

Chapter 8

On the Two Faces of Passion: The Harmonious and the Obsessive

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I wonder when my interest for basketball turned into a passion

Bill Bradley, Former Professional basketball player for the NBA New York Knicks and former US Senator of the State of New Jersey

The above quote is fascinating as it raises at least two issues. First, it underscores the fact that interest and passion are not identical. As one may intuitively believe, passion implies having more than a passing interest in the activity or object of one's passion; it implies finding the activity meaningful, spending lots of time on it, and seeing the activity as an extension of one's self, as part of our identity. Having a passion for an activity is thus something special. One may have several interests but only one or two passions. Thus, in line with Bill Bradley's perception, interest and passion would appear to be different constructs. The second point raised by Bill Bradley deals with the actual development of passion. How did such a passion develop? Further, once developed, how is passion maintained or modified over time? In other terms, what are the processes through which passion for an activity or object first develops and then evolves? Further, are all passions the same, or do different passions exist? And if so, what are their effects on optimal functioning. These two issues are discussed in this chapter.

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The construct of interest has enjoyed a rich history, dating at least back to Greek philosophers. As we will see, the construct of passion also dates back the early times of philosophers, although it has been largely neglected in contemporary psychology until recently. I hope to convince the reader that this need not be the case. Indeed, passion matters as it reflects a reality for a majority of individuals in a variety of cultures ranging from North America to Europe to China and Russia and leads to important life outcomes (see Vallerand, 2015). As such, it deserves our scientific attention. In this chapter, I address a number of issues. First, I discuss the nature of passion and in so doing introduce the Dualistic Model of Passion that my colleagues and I have developed. I also present a brief history of the passion concept and compare it to interest and highlight differences between the two constructs. Second, I review initial research on passion followed by research on the development of passion distinguishing between the factors involved in the initial and the ongoing development of passion. I then review research on the effects of passion. Finally, I end the chapter with some concluding thoughts and some suggestions for future research.

On the Nature of Passion

On the History of Passion

Passion has generated a lot of attention from philosophers. Indeed, centuries of scholarship have been devoted to it. Three positions have emerged (see Vallerand, 2015, Chap. 2). The first posits that passion entails a loss of reason and control (see Plato, 429–347 BC and Spinoza, 1632–1677). In line with the etymology of the word passion (from the latin *passio* for suffering) people who have a passion are seen as experiencing some suffering. They are slaves to their passion as it comes to control them. The second perspective portrays passion in a more positive light. The Romantics were important proponents of this second perspective. Hegel (1770–1831), for instance, argues that passions are necessary to reach the highest levels of achievement and Kierkegaard (1813–1855) even writes that “To exist, if we do not mean by that only a pseudo existence, cannot take place without passion.” Thus, this second view of passion posits that passion can lead to some positive outcomes. Taken together, these two positions highlight the duality of passion.

A third perspective of passion, however, emerged at the turn of the twentieth century, at the junction of philosophy and psychology. This third position suggests that some passions are “good” and others are “bad.” For instance, basing himself on the work of Descartes (1596–1650), Kant (1724–1804), and Ribot (1907), Jousain (1928) proposed that there were two broad types of passion: the “noble” passions oriented toward the well-being or benefit of others or society, and the “selfish” passions that sought personal satisfaction. Of additional interest, Jousain further suggested that passions could interact among themselves in at least two ways. First, some passions can conflict with other passions and in fact crowd out other passions

and try to extinguish them. Second, other passions can peacefully coexist with others. In fact, Joussain proposed that “virtue is to be obtained through the *equilibrium* that we establish among our passions and the multiple consequences that they create for us and others, keeping in mind the knowledge that we have of the world and ourselves” (p. 103; the translation from French and italics are mine). Inherent in such a statement is that all passions are not equivalent and that they may play different roles in the outcomes that we experience. As we shall see, this is clearly one of the themes of this chapter. Unfortunately, Joussain did not conduct research on passion and to the best of my knowledge no scholarship or research has followed his work.

