Ambivalence, Selective Exposure, and Negativity Effect: AMBIVALENCE, SELECTIVE EXPOSURE, AND NEGATIVITY EFFECT

Article *in* Psychology and Marketing · May 2016

DOI: 10.1002/mar.20878

CITATIONS
3

READS
100

2 authors:

Lifeng Yang
ShanghaiTech University
9 PUBLICATIONS **21** CITATIONS
SEE PROFILE

H. Rao Unnava
The Ohio State University
47 PUBLICATIONS **2,374** CITATIONS
SEE PROFILE

Psychology & Marketing

Ambivalence, Selective Exposure, and Negativity Effect

Lifeng Yang
University of Mississippi

H. Rao Unnava
The Ohio State University

ABSTRACT

Past research has extensively documented negativity bias effect, in which individuals show greater consideration of negative information than positive information in attitude formation. In this research, negativity bias was re-examined in the context of online consumer reviews processed by individuals with ambivalent attitudes. Across two studies, it was found that high-ambivalence individuals exhibited greater negativity bias only if the negative information served to reduce their ambivalence. Low-ambivalence individuals, on the other hand, showed greater preference for negative information only if it served to give them a more balanced view of the attitude object. Across all individuals, a general preference for negative information, in line with the negativity bias effect, was also observed. © 2016 Wiley Periodicals, Inc.

Attitude refers to the overall evaluation of how much one likes or dislikes an object (Allport, 1935). To measure attitudes, recent studies in the literature have been using the traditional bipolar scale (i.e., "–3" to "3") with multiple items asking individuals to rate how good–bad, favorable–unfavorable, and nice–awful the attitude object is. These multiple items are averaged to form an attitude composite indicating the overall valence of the attitude (i.e., positive or negative) and the degree of liking (how positive or negative).

While attitude as an overall evaluation of an object is informative in indicating whether an individual likes or dislikes the object, it does not tell us how strong the attitude is (e.g., whether an individual is confident of that attitude, ambivalent about that attitude, or has an attitude that is readily accessible). This research focuses on ambivalent attitudes. Ambivalence refers to a state in which an individual has mixed reactions toward an attitude object, and the mixed reactions do not offset one another. For example, Jessie loves chocolate cake. Overall, Jessie's attitude toward chocolate cake is positive in valence. However, Jessie also holds negative reactions toward chocolate cake because of her beliefs about its negative effect on health. Thus, Jessie is ambivalent, even though her attitude toward chocolate cake is positive. The level of ambivalence she experiences toward chocolate cake depends on the strength of her valenced reactions. If her positive reactions and negative reactions are of the same strength, then she will experience high ambivalence toward chocolate cake (Thompson, Zanna, & Griffin, 1995). It should be noted that two individuals who express the same attitude toward chocolate cake (e.g., rate it 6 on a 7-point scale) may have different levels of ambivalence toward it.

The objective of this research is to examine the effect of ambivalence on information search. An individual is said to be ambivalent about something when they possess both positive and negative thoughts about it. This cognitive inconsistency is associated with discomfort (Nordgren, Harreveld, & van der Pligt, 2006), and people try to reduce their discomfort through several mechanisms, such as avoiding making a decision (Luce, Bettman, & Payne, 1997), processing information more systematically (Maio, David, & Esses, 1996), biased processing (Mann, Janis, & Chaplin, 1969), or accessing information selectively from memory to suppress conflicting thoughts (Nordgren et al., 2006). How ambivalence affects what type of information an individual seeks and how choosing that information affects the state of ambivalence are issues that have not been researched hitherto, and will be the focus of investigation in this paper.

THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION

Attitude and Attitude Measurement

Do you like French fries? How much did you like your college experience? Is Tom Cruise a good actor? When questions such as these are asked, people tend to give

Psychology & Marketing, Vol. 33(5): 331–343 (May 2016)
View this article online at wileyonlinelibrary.com/journal/mar
 DOI: 10.1002/mar.20878

overall evaluations indicating how much they like or do not like certain products, objects, people, and events. These overall evaluations are termed as attitudes by psychologists (Allport, 1935; Fazio & Olson 2003; Petty, Fazio, & Briñol, 2008).

Understanding consumers' overall attitudes is helpful to an extent in predicting subsequent behavior. However, two consumers with identical attitudes may have very different belief systems underlying them. For example, when consumers report their attitudes toward Nike shoes as 5 on a 7-point scale, it is possible that some of them have all mildly positive beliefs about Nike shoes and others have a combination of strongly positive and strongly negative beliefs about Nike shoes. The coexistence of positive and negative beliefs about an object leads to attitudinal ambivalence—a state in which an individual may express preference for an object, but also experiences conflicting feelings about the object.

Ambivalence and Ambivalence Measurement

Ambivalence refers to a state in which an individual experiences both positive and negative reactions to an attitudinal object (Kaplan, 1972; Priester & Petty, 1996; Thompson et al., 1995). For example, an individual may express a positive attitude toward French fries, and like them for their taste, but may have reservations about their high caloric and sodium content. This individual's dominant reactions toward French fries are positive, so his or her overall evaluation (i.e., attitudes) of French fries is positive. But because of the negative reactions embedded in the overall positive attitude, his or her overall attitude is characterized as ambivalent. If an individual does not experience any conflicting reactions underneath their overall attitude, then the individual's attitude is univalent, or not ambivalent.

For instance, consumers may report that they like French fries very much. For some people, the extent to which they like or dislike French fries can be univalent, either liking it with no reservation or disliking it with no reservation. But for some other folks who claim the same overall liking of French fries, attitudes toward French fries can be highly ambivalent. That is, they like French fries very much, but they are also ambivalent toward French fries.

Two widely used methods to measure ambivalence are the Griffin's ambivalence measure (Thompson et al., 1995) and Priester and Petty's felt ambivalence measure (Priester & Petty, 1996). With Griffin's ambivalence measure, respondents are asked to separately evaluate how positive (negative) their reactions are toward an attitude object if they only consider the positive (negative) aspects of the attitude object. The positive aspect rating (P) and negative aspect rating (N) will be used to calculate ambivalence following Griffin's formula (Ambivalence = $[P + N]/2$ – absolute value $[P - N]$).

In addition to Griffin's measure of ambivalence, a felt ambivalence measure developed by Priester and Petty (1996) is also commonly used to capture ambivalence. The measure consists of five items asking participants to rate how much they feel "mixed versus one-sided, conflicted versus not conflicted, indecisive versus not indecisive, maximum tension versus no tension, or maximum ambivalent versus not ambivalent" (on an 11-point scale) toward the attitude object. A felt ambivalence score will be derived from averaging one's responses to all five items. The bigger the score, the more ambivalent one feels toward the attitude object.

