and the value placed on certain demographic groups in those settings. Such stigmatized-identity cues exist in company settings and can take many forms, including the representation of one's group (e.g., presence of women), the presence of diversity structures (e.g., female-friendly

policies), and the décor of an environment (e.g., feminine objects). As companies try to cast a wider net to capture a more diverse group of consumers or try to narrowly target a specific audience, it is important to consider the role of social identities, such as gender and race, because they influence how people perceive companies, including the perceived ideologies of such companies. Moreover, because consumer products can operate as methods of identity expression (Escalas & Bettman, 2005), and individuals are driven by the desire to hold congruent self-views (e.g., by choosing products consistent with their identities; Higgins, 1987), understanding stigmatized-identity cue perception is integral to consumer behavior.

In this article, we review the growing body of social psychological research on stigmatized-identity cues, the ideological inferences drawn from stigmatized-identity cues, and links to consumers' emotions and behavior. Unique to this coverage, we propose that organizational stigmatized-identity cues can positively impact a broader range of consumers than might be expected, due to the inferred organizational ideologies of equality from such stigmatized-identity cues. Consider Coca-Cola's advertisement that featured a diverse group of individuals singing "America the Beautiful" in numerous languages. This advertisement signaled that racial minorities and immigrants are welcomed and included in Coca-Cola's vision of the United States. Such cues allow consumers to draw inferences about the company as one that values diversity and endorses equality, which can signal inclusion and belonging to individuals stigmatized for other social identities, such as women and sexual minorities.

Identity in Consumer Behavior

Because products and services can function as forms of self-expression, consumer behavior is linked to one's sense of self (Levy, 1959; Sirgy, 1982). Numerous psychological theories suggest that people desire self-consistency, and experience negative affect and dissonance when behaving in ways that do not align with self-guides (e.g., Festinger, 1962; Higgins, 1987; Pratt, 1998). Thus, the extent to which consumers see a company's identity as similar to their own predicts their identification with the company and, ultimately, predicts company loyalty (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003). For example, Uber saw riders leaving in droves after reports of sexual harassment and gender discrimination surfaced from former female employees (Guynn,

2017). Using services from a company that has discriminated against female employees likely gives rise to negative affect and a sense of self-discrepancy for female consumers. Moreover, female consumers may anticipate that they will not be treated well by such a company, which could reduce their sense of belonging as consumers of that brand.

Indeed, among the many important aspects of the self that guide consumer behavior is one's gender, race, and sexual orientation. These social identities are specific to one's affiliation with important social groups and they serve as significant sources of belonging and worth (Brewer, 1991; Kramer, 1991; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The desire to belong and hold a positive view of one's self are fundamental human needs and thus serve as primary motivators in behavior (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Leary & Baumeister, 2000). As such, people are sensitive to group boundaries (i.e., attend to who is an ingroup member and who is an outgroup member), often derive self-worth from their affiliation with positively valued social groups and, under certain conditions, derive self-worth from devaluing outgroup members (for review, see Hornsey, 2008). Marketers are aware of the critical link between identification, belonging, and consumption, and create images of prototypical consumers of products via advertisements (Jamal & Goode, 2001; Sirgy et al., 1997). Indeed, companies often make multiple versions of an advertisement to air in communities with different demographics to ensure actor-consumer demographic congruence (Maheshwari, 2017). Given the importance of social identity for belonging and self-enhancement, it is not surprising that people draw inferences about whether companies value their social identities, attending to information such as a company's employee demographics, diversity and political messaging, and social choices.

Stigmatized-Identity Cues

Who Attends to Stigmatized-identity Cues?

Most research in social psychology has focused on identity cues relevant to populations who have been historically devalued (i.e., stigmatized groups) such as women, African Americans, and LGBT+ individuals. Research has primarily focused on these demographics because default environments normally cater to majority populations and, thus, already communicate identity value to dominant, high status groups (e.g., White, male, heterosexual). Moreover, high status, dominant group members

do not typically harbor concerns that their identity will be devalued and, thus, do not attend to identity cues to ascertain identity threat or safety as vigilantly as do stigmatized group members (Hicken, Lee, Ailshire, Burgard, & Williams, 2013).