After a period of relative neglect, empirical work in psychology began and focused on passionate love (e.g., Hatfield & Walster, 1978). Although such research is important, it does not deal with passion for activities. More recently, psychologists have started to focus on this very issue. For instance, some authors have proposed that people will spend large amounts of time and effort in order to reach their passionate goals (see Frijda, Mesquita, Sonemans, & Van Goozen, 1991). Others have devoted attention to passion for work where passion is defined as love for work (Baum & Locke, 2004). Finally, Vallerand et al. (2003) proposed the Dualistic Model of Passion to explain the nature, determinants, and consequences of passion while incorporating the duality inherent in passion underscored by philosophers and early psychologists.

The Dualistic Model of Passion

The Dualistic Model of Passion (DMP; Vallerand, 2010, 2012a, 2015) defines passion as a strong inclination toward a self-defining activity that one loves, finds important and meaningful, and in which one invests time and energy. Such an activity comes to be so self-defining that it represents a central feature of one’s identity. For instance, the teenager who has a passion for hockey is not simply playing hockey, she sees herself as a “hockey player,” and the student who has developed a passion for playing the guitar perceives himself as a “guitarist” or as a “musician.”

The DMP further posits that there are two types of passion. The DMP postulates that activities that people like (or even love) will be internalized in the person’s identity and self to the extent that these are highly valued and meaningful for the person (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992; Csikszentmihalyi, Rathunde, & Whalen, 1993). Furthermore, it is proposed that there are two types of passion, obsessive and harmonious, that can be distinguished in terms of how the passionate activity has been internalized. Harmonious passion results from an autonomous internalization of the activity into the person’s identity and self. In line with self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000), such internalization occurs when individuals have freely accepted the activity as important for them without any contingencies attached to it, such as feelings of social acceptance or self-esteem (e.g., Lafrenière, Bélanger, Sedikides, & Vallerand, 2011; Mageau, Carpentier, &

Vallerand, 2011). This type of internalization emanates from the intrinsic and integrative tendencies of the self (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2003) and produces a motivational force to engage in the activity willingly and engenders a sense of volition and personal endorsement about pursuing the activity. When harmonious passion is at play, individuals freely choose to engage in the beloved activity. With this type of passion, the activity occupies a significant but not overpowering space in the person's identity and is in harmony with other aspects of the person's life. In other words, with harmonious passion, the authentic integrating self (Deci & Ryan, 2000) is at play allowing the person to fully partake in the passionate activity with mindfulness (Brown & Ryan, 2003; St-Louis, Verner-Filion, Bergeron, & Vallerand, 2016) and an openness that is conducive to positive experiences (Hodgins & Knee, 2002). Consequently, with harmonious passion, people are able to fully focus on the task at hand and experience positive outcomes both during task engagement (e.g., positive affect, concentration, flow) and after task engagement (general positive affect, satisfaction, etc.). Thus, there should be little or no conflict between the person's passionate activity and his or her other life activities. Furthermore, when prevented from engaging in their passionate activity, people with a harmonious passion should be able to adapt well to the situation and focus their attention and energy on other tasks that need to be done.

Finally, with harmonious passion, the person is in control of the activity and can decide when to and when not to engage in the activity. Thus, when confronted with the possibility of playing basketball with his friends or preparing a new class lecture to be delivered the next day, the teacher with a harmonious passion for playing basketball can readily tell his friends that he will take a rain check and proceed to be fully immersed in the preparation of the lecture without thinking about the missed opportunity to play basketball. With harmonious passion, people are able to decide to forego activity engagement on a given day if needed or even to eventually terminate the relationship with the activity if they decide it has become a permanent negative factor in their life. Thus, behavioral engagement in the passionate activity can be seen as flexible.