When the attitude one holds is overall positive and ambivalent at the same time, it is called positive dominant (i.e., proportionately more positive thoughts or feelings about an object). For instance, one may indicate liking chocolate cake very much but at the same time may acknowledge that he or she also has negative thoughts about eating chocolate cake.

Ambivalence and Behavior

Attitudes high in ambivalence are found to be less reliable in their ability to predict behavior (Armitage & Conner, 2000; Zemborain & Johar, 2007). One well-accepted consequence of attitudinal ambivalence is its undermining impact on attitude–behavior consistency. That is, the more ambivalent one feels, the more inconsistent the attitude–behavior relationship would be. Attitude ambivalence is theoretically situated alongside other variables that are known to affect the strength of one's attitude (see Petty & Krosnick, 1995 for a review), with the understanding that stronger attitudes are better predictors of behavior than weaker attitudes, and attitude ambivalence renders one's attitude weaker.

Ambivalence has also been shown to cause a sense of discomfort in an individual. From a cognitive consistency perspective, just like dissonance (Festinger, 1957), ambivalence has been shown to cause aversive feelings (Nordgren et al., 2006; Zemborain & Johar, 2007), particularly in situations in which the focal issue is of great importance to the individual (Priester & Petty, 1996). Just as consumers are motivated to reduce their dissonance, researchers have suggested that ambivalent individuals too will be motivated to reduce (Zemborain & Johar, 2007) or reconcile (Sengupta & Johar, 2002) the inconsistent reactions that cause ambivalence. In a recent study on this issue, Clark, Wegener, and Fabrigar (2008) found that ambivalent individuals elaborated more on pro-attitudinal (supporting dominant reactions) arguments. This behavior appeared to be motivated by a desire to reduce a sense of subjective discomfort attributable to ambivalent attitudes.

Ambivalence-motivated Information Preference

While researchers seem to agree that ambivalence systematically affects information processing, there seems

to be less agreement on how ambivalence affects information exposure. On one hand, some literature shows that the feeling of ambivalence is aversive, and that highly ambivalent individuals would consider information *without* carefully prescreening the counterattitudinal nature (Briñol, Petty, & Wheeler, 2006) or source credibility (Maio et al., 1996; Zemborain & Johar, 2007) of the message. This explanation expects elaboration alone to alleviate any discomfort that one experiences due to ambivalence. On the other hand, some research suggests that ambivalent individuals are more selective and more discriminating when considering information than those who do not have such conflicted reactions (e.g., Clark et al., 2008; Nordgren et al., 2006). Specifically, ambivalent individuals are expected to consider attitude-consistent information more than counterattitudinal information. It is generally agreed that ambivalence is an undesirable state and that individuals are motivated to reduce their ambivalence.

This research proposes that if ambivalence reduction is the motivator for information processing, then people should choose to process information that is effective in helping them do so. Consistent with the arguments of Clark et al. (2008), this research argues that ambivalent individuals are more likely to prefer exposure to information that will help them to reduce their ambivalence. One would expect that arguments that are consistent with one's dominant reactions should assist an individual in reducing the relative effect of the conflicting reactions.[1]

If ambivalence motivates consumers to seek attitude-congruent information over attitude-incongruent information, this type of motivated selection/preference should *not* manifest among those whose attitudes are not ambivalent. There are two possible routes univalent individuals may take in being exposed to one or the other type of additional product-related information. An individual who has an attitude already formed toward a product, and who is intent on keeping that attitude intact, is expected to show a strong preference for attitude-consistent information. This type of biased processing has been discussed in the literature on attitude strength (Jain and Maheswaran, 2000). In the current research, the focus is on conditions in which individuals are in the process of forming their attitudes, and thus the type of bias discussed above may not manifest.

This research proposes that if the attitudes are either not well formed or in the formation stage, individuals are more interested in forming accurate impressions of the object under consideration. For this to happen, they may even choose to expose themselves to information that contradicts their current disposition to ensure that they consider all sides of an issue thoroughly before settling on an attitude. The absence of an ambivalence reduction motivation among consumers may give way to other possible motivations and needs, such as the need to be accurate when forming an attitude (Kruglanski, 1989), need to correct for possible bias in initial evaluations (Petty & Wegener, 1993), need to express defensive confidence for one's existing belief (Albarracin & Mitchell, 2004), and need to eliminate chances for anticipated regret from inaccurate judgments (Zeelengerg et al., 1996). In all of these cases, individuals should be interested in knowing the arguments against their currently held position, so they could either adjust their position or counterargue, thus forming accurate impressions of an attitude object. Low-ambivalence individuals are thus expected to be either equally attentive to positive and negative arguments or show a preference for arguments against their currently held positions.

Ambivalence is not the only determinant of information preference. Prior research in psychology has reported on the ability of negative information to draw people's attention more so than positive information. This effect has been termed "negativity bias" and describes people's disproportionate attention to negative information. A question arises as to how ambivalence and information negativity affect one's preference for information. We suggest that for people whose ambivalence is low, assuming a preference for accurate information (Kruglanski, 1989), greater attention will be paid to information that is perceived to be useful in making a decision. Since negative information in general is viewed as diagnostic (discriminates between objects), we should expect to see a general preference for negative information. However, if low-ambivalence people hold a negative attitude toward an object, they may view positive information about the object as more diagnostic. Thus, depending on initial attitude, negativity effect may be overwhelmed by the desire for accuracy. For high-ambivalence individuals, in a similar way, information that reduces ambivalence will be preferred; thus, for an individual holding a positive attitude toward an object, negative information will be preferred less than positive information because of the latter's ability to reduce ambivalence. Thus:

H1: A general preference for negative information over positive information should be exhibited by both low- and high-ambivalence individuals.

H2: Low-ambivalence individuals will show preference for information they perceive as useful even if it is attitudinally inconsistent.

H3: High-ambivalence individuals will show preference for information that is consistent in valence with their current attitude.

[1] The notion that people process information in a biased manner has also been discussed in the literature on hypothesis testing (e.g., Hoch & Deighton, 2000) and in studies on predecisional information distortion (e.g., Russo, Meloy, & Medvec, 1998). This research is different because only highly ambivalent individuals are expected to show biased processing; their motivation to do so is not any hypothesis per se but reduction of ambivalence. Further, there is no distortion of information presented. Instead, focus of the current research is on which type of information people choose to expose themselves to.