Conversely, women, racial minorities, and sexual minorities frequently encounter discrimination because of their social identities and, thus, tend to more vigilantly scan environments for threat. For example, research demonstrates that African Americans are more attuned to environmental cues that involve race than are White Americans (Hicken et al., 2013). Similarly, women (Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007) and sexual minorities (Hatzenbuehler & Pachankis, 2016) show vigilant responses to cues to determine the value of their respective identities in environments. For example, women who anticipated sexism in an environment were vigilant to (i.e., categorized more rapidly) consciously presented stigmatized-identity threat cues (e.g., the word sexism) and demonstrated attentional bias to subliminally presented social identity threat cues (Kaiser, Vick, & Major, 2006).

Vigilance is characterized as an involuntary stigma response motivated by the desire to anticipate and avoid future discrimination (Major & O'Brien, 2005) and is understood as a risk factor for health (Clark, Benkert, & Flack, 2006; Himmelstein, Young, Sanchez, & Jackson, 2015). Consumers who hold a stigmatized identity are attuned to *stigmatized-identity threat cues*, cues that suggest that a company devalues their identity or discriminates against their ingroup, and will distance themselves from such companies as a self-protective strategy. Similarly, members of stigmatized groups are sensitive to *stigmatized-identity safety cues* that signal that their stigmatized identity *is* valued. Indeed, the presence of stigmatized-identity safety cues can make stigmatized group members exhibit greater cognitive engagement, which means that they are more likely to attend to important messaging and product advertisements if they see their group well-represented in these messages (Walker, Feild, Bernerth, & Becton, 2012).

What Serves as a Stigmatized-identity Cue?

Stigmatized-identity safety cues can take a number of forms, ranging from learning that a company has implemented gender-inclusive bathrooms (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018), received racial or gender diversity awards and distinctions (Chaney, Sanchez, & Remedios, 2016; Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011), implemented LGBT+ equality stickers, or enacted diversity-related policies (Alvarez & Schneider, 2008). For example, the presence of stigmatized-identity safety cues, such as racial diversity awards or information about a racial diversity training program listed on a company's website signal to racial minorities that their stigmatized identities are valued at the company, and ultimately make the company seem like a setting absent of discrimination (Chaney, Sanchez, & Remedios, 2018). Thus, when consumers see that companies are inclusive (e.g., by implementing diversity programs or receiving diversity-related accolades), they are likely to respond positively. For example, Subaru released a series of advertisements in the early 1990s that included subtle inclusion cues for lesbians (e.g., using the slogan "Get out. And stay out"), earning them a loyal base of lesbian consumers (King, 2016).

Stigmatized-identity safety cues also include representation, or the simple presence in a setting of individuals who hold a stigmatized identity. For instance, experiments reveal that watching a video that depicted the presence of other women in a normally male-dominated math, science, and engineering (MSE) academic environment made women report a greater sense of belonging and desire to participate in MSE environments (Murphy & Taylor, 2012; Murphy et al., 2007). Research has demonstrated that the presence of other women, especially female role models, reduces stigmatized-identity threat, diminishes anxiety, enhances feelings of belonging, and enhances cognitive resources (Kiefer, Sekaquaptewa, & Barczyk, 2006; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003). Similar findings regarding the threat buffering effects of representation have been found for African Americans who face negative stereotypes about their intellect and performance in society broadly, but also in MSE contexts. For example, African Americans who are in a stigmatized-identity threatening context (i.e., taking a diagnostic math test) tend to anticipate less negative stereotyping when the test administrator is Black rather than White (Wout, Shih, Jackson, & Sellers, 2009). This means it is tactical for advertisers to employ diverse spokespersons and employees, and develop a diverse range of prototypical consumers in advertisements. Consider when Mattell announced their new hijab-wearing Black Muslim Barbie, marking the first time that Muslim culture was represented in Barbie's line of merchandise. Introduction of such products communicates a sense of stigmatized-identity safety to Muslims and has the potential to cultivate brand loyalty.