Conversely, obsessive passion, results from a controlled internalization of the activity into one's identity. In line with self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000), such an internalization process leads to values and regulations associated with the activity to be at best partially internalized in the self, and at worse to be internalized in the person's identity but completely outside the integrating self (Deci & Ryan, 2000), in line with the ego-invested self (Hodgins & Knee, 2002). A controlled internalization originates from intra and/or interpersonal pressure typically because certain contingencies are attached to the activity (Lafrenière et al., 2011; Mageau et al., 2011), or because the sense of excitement derived from activity engagement is uncontrollable. People with an obsessive passion can thus find themselves in the position of experiencing an uncontrollable urge to partake in the activity they view as important and enjoyable. They cannot help but to engage in the passionate activity. Consequently, they risk experiencing conflicts and other negative affective, cognitive, and behavioral consequences during and after activity engagement. For example, when confronted with the possibility of

playing basketball with his friends or prepare the unfinished class lecture for the next day, a teacher with an obsessive passion for basketball may not be able to resist the invitation and will go and scrimmage with his friends instead of preparing the lecture. During the pickup, he might feel upset with himself for playing instead of working on the lecture. He might therefore have difficulties focusing on the task at hand (i.e., basketball) and may not experience as much positive affect and flow as he would while playing.

It is thus proposed that with obsessive passion, individuals come to display a rigid persistence toward the activity, as oftentimes they cannot help but to engage in the passionate activity that they love. This is so because ego-invested rather than integrative self-processes (Hodgins & Knee, 2002) are at play with obsessive passion leading the person to eventually becoming dependent on the activity. While such persistence may lead to some benefits in the long term (e.g., improved performance at the activity), it may also come at a cost for the individual, potentially leading to less than optimal functioning within the confines of the passionate activity because of the lack of flexibility that it entails. Furthermore, such a rigid persistence may lead the person to experience conflict with other aspects of his or her life when engaging in the passionate activity (when one should be doing something else, for instance), as well as to frustration and ruminations about the activity when prevented from engaging in it. Thus, if the teacher has an obsessive passion for basketball but nevertheless manages to say no to his friends and basketball, he still may end up suffering because of the difficulties of concentrating on the lecture preparation due to ruminations about the lost opportunity to play basketball.

The above presentation allows us to highlight some similarities and distinctions between the concepts of passion and interest. Before delving into this analysis, it is important to underscore that interest is a concept that encapsulates different meanings (see Chap. 1, this volume; Renninger & Hidi, 2011 for reviews). For instance, Hidi and Renninger (2006) present a developmental model of interest wherein interest is initially conceived as a short-term reaction to environmental stimuli (“triggered situational interest”; see Chap. 6, this volume for a review) that becomes progressively more personal in nature over time leading to a final stage of a “well-developed individual interest” (see Chap. 7, this volume for a review). Thus, clearly, passion differs from the first stage of “situational interest” as passion is not fleeting or short lived but long lasting in nature (see Vallerand, 2015, Chap. 2). However, it is possible and even likely that situational interest represents a precursor of passion.

The concepts of “well-developed individual interest” and passion seem relatively similar. For instance, both entail positive feelings for a specific object or activity that becomes meaningful, engaged in regularly, and eventually part of identity. Still, some important distinctions can be seen between the two concepts. First, with passion the activity becomes a central part of identity whereas it is not clear if it is the case with interest even at this later stage. Second, the high value of the activity coupled with its centrality in identity is likely to lead to more “fuel” (or emotional activation) associated with passionate activity engagement. Third, the process through which the activity becomes part of identity does not seem to represent a

major focus of interest theories whereas it is central in the Dualistic Model of Passion. In fact, two different types of internalization processes (autonomous vs. controlled) are proposed and hypothesized to lead to the two types of passion, namely, the harmonious and obsessive passions. Fourth, related to the above, the duality of passion exemplified in these two types of passion is a crucial dimension of the Passion Model that helps explain why passion may lead to either adaptive or maladaptive outcomes. Conversely, no theory addresses the possibility of having adaptive and maladaptive forms of interest. Finally, whereas interest researchers have looked at the impact of interest on outcomes mostly in one area (e.g., education), passion research as we will see below has looked at outcomes both within the purview of the activity one is passionate about and other areas in the person's life. In sum, although related, the two concepts of passion and interest would appear different. As such, considering the construct of passion may lead to novel areas unexplored by interest researchers.