STUDY 1

METHOD

Subjects and Design

Participants of the study were recruited from undergraduate marketing classes in a Midwestern university in the United States ($N = 181$, 104 males and 78 females) in exchange for course credit. The study, portrayed as a "Product Evaluation Survey," was a 2 (attitude valence: positive dominant vs. negative dominant) × 2 (ambivalence: high vs. low) factorial design.

To avoid biased processing due to preexisting attitudes, a fictitious brand of running shoes (Jaguar shoes) was chosen as the target product and information about the product was presented to participants in the form of consumer reviews. Positive and negative attitudes were manipulated by providing reviews of the target product, which were either positive or negative. To create high ambivalence, participants were provided with reviews that were both positive and negative. In the low-ambivalence condition, reviews that were either only positive or negative were used (see Appendix A). To ensure that our effects are driven by ambivalence and not by attitudinal differences between conditions, pretesting was done to equate the attitudes in the high- and low-ambivalence conditions.

Attitude-consistent information refers to information that is consistent in valence with one's attitude/dominant reactions. Thus, for the high-ambivalent positive attitude condition, attitude-consistent information will be positive information. In the same vein, for the high-ambivalent negative attitude condition, attitude-consistent information should be negative information.

Procedure

The study was conducted online via the Qualtrics survey engine. Participants were informed that the study was about how consumers evaluate products based on online reviews. Different reviews were provided depending on the experimental condition one was assigned to. After reading the first set of consumer reviews, participants' initial attitudes toward Jaguar shoes were measured using a four-item semantic differential scale anchored by good–bad, unfavorable–favorable, beneficial–harmful, and undesirable–desirable (7-point scale). The "good–bad" and "beneficial–harmful" items were reverse-coded, and a composite attitude score for each participant was calculated by averaging their responses to the attitude scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.91$).

After reporting their initial attitudes, participants proceeded to separately evaluate only the *positive* or only the *negative* aspects of the product on a 4-point scale where "1 signifies not at all," "2 slightly," "3 quite," and "4 extremely." The positive aspect rating (P) and negative aspect rating (N) were then used to calculate each respondent's attitudinal ambivalence score toward Jaguar shoes (Ambivalence = $[P + N]/2 -$ absolute value $[P - N]$). The final ambivalence scores for each individual could take any of four values, ranging from a minimum of "–0.50" to a maximum of "4.00" (Thompson et al., 1995). In addition, participants rated how much they felt "mixed versus one-sided," "conflicted versus not conflicted," "indecisive versus not indecisive," "maximum tension versus no tension," and "maximum ambivalent versus no ambivalent" (11-point scale) toward Jaguar shoes, which is the felt ambivalence measure developed by Priester and Petty (1996).

The critical question about information exposure was introduced at this point. Participants were told they had an opportunity to read one more review about Jaguar shoes and were asked to choose one of two additional reviews that was either positive or negative about Jaguar shoes. To understand why participants chose the additional positive or additional negative review to read, a projective information value measure was presented. This measure consisted of a four-item, 7-point scale anchored by "1 = not at all" and "7 = very much so" (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.73$). Specifically, participants were asked to rate how informative and how helpful the additional review was, and how informative and how helpful additional positive (negative) reviews would be compared to additional negative (positive) reviews. After reporting their opinions, participants were not given the additional reviews to read. Instead, they were debriefed and dismissed from the study.

RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

Through random assignment, 44 participants were assigned to each of the high- and low-ambivalence positive attitude conditions. For the negative attitude conditions, 42 participants were in the high-ambivalence condition, and 51 participants were in the low-ambivalence condition.

As expected, participants in the positive attitude conditions reported a more positive attitude toward Jaguar shoes ($M = 5.49$) than those in the negative attitude conditions (M = 2.78, F [1, 180] = 319.30, $p < 0.001$). Among those in the positive attitude condition, there were no differences between high- and low-ambivalence conditions in their attitudes (5.32 vs. 5.66, F [1, 86] = 2.717, $p > 0.10$ NS). Similarly, attitudes did not differ significantly between those high and low in ambivalence in the negative attitude conditions (2.96 vs. 2.64, F [1, 92] = 2.09, $p > 0.15$ NS). Attitude differences between the high- versus low-ambivalence conditions across the positive (5.32 vs. 2.96) and negative attitude conditions (5.66 vs. 2.64) were not statistically different. The similarity in attitudes between the high- versus low-ambivalence conditions suggests that

Table 1. Manipulation Checks for Study 1.

Positive Attitude Conditions				Negative Attitude Conditions			
High Ambivalence ($n = 44$)		Low Ambivalence ($n = 44$)		High Ambivalence ($n = 42$)		Low Ambivalence ($n = 51$)	
Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*
Attitudes							
5.32	0.63	5.66	1.22	2.96	0.84	2.64	1.19
Felt ambivalence							
6	1.74	4.22	2.02	6.17	2.01	4.36	1.79
Ambivalence							
1.67	0.79	0.36	0.9	2.26	0.82	1.43	0.85

Note: Attitudes are the averages of the four-item 7-point semantic differential measures anchored by "good–bad" (reverse-scored), "awful–nice," "desirable–undesirable" (reverse-scored), and "unfavorable–favorable."

participants share very similar overall evaluations of the attitude objects, but because attitudes and ambivalence are independent constructs, the similarity in attitudes is not sufficient to indicate similar opinions. Participants in the high-ambivalence condition indicated feeling more ambivalent toward the target product than those in the low-ambivalence conditions (Griffin's ambivalence: 1.96 vs. 0.94, F [1, 179] = 52.55, $p < 0.001$; felt ambivalence: 6.08 vs. 4.30, F [1, 179] = 40.72, $p < 0.001$). Thus, the manipulations of attitude and ambivalence were deemed successful (see Table 1).

Dependent Measures

Choice. As expected, it was found that overall, more participants in the study chose additional negative reviews than additional positive reviews (110 vs. 71, $\chi^2 = 30.53$, $p < 0.001$; see Table 2). With choice (0 = additional positive reviews, 1 = additional negative reviews) as the dependent variable, binary logit regression analysis found that overall, the more favorable one's initial attitude was, the more likely they were to choose additional negative reviews ($\beta = 0.33, SE = 0.10$, $p = 0.001$). Thus, a general preference for negative information over positive information, consistent with prior literature on negative information, was observed. However, consistent with expectations, a significant interaction of attitude valence and ambivalence emerged as well ($\beta = –02.82, SE = 0.69, p < 0.001$). To better understand this interaction, separate binary choice analyses were conducted for low- versus high-ambivalence conditions. The expectation was that high-ambivalence individuals will show higher preference for attitude-consistent information while low-ambivalence individuals do not show such bias. Instead, they may choose attitude-inconsistent information if they believe it is more useful for them to make their choice decision.