Additionally, several studies have shown that gender inclusive décor (Cheryan, Meltzoff, & Kim,

2011; Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, & Steele, 2009) impr-oves women's felt belonging and protects them from stigmatized-identity threats in computer science. Specifically, when women and minorities enter (or considering entering) MSE fields where they are typi-cally underrepresented, they often experience low feelings of belonging because there are so few people of their same background, which erodes their self-efficacy and MSE interest over time (Foor, Walden, & Trytten, 2007; Jackson, 2004). When environmental cues embodying the masculinity of the physical envi-ronment (e.g., Star Trek posters) permeate these already challenging solo-status environments, they serve as additional signals to women that they do not belong. In these physical environment studies, the mere presence of Star Trek, Star Wars, and other Science Fiction posters, comic books, and stacked soda cans served as ambient cues of a company's cul-ture and reinforced the social stereotypes of MSE (i.e., nerdy). This resulted in significantly fewer women being interested in working in the depart-ment compared to men and compared to women's interest in a company with non-stereotypical ambient cues (e.g., nature posters, neutral books, plants, and water bottles; Cheryan et al., 2009).

Clearly, then, paying attention to the identity-related objects in consumer accessible spaces (e.g., retail spaces, advertising contexts) is likely to be important. For example, consider the clothing retai-ler Aerie. Noticing a gap in a lingerie market that overwhelmingly advertised using White models with thin body types and heavy photo-shopping, they began a campaign highlighting body positivity and diversity with no retouching. In doing so, Aerie signaled stigmatized-identity safety to women with a range of body types and of different races and became championed as an inclusive company, ulti-mately seeing increased sales (Schlossberg, 2016).

Similarly, stigmatized-identity *threat* cues can vary widely, and can range from lack of representa-tional diversity in employees or advertisements to discriminatory policies or attitudes. Such stigma-tized-identity threat cues signal to members of these stigmatized groups that companies do not value their identities, leading to disinterest in the com-pany (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008; Sanchez, Chaney, Manuel, & Reme-dios, 2018). For example, when Asian American participants learned that a company was facing a racial discrimination lawsuit, they anticipated that they would be treated more poorly because of their race if they worked for the company and were less interested in interacting with managers at the com-pany compared to a company that was not facing a

racial discrimination lawsuit (Sanchez et al., 2018). In sum, stigmatized-identity threat cues can make individuals less interested in engaging in future interactions with perpetrators (e.g., Sanchez, Chaney, Manuel, Wilton, & Remedios, 2017) and diminish interest in an environment (e.g., Murphy et al., 2007). Numerous companies have experi-enced backlash for such stigmatized-identity threat cues, including for selling racially offensive clothing (e.g., H&M running an ad featuring a Black child model wearing a "coolest monkey" sweatshirt) and creating sexist advertisements (e.g., sexually explicit Hardee's commercials). Indeed, research has demonstrated that when consumers' cultural her-itage is made salient, they demonstrate a desire to avoid decisions with negative consequences for their ingroup (Briley & Wyer, 2002).

Beyond signaling belonging and self-worth, ver-sus exclusion and devaluation, research shows that cues in advertisements can have a powerful effect on behavior and intergroup attitudes. For exam-ple, viewing commercials that sexualized women resulted in men treating women in a more sexist manner (Rudman & Borgida, 1995). Such ads can increase acceptance of sexual assault (Reichl, Ali, & Uyeda, 2018), and increase body dissatisfaction among women (for a review, see American Psy-chological Association, 2007). Additionally, the use of racial stereotypes in advertisements can increase the acceptance of, and reinforce, such racial stereo-types in consumer behavior (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). These negative cues for women and people of color are thus seen as not only exclusionary, but can also be perceived as discriminatory, further shifting consumer behavior. Critically, such adver-tisements and company policies allow consumers to draw inferences about companies' ideologies.

Stigmatized-Identity Cues Communicate Broadly to Social Groups

Recent research has demonstrated that the presence of gender-inclusive restrooms in a digital rendering of a company's office building (see Figure 1) pro-moted perceived fairness for women *and* racial minorities who imagined working for that com-pany, compared to a company with a traditional restroom at the office building (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). This finding indicates that stigmatized-iden-tity cues allow individuals to draw inferences about companies' attitudes more broadly, such that stig-matized-identity cues that, at face value, signal identity safety, or threat for one group can have a

Figure 1. Gender-inclusive restroom company (above) and traditional binary restroom company (below). [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

much broader impact (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Chaney et al., 2016; Sanchez et al., 2017, 2018). That is, stigmatized-identity cues *transfer*, conveying information to other stigmatized groups. For example, gender diversity awards on a company's website (e.g., "One of America's Top Companies for Executive women" by the National Association for Female Executives) promote perceived inclusion for both White women *and* men of color at the company compared to non-identity specific awards (e.g., "One of America's Top Companies for Executive Leadership"; Chaney et al., 2016). See Figure 1.

Conversely, White women, Asians, and Latinos anticipate more negative treatment from a White man or company who discriminates against Blacks (Sanchez et al., 2017, 2018). Specifically, when being evaluated by a White man who has endorsed prejudiced statements about Blacks, compared to a

White man whose intergroup attitudes are unknown, White women (see Figure 2), Asians, and Latinos perceived the evaluator to be biased against members of their stigmatized identity group as well, and anticipated being negatively evaluated because of their stigmatized identity (Sanchez et al., 2017, 2018). Thus, H&M's "coolest monkey" advertisement may have not only signaled an insensitive and discriminatory attitude toward Blacks, but also toward other stigmatized groups. See Figure 2.

Notably, *stigma solidarity*, a belief that individuals from different stigmatized groups are similar and should serve as allies for others, can facilitate stigmatized-identity cue transfers. We propose that stigma solidarity beliefs emerge when stigmatized group members perceive themselves as members of a broader disadvantaged minority group. Perceptions of discrimination against one's ingroup can activate a sense of common fate that can reduce intergroup competition for limited resources (Hornsey, van Leeuwen, & Van Santen, 2003; Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003). Such an expanded view of one's ingroup may thus engender stigma solidarity beliefs and make members of stigmatized groups sensitive to a broader spectrum of stigmatized-identity cues.

Yet, it is important to note that although past research has found that stigmatized groups that face discrimination along the same identity dimension, such as Blacks and Latinos who experience discrimination due to their race, can easily engage in stigma solidarity behavior such as collective activism on behalf of the other group (Craig & Richeson, 2012), such positive intraminority behavior is less common among groups that face discrimination on different identity dimensions (i.e., women and Blacks are stigmatized by their gender and race, respectively; Craig, DeHart, Richeson, & Fiedorowicz, 2012). Stigma solidarity often functions as an individual difference in which some
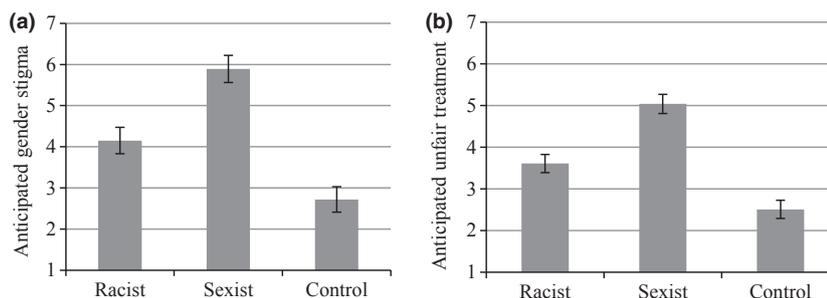

Figure 2. White women's mean ratings of anticipated gender stigma (a) and (b) anticipated unfair treatment as a function of evaluator condition, from Sanchez et al. (2017), Study 4.

individuals endorse this belief more strongly than others (Chaney et al., 2018), but it can also be situationally activated. For example, participants who are asked to first consider the similarities between two stigmatized groups, such as the parallels between the fight for interracial marriage and same-sex marriage, are more likely to adopt a belief in stigma solidarity (Cortland et al., 2017).