Controlled for attitude extremity, using ambivalence condition as the predictor for choice, binary logit analysis shows that for those holding positive dominant attitudes toward Jaguar shoes, ambivalence affected their likelihood to choose additional negative information ($\beta = –1.14, SE = 0.53, p = 0.03$). While 39% of the high-ambivalence individuals chose an additional positive review (consistent with their attitude), only 16% of the low-ambivalence individuals chose a positive review (showing less preference for attitude-consistent information). A similar effect was observed in the negative attitude condition, which explained the interaction: only 29% of high-ambivalent individuals showed preference for additional positive information (which would have been attitudinally inconsistent) while 69% of low-ambivalent individuals showed preference for positive information. Thus, the negativity effect was overcome by low-ambivalent individuals when they perceived positive information to be of greater use to them. This effect was significant ($\beta = 1.69, SE = 0.46, p < 0.001$). Perceptions of the value of additional information for high- versus low-ambivalence individuals can provide further evidence for whether those perceptions influence the preferences for information.

Projected Information Value. Consistent with the choice data, an overall negativity effect was found

Table 2. Choice Counts for Additional Positive Reviews Study 1.

	Positive Attitude		Negative Attitude	
Information Preference	High Ambivalence ($n = 44$)	Low Ambivalence ($n = 44$)	High Ambivalence ($n = 42$)	Low Ambivalence ($n = 51$)
Additional positive	17	7	12	35

Table 3. Projected Information Value of Additional Negative Information Study 1.

Positive Attitude				Negative Attitude			
High Ambivalence ($n = 44$)		Low Ambivalence ($n = 44$)		High Ambivalence ($n = 42$)		Low Ambivalence ($n = 51$)	
Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*
4.56	0.82	5.32	1.22	4.42	1.08	3.64	1.32

Note: Projected information value is the average of "how much more informative/helpful do you think the additional negative comments will be than the additional positive comments?" (7-point scale anchored by 1 = not at all and 7 = very much).

as a function of the prechoice attitude favorability ($\beta = 3.29$, $SE = 0.23$, $p < 0.001$; see Table 3). Controlled for the prechoice attitude favorability, the interaction of attitude valence × ambivalence conditions significantly predicted projected information value of additional negative reviews ($\beta = -1.47$, $SE = 0.34$, $p < 0.001$). Importantly, in the positive attitude condition, high-ambivalence individuals perceived lower usefulness for negative information ($M = 4.52$) than low-ambivalence individuals ($M = 5.32$, t [86] $= 3.43$, $p < 0.001$). In contrast, the reverse was true for negative attitude condition. High-ambivalence individuals perceived additional negative information to be more useful ($M = 4.42$) than low-ambivalence individuals ($M = 3.64$, t [91] $= 3.07$, $p < 0.005$). To formally evaluate the relationship between information value and choice, separate mediation analyses were conducted for the low- and high-ambivalence conditions using 1000 bootstrap samples and a 95% confidence interval (Preacher & Hayes, 2008), with attitude valence (1 = negative, 2 = positive) as the X variable, information value as the mediator variable, and choice as the dependent variable. Results showed that projected information value index significantly predicted choice for both the low- ($\beta = 3.38$, $SE = 0.84$, $p < 0.001$) and high-ambivalence conditions ($\beta = 4.15$, $SE = 0.95$, $p < 0.001$). However, prechoice attitude valence predicted information value only for the low-ambivalence conditions (direct effect: $\beta = 1.68, SE = 0.25, p < 0.001$), but not for the high-ambivalence conditions (direct effect: $\beta = 0.14, SE = 0.21, p = 0.50$ NS). Of most interest, for the low-ambivalence conditions, the mediation path of attitudes →information value index→choice was significant (indirect effect = 5.68, $SE = 1.97$; $CI = [3.33; 9.14]$); but for the high-ambivalence conditions, this mediation path was not significant (indirect effect = 0.58, $SE = 1.01$, $CI = [-1.51; 2.68]$). Further analysis on high-ambivalence conditions showed that the reported ambivalence they felt significantly predicted their choice for additional negative reviews ($\beta = 1.25$, $SE = 0.50$, $p = 0.01$), but felt ambivalence did not predict the information value index ($\beta = 0.03$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = 0.79$ NS). Instead, ambivalence negatively affects one's likelihood to choose attitude-inconsistent information: for those in high-ambivalence positive attitude condition, choice probability for additional negative information was undermined ($\beta = -1.14$, $SE = 0.53$, $p = 0.03$); however, if the high-ambivalence individuals were in the negative attitude condition, their likelihood to choose additional negative reviews could be significantly predicted by ambivalence ($\beta = 1.69$, $SE = 0.46$, $p < 0.001$).

Discussion

Three findings emerged from the data in Study 1. First, consistent with prior literature, participants in this study exhibited higher preference for negative information than positive information. Thus, negativity bias was confirmed. Second, those with high ambivalence exhibited a preference for information that is consistent with their attitudes. This finding suggests that people's strategies for coping with ambivalence include exposing themselves selectively to information that is consistent with their attitudes. Prior literature has shown greater preference to process either more information or attitude-consistent information mostly on existing social issues (i.e., Clark et al., 2008), but this research is the first study to show selective exposure effects resulting from ambivalence. Finally, people with low ambivalence, while also exhibiting negativity bias, were shown to exhibit preference for information that is inconsistent with their current attitudes. Presumably, the motivation to make the correct decision is stronger than the inherent bias people have for negative information or the expected bias for attitude-consistent information.

The next study sought to replicate current findings to increase confidence in them. The replication involved a different product with different reviews.

STUDY 2

Subjects and Design

As a replication of Study 1, Study 2 also utilized a 2 (ambivalence: low vs. high) × 2 (attitude: positive vs. negative dominant) factorial design. A fictitious brand of jeans (E.K. jeans) was chosen to be the target product for its nondiscriminative relevance to the target population. Undergraduate students from a U.S. public university ($n = 293$, 145 males and 148 females) were recruited to participate in the study for course credit. All participants were presented information about the product in the form of consumer reviews, which was to

Table 4. Manipulation Checks Study 2.