Consumers who are high in stigma solidarity, whether chronically or situationally, may be especially prone to perceiving as self-relevant stigmatized-identity cues that are directed toward outgroups. For example, White women who are high in stigma solidarity perceived a Black male expert as less likely than a White man to endorse negative stereotypes about White women (see Figure 3) (Chaney et al., 2018), and a White woman leader who expressed allyship promoted a greater sense of belonging for Black women in a MSE environment than did a White male leader (Pietri, Johnson, & Ozgumus, 2018). Thus, consumers with stigmatized identities may feel a greater sense of belonging and anticipate less bias when marketers use a spokesperson or endorser who holds a stigmatized identity, especially when messages of inclusivity and allyship are employed. Moreover, whereas highlighting shared experiences and activating similarity mindsets (Cortland et al., 2017)
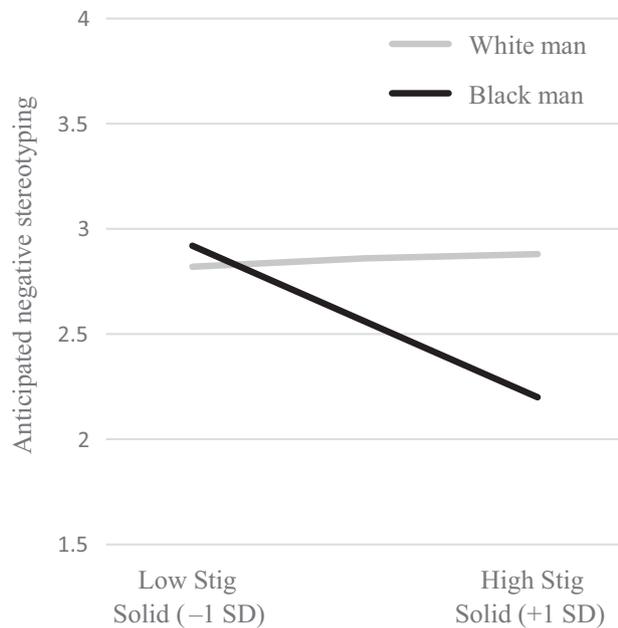

Figure 3. White women's anticipation of being negative stereotyped by a White male and Black male expert based on participants' endorsement of stigma solidarity, from Chaney et al. (2018), Study 3.

can promote stigma solidarity and may make consumers more sensitive to stigmatized-identity cues, such strategies may also promote consumer liking of the company (for reviews of shared experiences and liking, see Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005). See Figure 3.

Stigmatized-Identity Cues Shape Perceived Company Ideology

Companies' expressed ideologies toward diversity are often placed into two categories: colorblind or multicultural. Colorblindness de-emphasizes differences between groups, and instead focuses on creating a shared, common identity (e.g., members of the same organization) to create a superordinate common ingroup (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2014). For example, companies that focus on uniting consumers around their identities as consumers of that brand create a superordinate identity and thus focus on consumer similarities, not differences. However, members of stigmatized groups often view colorblind policies unfavorably, unless presented with clear evidence of equality within the organization (e.g., representation in high-status positions; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Specifically, a company brochure that demonstrated a colorblind ideology (e.g., "We train our diverse workforce to embrace their similarities") and included photographs of all White employees was rated as a less trustworthy place to work by Black participants than when photographs depicted racially diverse employees (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008).

In contrast, multicultural ideologies focus on recognizing and celebrating intergroup differences by including diversity structures aimed at promoting identity safety for stigmatized individuals (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011), and ultimately attempting to present the company as a place where diversity is valued and welcomed (Triana & García, 2009). For example, Covergirl aired advertisements with the tagline "equal is beautiful," and pictured people who encompassed diverse races, religions, and body types, thus signaling a multicultural ideology and the endorsement of equality. However, some attempts at multiculturalism may actually be discriminatory, such as a Dove advertisement that portrayed a woman washing herself and transitioning from Black to White. Advertisements such as Covergirl's and Dove's allow consumers to make inferences about a company's ideology as inclusive or exclusionary and may ultimately influence consumers' behavior by cultivating or thwarting a sense

of belonging and worth amongst consumers who hold stigmatized identities.