Positive Attitude Conditions				Negative Attitude Conditions			
High Ambivalence ($n = 69$)		Low Ambivalence ($n = 76$)		High Ambivalence ($n = 66$)		Low Ambivalence ($n = 82$)	
Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*
Attitudes							
4.52	1.01	5.24	0.99	4.22	0.74	2.84	1.35
Felt ambivalence							
6.2	1.8	4.72	1.5	6.45	1.65	5.11	1.84
Ambivalence							
2.37	1.48	1.76	1.5	2.5	1.24	1.9	1.59

Attitudes are the averages of the four-item 7-point semantic differential measures anchored by "good–bad" (reverse-scored), "awful–nice," "desirable–undesirable" (reverse-scored), and "unfavorable–favorable."

help them form initial attitudes of differing valence and ambivalence.

Procedure

The study was Web based, and all instructions were provided on the Web interface. Differing from Study 1, this study was conducted in a computer lab that seated 10 people at a time. The initial instructions informed each participant that the study was about how consumers evaluate products based on online reviews. They were directed to a folder placed in front of the computer where information about the target product and reviews about the product were provided.

Also differing from Study 1, in this study, equal numbers of reviews were provided for each condition for attitude and ambivalence formation. This was to address the possible concern that the manipulation of arguments in Study 1 is confounded by the number of attributes about which people have information. Four attributes of the target product were used to achieve manipulations of attitude and ambivalence: fit, fabric, color, and wash (see Appendix B). Pretests showed that the first two attributes were viewed as more important than the last two. Thus, to achieve positive and negative attitudes, valence of reviews about the first two attributes was varied as either positive or negative. The order of reviews presented stayed constant across all conditions. The attribute reviews listed fit and fabric first because they are the most important attributes. The ambivalence manipulation was achieved by varying the number of reviews, which were positive or negative. For example, in the positive attitude high-ambivalence condition, two positive and two negative reviews were presented; for positive attitude low ambivalence condition, three positive and one negative reviews were presented. After reading the material in the folder, participants reported their initial attitudes and ambivalence toward the target product. They were then given the choice to read additional positive or negative reviews. After indicating their choices, they proceeded to the projected information value questions before the study concluded. Items used for all measurements were identical to those used in Study 1.

RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

Participants reported a more positive attitude toward E.K. jeans in the positive attitude conditions than in the negative attitudes conditions (5.23 vs. 3.09, F [1, 291] = 418.26, $p < 0.001$). Further, those in the high-ambivalence conditions indicated more ambivalence toward E.K. jeans than those in the low-ambivalence conditions (Griffin's measure: 2.43 vs. 1.83, F [1, 291] = 12.29, $p < 0.001$; felt ambivalence: 6.32 vs. 4.92, F [1, 291] = 48.93, $p < 0.001$). Thus, the manipulations of attitudes and ambivalence were successful (see Table 4).

Dependent Measures

Choice. Controlled for the initial attitude favorability, choice of the additional consumer review was subjected to binary logit regression analysis with attitude valence (1 = negative, 2 = positive), ambivalence (1 = low, 2 = high), and the interaction of attitude valence × ambivalence as the predictor variables.

Consistent with Study 1, results showed that overall, more participants preferred to receive additional negative information (168 of 293, 57.34%) than additional positive information (125 of 293, 42.66%; see Table 5). The interaction of ambivalence × attitude valence was significant for both the choice data ($\beta = -2.24$, $SE = 0.57$, $p < 0.001$) and the projected information value ratings ($\beta = -0.96$, $SE = 0.29$, $p = 0.001$).

As shown in Table 6, attitude valence (1 = negative, 2 = positive) significantly predicted choice for additional information for the low-ambivalent conditions ($\beta = 1.88$, $SE = 0.50$, $p < 0.001$), but not for the high-ambivalence conditions ($\beta = -0.13$, $SE = .36$, $p = 0.72$

Table 5. Choice Counts for Additional Information Study 2.

	Positive Attitude		Negative Attitude	
Information Preference	High Ambivalence	Low Ambivalence	High Ambivalence	Low Ambivalence
Additional positive	27	18	23	57
Additional negative	42	58	43	25

Table 6. Projected Information Value of Additional Negative Information Study 2.

Positive Attitude				Negative Attitude			
High Ambivalence ($n = 69$)		Low Ambivalence ($n = 76$)		High Ambivalence ($n = 66$)		Low Ambivalence ($n = 82$)	
Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*
4.08	1.08	4.55	1.12	4.25	1.03	3.86	1.1

Note: Projected information value was the average of "how much more informative/helpful do you think the additional negative comments will be than the additional positive comments?" (7-point scale anchored by 1 = not at all and 7 = very much).

NS). An analysis of information preference for high- versus low-ambivalence conditions in the positive attitude condition showed that high-ambivalence participants had greater preference for positive information (39%) than low-ambivalence participants did (24%). For the negative attitude conditions, preference for positive information showed a reverse trend: high-ambivalence individuals showed lower preference for positive information (35%) than low-ambivalence individuals did (70%). Therefore, ambivalence negatively affected choice probability for attitude-inconsistent reviews (positive attitude condition: $\beta = -0.87$, $SE = 0.39$, $p = 0.028$; negative attitude condition: $\beta = 1.33$; $SE = 0.41$, $p = 0.001$).

With attitude valence as the predictor, projected information value as the mediator and binary choice as the dependent variable using 1000 bootstrap samples and a 95% confidence interval (Preacher & Hayes, 2008), projected information value significantly predicted choice for both the high- ($\beta = 2.16$, $SE = 0.40$, $p < 0.001$) and low-ambivalence conditions ($\beta = 2.64$, $SE = 0.47$, $p < 0.001$). Identical to Study 1, for low-ambivalence conditions, prechoice attitude valence significantly predicted choice (direct effect: $\beta = 2.29$, $SE = 0.57$, $p < 0.001$), and the mediation path of attitude valence →information value index→choice was significant (indirect effect = 1.81, $SE = 0.59$, $CI = [0.84; 2.99]$). However, for the high-ambivalence conditions, prechoice attitude valence was not found to affect either the projected information value ($\beta = -0.17$ $SE = 0.18$, $p = 0.35$ NS) or choice (direct effect: $\beta = -0.29$, $SE = 0.48$, $p = 0.55$ NS). The mediation path of attitude valence →information value index→choice was not significant among them either (indirect effect: $\beta = -0.37$, $SE = 0.44$, $CI = [-1.30; 0.48]$). When attitudes were positive, high-ambivalence participants found negative information to be less useful ($M = 4.08$) than low-ambivalence participants ($M = 4.55$, $t\,[143] = 2.57$, $p < 0.01$). When attitudes were negative, high-ambivalence participants indicated negative information to be of greater value ($M = 4.25$) than low-ambivalence participants did ($M = 3.86$, $t\,[146] = 2.21$, $p < 0.03$). Thus, the perceived usefulness results were consistent with those in Study 1, and with the information preference data in Study 2.

Discussion

In two studies, ambivalence was shown to affect preference for the type of information an individual desires to be exposed to. When ambivalence was relatively higher, individuals chose to be exposed to information that is attitude consistent, presumably due to its mitigating effect on felt ambivalence. In contrast, when ambivalence was lower, individuals exhibited preference for information that ran counter to their current attitudes, presumably to ensure they were knowledgeable of all arguments on the "other" side. The motivation in these individuals appears not to be one driven by ambivalence reduction, but more by the need to be accurate in their judgment. A major contribution of this research is the demonstration that ambivalence affects information exposure, a finding that adds to other consequences of ambivalence reported in the literature.

Another major contribution of the current research is showing that negativity bias is not always prevalent. While data from both studies offer evidence that negative reviews are generally considered more informative and more useful among all our participants, the level of ambivalence one feels toward the attitude object is found to moderate the negativity bias. Specifically, the more ambivalent a person is, the more likely they are to choose information that is consistent with the dominant reactions and their overall attitudes. That is, if a person's attitude is ambivalent but also positive dominant, they will prefer to receive additional positive information. If the person's attitude is ambivalent but

also negative dominant, they will prefer to receive additional negative information.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This research shows that even with attitudes held equivalent between people, their level of ambivalence drives information search. These results have implications for communicators. For example, in a political campaign, many of the undecided voters tend to be ambivalent because they have both positive and negative feelings toward both candidates. The ambivalence has to be reduced to turn the voter around, which is generally accomplished by providing favorable information about a candidate. This research shows that a strategy of providing positive information for positive dominant people and negative information for negative dominant people is most likely to ensure the information is processed.

Another managerial implication of this research derives from the finding that ambivalence reduction is a powerful motivator. In fact, the drive to reduce ambivalence was strong enough that it moderated the well-established negativity bias shown by consumers. Study participants overcame their general preference for negative information so they could acquire attitude-consistent information and reduce their ambivalence. This suggests that in a marketplace where consumers are torn between buying or not buying a product (e.g., new technologies), information that provides a way to reduce ambivalence is most effective. Marketers may be well served in measuring ambivalence among consumers in such situations and testing their communications as alleviators of ambivalence before launching expensive campaigns.

REFERENCES

Albarracin, D., & Mitchell, A. L. (2004). The role of defensive confidence in preference for proattitudinal information: How believing that one is strong can sometimes be a defensive weakness. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30, 1565–1584.

Allport, G. (1935). Attitudes. In C. Murchison (Ed.), A handbook of social psychology (pp. 789–844). Worcester, MA: Clark University Press.

Armitage, C. J., & Conner, M. (2000). Attitudinal ambivalence: A test of three key hypotheses. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26, 1421–1432.

Briñol, P., Petty, R. E., & Wheeler, S. C. (2006). Discrepancies between explicit and implicit self-concepts: Consequences for information processing. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 91, 154–170.

Clark, J. K., Wegener, D. T., & Fabrigar, L. R. (2008). Attitudinal ambivalence and message-based persuasion: Motivated processing of proattitudinal information and avoidance of counterattitudinal information. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34, 565–577.

Fazio, R. H., & Olson, M. A. (2003). Attitudes: Foundations, functions, and consequences. The Sage handbook of social psychology. London: Sage.

Festinger, L. (1957). A theory of cognitive dissonance. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hoch, S. J., & Deighton, J. (1989). Managing what consumers learn from experience. Journal of Marketing, 53, 1–20.

Jain, S. P., & Maheswaran, D. (2000). Motivated reasoning: A depth-of-processing perspective. Journal of Consumer Research, 27, 358–371.

Kaplan, K. J. (1972). On the ambivalence-indifference problem in attitude theory and measurement: A suggested modification of the semantic differential technique. Psychological Bulletin, 77, 361–372.

Krosnick, J. A., & Petty, R. E. (1995). "Attitude strength: An overview." In R. E. Petty & J. A. Krosnick (Eds.), Attitude strength: Antecedents and consequences (pp. 1–24). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kruglanski, A. W. (1989). The psychology of being "right": On the problem of accuracy in social perception and cognition. Psychological Bulletin, 106, 395–409.

Luce, M. F., Bettman, J. R., & Payne, J. W. (1997). Choice processing in emotionally difficult decisions. Journal of Experimental Psychology, 23, 384–405.

Maio, G. R., David, W. B., & Esses, V. M. (1996). Ambivalence and persuasion: The processing of messages about immigrant groups. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 32, 513–536.

Mann, L., Janis, I. L., & Chaplin, R. (1969). Effects of anticipation of forthcoming information on predecisional processes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 11, 10–16.

Nordgren, L. F., Harreveld, F. V., & van der Pligt, J. (2006). Ambivalence, discomfort, and motivated information processing. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42, 252–258.

Petty, R. E., & Wegener, D. T. (1993). Flexible correction processes in social judgment: Correcting for context induced contrast. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 29, 137–165.

Petty, R. E., Fazio, F. H., & Briñol, P. (2008). Attitudes: Insights from the new implicit measures. New York: Psychology Press.

Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2008). Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models. Behavior Research Methods, 40, 879–891.

Priester, J. R., & Petty, R. E. (1996). The gradual threshold model of ambivalence: Relating the positive and negative bases of attitudes to subjective ambivalence. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71, 431–449.

Russo, E. J., Meloy, M., & Medvec, V. (1998). Predecisional distortion of product information. Journal of Marketing Research, 35, 438–452.

Sengupta, J., & Johar, G. V. (2002). Effects of inconsistent attribute information on the predictive value of product attitudes: Toward a resolution of opposing perspectives. Journal of Consumer Research, 29, 39–56.

Thompson, M. M., Zanna, M. P., & Griffin, D. W. (1995). Let's not be indifferent about (attitudinal) ambivalence." In R. E. Petty & J. A. Krosnick (Eds.), Attitude strength: Antecedents and consequences (pp. 361–386). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Zeelengerg, M., Beattie, J., van der Pligt, J., & de Vries, N. K. (1996). Consequences of regret aversion: Effects of

expected feedback on risky decision making. Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 65, 148–158.
Zemborain, M. R., & Johar, G. V. (2007). Attitudinal ambivalence and openness to persuasion: A framework for interpersonal influence. Journal of Consumer Research, 33, 506–514.