Although the above described advertisements signaled the companies' attitudes toward specific stigmatized groups, consumers are also likely to make inferences about the companies' broader ideologies regarding group equality and social hierarchies. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) has been identified as a broad ideology that underlies intergroup attitudes. Specifically, high SDO has been identified as an ideology underlying prejudice toward multiple stigmatized groups (Allport, 1954; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007), and thus low SDO is associated with egalitarianism and inclusiveness. Although traditionally theorized as an ideology endorsed (or not) by an individual, we propose that lay individuals make inferences about a company's ideologies from things such as stigmatized-identity cues. For example, multicultural ideologies signal a broader ideology of equality that undermines social hierarchies (low SDO) and thus companies that highlight diversity structures are perceived to be lower in SDO (see Figure 4) (Chaney et al., 2016), whereas those that have been accused of discrimination against Latino employees are perceived to be biased against multiple stigmatized groups (Sanchez et al., 2018). As such, we propose that consumers hold a lay understanding of a broad ideology that underlies multiple intergroup attitudes, specifically SDO, and that such inferences about a company's endorsement of SDO facilitates stigmatized-identity cue transfers. See Figure 4.

A company's identity is based on an organization's core values and demographics, as communicated in both controllable and less controllable ways (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003). Indeed, when it comes to learning negative intergroup attitudes that a company and its employees may hold, the

information often comes from former or current employees. For example, even when companies present themselves as egalitarian and inclusive in their advertisements and diversity structures, their employees may express different ideologies publicly. To consumers, employees' behavior, such as the now former Google software engineer James Damore's anti-diversity memo, may ultimately signal corporate ideologies, such as when American Airlines made headlines repeatedly for their employees' mistreatment of Black passengers. Such events may serve as stigmatized-identity threat cues and as "moments of truth" in service encounters, in which consumers develop fixed and lasting impressions of a company (Zeithaml & Bitner, 2000).

Notably, a company's positive public image increases identification with the company and ultimately consumers' resilience to negative information about the company (for model, see Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003). For example, companies that have received gender diversity awards, and thus have a positive public image, but are currently facing claims of gender discrimination, are still perceived as a fair place for women to work (Kaiser et al., 2013). Diversity structures that signal stigmatized-identity safety may create an illusion of fairness and make outside observers, such as consumers, react harshly to claims of discrimination (Kaiser et al., 2013). Indeed, when consumers are committed to a brand, there is limited spillover of negative information onto brand beliefs, whereas positive information is more likely to spillover (Ahluwalia, Unnava, & Burnkrant, 2001). Thus, brand commitment may mitigate the transference of stigmatized-identity threat cues while facilitating the transference of stigmatized-identity safety cues. This means that the way companies respond to the negative attention that comes with discrimination claims can ultimately serve as stigmatized-identity safety cues. For example, the firing of James Damore by Google after his anti-diversity memo allowed the company to (re)affirm their inclusive values, shifting the focus away from the negative content and instead promoting positive spillover and consumer forgiveness.

Figure 4. Black and Latino men perceived managers at a company with racial diversity awards, compared to neutral awards, as less likely to endorse SDO, resulting in greater anticipated fair treatment for racial minority employees, from Chaney et al. (2016), Study 3.

Stigmatized-Identity Cues and Social Political Engagement

Although consumers are more forgiving of companies they identify with (Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000), when the negative information is severe, consumers may react more strongly and more permanently. Stigmatized-identity threat cues from a company

Table 1
Key Ways Stigmatized-Identity Cues Influence Consumers

Key Points	Example	Citations
Stigmatized-identity safety cues signal to consumers the value a company places on the targeted social groups	Coca-Cola's "America the Beautiful" commercial in multiple languages signals that Coca-Cola values racial diversity and immigrants	Chaney et al. (2016); Purdie-Vaughns and Walton (2011)
Consumers with stigmatized identities may infer the value a company places on their ingroup from stigmatized-identity cues that target a stigmatized outgroup	Aerie's series of advertisements embracing body type diversity signals inclusion to racial minorities and LGBT+ individuals	Chaney et al. (2016); Chaney and Sanchez (2018); Sanchez et al. (2018)
Individuals with stigmatized identities who believe stigmatized groups should work together are more perceptive to outgroup stigmatized-identity cues	White women high in stigma-solidarity may be the most likely to anticipate greater unfair treatment of women at H&M after the "coolest monkey" campaign	Chaney et al. (2018)
Such inferences occur due to perceptions of companies endorsing a broader ideology of group (in)equality that underlies multiple intergroup attitudes	Based on Nike's "Just Do It" advertisement featuring Colin Kaepernick, consumers are likely to infer that Nike endorses equality (low SDO) and thus has positive attitudes toward other stigmatized groups such as LGBT+	Chaney et al. (2016); Chaney and Sanchez (2018)

can give rise to collective action, such as the boycotting of certain companies and their products (e.g., Aaker, Fournier, & Brasel, 2004; Hogg, Banister, & Stephenson, 2009). For example, when it was learned in 2012 that the CEO of Chick-Fil-A opposed same-sex marriage, many consumers boycotted the fast food chain. Collective action is broadly defined in the social psychological literature as behavior undertaken with the subjective goal of improving a group's conditions (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990), and four core motivations for collective action have been identified: (a) efficacy (i.e., how likely it is that the goal can be achieved through joint effort), (b) identity (i.e., those more strongly identified with a social identity are more likely to engage in collective action), (c) emotion (i.e., individual and group-based anger predicts greater collective action intentions), and (d) morality (i.e., perceived violation of one's moral standards predicts collective action intentions; for review, see van Zomeren, 2013).

Models predicting collective action place individuals' social identity at the center, such that people who have a strong motivation to protect and enhance the status of their ingroup and its interests engage in collective action in the face of perceived injustice against the ingroup (van Zomeren, 2013). Individuals' social identities, such as their gender identity, become salient in the face of stigmatized-identity threat cues (Murphy et al., 2007). Thus, stigmatized-identity threats, such as learning that a company's CEO opposes same-sex marriage, activate social identities for LGBT+ Americans, and

represent a moral violation for those who support same-sex marriage, evoking anger, and resulting in collective action such as boycotting.

Whereas some collective action is thus driven by consumers, companies, and brands can also lead or join boycotts in response to perceived identity threats. For example, the passing of North Carolina House Bill 2, which requires individuals to use bathrooms of their biological sex, is seen by many as an anti-transgender law (Fausset, 2017). In response, many corporations released statements condemning the law, and sports leagues such as the NBA threatened to move large events out of the state. Here, the passing of legislation gave corporations a chance to demonstrate their attitudes toward the treatment of a specific stigmatized group by engaging in large-scale collective action, which ultimately communicated their corporate ideologies and cued stigmatized-identity safety to some consumers. As such, we propose corporations' social engagement can also serve as stigmatized-identity safety cues and demonstrate a commitment to inclusion and diversity at a meaningful level (for a review of CEO activism and "corporate social responsibility", see Chatterji & Toffel, 2018; Porter & Kramer, 2011).

Conclusion

Stigmatized social identities play an important role in consumer behavior, such that stigmatized-identity cues signal whether or not consumers are

welcomed and valued (Chaney et al., 2016; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), as summarized in Table 1. Such cues can range from representation (Chaney et al., 2018), environmental, ambient cues (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Cheryan et al., 2009), discrimination claims (Sanchez et al., 2017, 2018), and diversity awards (Chaney et al., 2016). Moreover, consumers make inferences about companies' broader intergroup ideologies from stigmatized-identity cues. Specifically, stigmatized-identity safety cues signal a companies' endorsement of egalitarianism (low SDO; Chaney & Sanchez, 2018), while stigmatized-identity threat cues signal a companies' ideological endorsement of inequality (high SDO). Consumers' inferences about a company's SDO results in stigmatized-identity cue transfers, or the perception of stigmatized-identity cues as indicative of a company's attitude toward, and treatment of, multiple stigmatized groups. Lastly, stigmatized individuals high in stigma solidarity (Chaney et al., 2018), or those primed to think of similarities (Cortland et al., 2017), may be especially attuned to non-self-relevant stigmatized-identity cues. Together, this body of research highlights the powerful role of stigmatized-identity cues as they relate to consumer behavior and implies novel ways in which companies can signal their intergroup attitudes and ideologies to attract consumers. See Table 1.

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