Correspondence regarding this article should be sent to: H. Rao Unnava, Fisher College of Business, The Ohio State University, 200A Fisher Hall, 2100 Neil Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210 (unnava.1@osu.edu).

APPENDIX A

Manipulation Material Used in High-ambivalence, Positive Dominant Condition

Consumer Reviews:

R. G. from Evanston, IL: I love these Jaguar shoes! These shoes have definitely shaped my views of the brand and I ended up buying two pairs! They are so very comfortable for any work out I do. I highly recommend this shoe to anyone if your feet need the side to side support for movement. Absolutely good shoes for comfy fit.

D. H. from Denver, CO: I don't know what the problem with these shoes is, but they get dirty sooner than anything I have worn before. I had these shoes for three months, and I have already washed them six times. I had to buy one of those sneaker-cleaners too. The top mesh seems to collect dirt, and collect it quicker than many other shoes. The shoes may be good in other ways, but I would not recommend anyone to buy these unless this nuisance is taken care of.

H. W. from St. Paul, MN: I really like the style of Jaguar shoes. The color looks great and the style goes with any type of running you do. I know that many running shoes sacrifice their look for functionality, and I would say that Jaguar does the best job in bringing both style and functionality together. Highly recommended!

K. E. from Long Beach, CA: I got these shoes a couple of months' ago. They don't always fit and running them on the sand feels very different from running them on the hard road. It almost feels like jogging on different shoes in just one single trip. I don't like this variation of feeling when jogging.

J. J. from Asheville, NC: I am amazed at the protection the shoes give my feet. I live in a hilly area and am often trudging through rough terrain, thus I need shoes that provide excellent protection to my feet when I run. Jaguar has something called Response Motion air-cushion technology. I don't know what that is, but it gives me great support and stability as I run on unpaved ground, often several miles a day.

P. O. from Miami, FL: I would recommend these shoes to anyone, especially if you are concerned about the durability of shoes. The air here is high in salt and humid all year round, and I find the other brands tearing apart within eight to nine months of wear. Jaguar uses Climate Pro technology (something that is patented by them) which seems to make my shoes last longer. I have been wearing these Jaguar shoes for six months now, and there is not even a wrinkle on them!

Manipulation Material Used in High-ambivalence, Negative Dominant Condition

Consumer Reviews:

R. G. from Evanston, IL: I dislike these Jaguar shoes! I bought them taking a chance since I had never had this brand of shoes before. These shoes have definitely shaped my views of the brand and I ended up returning them after all! They are so uncomfortable for any work out I do. I highly suggest you not to purchase them if you have a regular foot and needs the side to side support for movement. Absolutely bad shoes if you are looking for comfort fit.

H. W. from St. Paul, MN: I really like the style of Jaguar shoes. The color looks great and the style goes with any type of running you do. I know that many running shoes sacrifice their look for functionality, and I would say that Jaguar does the best job in bringing both style and functionality together. Highly recommended!

D. H. from Denver, CO: I don't know what the problem with these shoes is, but they get dirty sooner than anything I have worn before. I had these shoes for three months, and I have already washed them six times. I had to buy one of those sneaker-cleaners too. The top mesh seems to collect dirt, and collect it quicker than many other shoes. The shoes may be good in other ways, but I would not recommend anyone to buy these unless this nuisance is taken care of.

S. L. from Charleston, SC: This is a very comfortable true to size running shoe. It also has great support for lateral movements. I really use the shoe as I jog a lot on various grounds, both sand and hard road. It feels different when you run on them on different grounds, but these shoes provide me exceptional feet protection because they automatically adjust their abrasion resistance level to the ground that I run on. I love Jaguar; they are the smartest shoes you can ever get to help you stay balanced when running.

J. J. from Asheville, NC: I am disappointed by the protection the shoes give my feet. I live in a hilly area and am often trudging through rough terrain, thus I need shoes that provide excellent protection to my feet when I run. Jaguar has something called Response Motion air-cushion technology. I don't know what that is, but it doesn't seem to give me enough support or stability as I run on unpaved ground, often several miles a day.

P. O. from Miami, FL: I would not recommend these shoes to anyone, especially if you are concerned about

the durability of shoes. The air here is high in salt and humid all year round. Jaguar is not doing any better job compared to other shoes. I have been wearing these Jaguar shoes for only a few months, and they torn up terribly!

Manipulation Material Used in Low-ambivalence, Positive Attitude Condition

Consumer Reviews:

R. G. from Evanston, IL: I love these Jaguar shoes! These shoes have definitely shaped my views of the brand and I ended up buying two pairs! They are so very comfortable for any work out I do. In addition to running, I wear them for kick-boxing, skipping elliptical training and plyometrics, I highly recommend this shoe to anyone if your feet need the side to side support for movement. Absolutely good shoes for comfy fit.

H. W. from St. Paul, MN: I really like the style of Jaguar shoes. The color looks great and the style goes with any type of running you do. I know that many running shoes sacrifice their look for functionality, and I would say that Jaguar does the best job in bringing both style and functionality together. Highly recommended!

D. H. from Denver, CO: I really love these shoes because they never seem to get dirty at all! I had these shoes for three months, and I never need to worry about spending extra effort cleaning them. There must be some new technology put into this because the top mesh never seems to collect dirt. Love these shoes! Highly recommend them to you if you want a great pair of running shoes without worrying about cleaning them.

J. J. from Asheville, NC: I am amazed at the protection the shoes give my feet. I live in a hilly area and am often trudging through rough terrain, thus I need shoes that provide excellent protection to my feet when I run. Jaguar has something called Response Motion air-cushion technology. I don't know what that is, but it gives me great support and stability as I run on unpaved ground, often several miles a day.

P. O. from Miami, FL: I would recommend these shoes to anyone, especially if you are concerned about the durability of shoes. The air here is high in salt and humid all year round, and I find the other brands tearing apart within eight to nine months of wear. Jaguar uses Climate Pro technology (something that is patented by them) which seems to make my shoes last longer. I have been wearing these Jaguar shoes for six months now, and there is not even a wrinkle on them!

Manipulation Material Used in Low-ambivalence, Negative Attitude Condition

Consumer Reviews:

R. G. from Evanston, IL: I dislike these Jaguar shoes! I bought them taking a chance since I had never had this brand of shoes before. These shoes have definitely shaped my views of the brand and I ended up returning them after all! They are so uncomfortable for any work out I do. I highly suggest you not to purchase them if you have a regular foot and needs the side to side support for movement. Absolutely bad shoes if you are looking for comfort fit.

H. W. from St. Paul, MN: I really hate the style of Jaguar shoes. The color looks awful and the style was ugly. I know that many running shoes sacrifice their look for functionality, but this one suffers from both poor look and poor functions. I can't imagine if these shoes would sell anywhere. Definitely NOT recommend these shoes.

D. H. from Denver, CO: I don't know what the problem with these shoes is, but they get dirty sooner than anything I have worn before. I had these shoes for three months, and I have already washed them six times. I had to buy one of those sneaker-cleaners too. The top mesh seems to collect dirt, and collect it quicker than many other shoes. The shoes may be good in other ways, but I would not recommend anyone to buy these unless this nuisance is taken care of.

J. J. from Asheville, NC: I am disappointed by the protection the shoes give my feet. I live in a hilly area and am often trudging through rough terrain, thus I need shoes that provide excellent protection to my feet when I run. Jaguar has something called Response Motion air-cushion technology. I don't know what that is, but it doesn't seem to give me enough support or stability as I run on unpaved ground, often several miles a day.

P. O. from Miami, FL: I would not recommend these shoes to anyone, especially if you are concerned about the durability of shoes. The air here is high in salt and humid all year round. Jaguar is not doing any better job compared to other shoes. I have been wearing these Jaguar shoes for only a few months, and they torn up terribly!

APPENDIX B

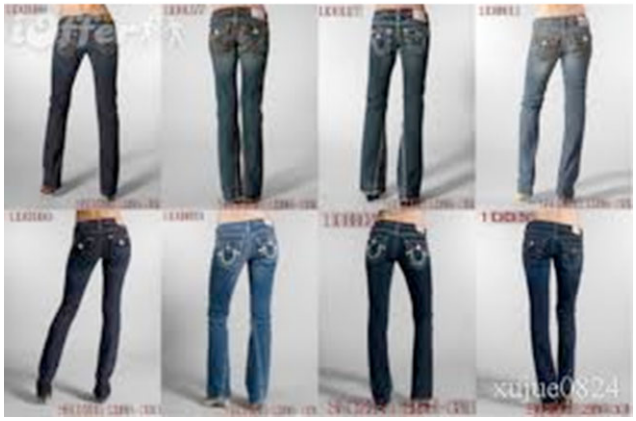
Material Used for Attitudes and Ambivalence Manipulation—Study 2

E. K. ®Jeans

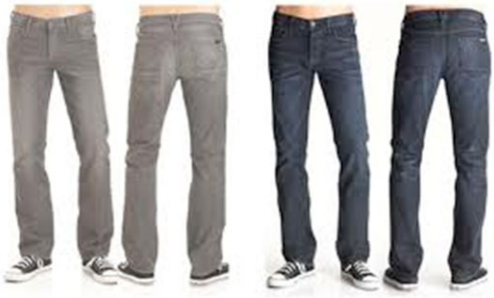
Looking for the perfect jeans? Look no further.

Introducing E.K. ® Jeans, designed to fit you in style and shape.

Sample Jeans for Women*.



Sample Jeans for Men*.



*E. K.® Jeans offer a wide selection of fits, colors, fabrics, and styles. More information is available upon request.

Marketers have launched E. K.® Jeans in several test markets. On the next page you will be reading a portion of the consumer reviews on E. K.® Jeans. Please go to the next page to read the reviews then provide your response to the online survey.

Condition	Review #1	Review #2	Review #3	Review #4
High Ambivalence Negative Attitude	R. G. from Evanston, IL: I purchased a pair of these jeans and absolutely love them for their beautifully-made rich dark color. They offer jeans in light, washed colors as well—also very nice looking. Highly recommend!	H. W. from St. Louis, MO: These jeans do not fit at all! Their skinny jeans do not have any stretch; the straight and the classic boot cut jeans do not fit either! Bad jeans!	S.L. from Charleston, SC: E. K. Jeans are all pre-shrunk so well that they stay in shape perfectly after repeated wear and wash. Love them.	J. J. from Asheville, NC: If you are looking for a pair of comfortable jeans, these E. K. Jeans are not for you. The fabric they use is just terrible.
High Ambivalence Positive Attitude	R. G. from Evanston, IL: I purchased a pair of these jeans and absolutely love them for their beautifully-made rich dark color. They offer jeans in light, washed colors as well—also very nice looking. Highly recommend!	H. W. from St. Louis, MO: These jeans fit perfectly! Their skinny jeans have amazing stretch; the straight and the classic boot cut jeans fits your body like a charm! Great jeans!	S.L. from Charleston, SC: E. K. does not pre-shrunk their jeans that they get out of shape after just one wash! Hate them.	J. J. from Asheville, NC: If you are looking for a pair of comfortable jeans, these E. K. Jeans are not for you. The fabric they use is just terrible.
Low Ambivalence Negative Attitude	R. G. from Asheville, NC: I purchased a pair of these jeans and absolutely dislike them for their ugly-made rich dark color. They also offer jeans in light, washed colors—also very bad looking. Do not recommend!	H. W. from St. Louis, MO: These jeans do not fit at all! Their skinny jeans do not have any stretch; the straight and the classic boot cut jeans do not fit either! Bad jeans!	S.L. from Charleston, SC: E. K. does not pre-shrunk their jeans that they get out of shape after just one wash! Hate them.	J. J. from Evanston, IL: If you are looking for a pair of comfortable jeans, you've got to check out these E. K. Jeans. The fabric they use is just wonderful.

Continued

Condition	Review #1	Review #2	Review #3	Review #4
Low Ambivalence Positive Attitude	R. G. from Evanston, IL: I purchased a pair of these jeans and absolutely love them for their beautifully-made rich dark color. They offer jeans in light, washed colors as well—also very nice looking. Highly recommend!	H. W. from St. Louis, MO: These jeans fit perfectly! Their skinny jeans have amazing stretch; the straight and the classic boot cut jeans fits your body like a charm! Great jeans!	S.L. from Charleston, SC: E. K. Jeans are all pre-shrunk so well that they stay in shape perfectly after repeated wear and wash. Love them.	J. J. from Asheville, NC: If you are looking for a pair of comfortable jeans, these E. K. Jeans are not for you. The fabric they use is just terrible.