Initial Research on the Concept of Passion and the DMP

Initial contemporary research on the construct of passion for activities (Vallerand et al., 2003) focused on three goals: (1) to determine the prevalence of passion for an activity in people's lives and the nature of activities that passionate people are engaged in, (2) to develop the Passion Scale, and (3) to test the validity of some of the elements of the passion constructs. In the initial study, Vallerand et al. (2003, Study 1) had over 500 college students complete the Passion Scale with respect to an activity that they loved, that they valued, and in which they invested time and energy (i.e., the main passion definition criteria), as well as other scales allowing them to test predictions derived from the DMP. Of importance regarding the first purpose of this research, 84% of participants indicated that they had at least a moderate level of passion for a given activity in their lives (they scored at least 4 out of 7 on a question asking them if their favorite activity was a "passion" for them). A subsequent study (Philippe, Vallerand, & Lavigne, 2009, Study 1) with over 750 participants ranging in age from 18 to 90 years and using a more stringent criterion of having a mean of 5 out of 7 on 4 criteria of passion (loving the activity, activity valuation, activity engagement, and perceiving the activity as a passion) revealed that 75% of participants had a high level of passion for an activity in their life. These findings have been obtained in other countries as well (see Lecoq & Rimé, 2009; Liu, Chen, & Yao, 2011; Stenseng, 2008). Overall, these results reveal that the prevalence of passion is rather high and is not limited to simply a few individuals. Passion pervades people's lives!

It should be noted that a diversity of passionate activities were reported. In fact, participants indicated having a passion for one of over a hundred different activities ranging from physical activity and individual and team sports to watching movies, playing a musical instrument, and reading. Participants also reported engaging in one specific passionate activity for an average of 8.5 h per week and had been

engaging in that activity for almost 6 years. Thus, clearly passionate activities are meaningful to people and are long lasting in nature.

A second goal of the initial passion research dealt with the development of the Passion Scale. Vallerand et al. (2003, Study 1) conducted exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses supporting the presence of two factors corresponding to the two types of passion. These findings on the factor validity of the Passion Scale have been replicated in at least 20 studies in a variety of settings and activities (see Vallerand, 2015, Chap. 4 for a review). Further, more recently, Marsh, Vallerand, and colleagues (2013) have provided support not only for the bifactorial nature of the Passion Scale but also for its invariance as a function of gender, language (French and English), and several types of activities. The Scale has also been validated in a number of languages, including Spanish (Chamaro et al., 2015) and Chinese (Zhao, St-Louis, & Vallerand, 2015). The Passion Scale consists of two subscales of six items each reflecting Obsessive (e.g., “I almost have an obsessive feeling toward this activity”) and Harmonious Passion (e.g., “This activity is in harmony with other activities in my life”). Furthermore, internal consistency analyses have shown that both subscales are reliable (typically 0.75 and above). Finally, test-retest correlations over periods ranging from 4 to 6 weeks revealed moderately high stability values (in the 0.80s, Rousseau, Vallerand, Ratelle, Mageau, & Provencher, 2002), thereby supporting the factorial validity and reliability of the scale.

With respect to the third purpose of the initial passion research of Vallerand et al. (2003, Study 1), a series of critical findings with partial correlations (controlling for the correlation between the two types of passion) revealed that both harmonious and obsessive passions were positively associated with all passion criteria thereby providing support for the definition of passion. In addition, both types of passion were found to relate to one’s identity, and obsessive passion was found to more strongly relate to a measure of conflict with other life activities than harmonious passion. These findings support the view that both harmonious and obsessive passions are indeed a “passion” as each one reflects the definition of the passion construct (see also Marsh et al., 2013, for additional support on the construct validity of the passion concept). Finally, other studies in this initial research (Vallerand et al., 2003) have also shown that obsessive (but not harmonious) passion correlated to rigid persistence in ill-advised activities (Vallerand et al., 2003, Studies 3 and 4). Overall, these results provide important support for the conceptual validity of the two types of passion and their divergent effects on various outcomes.

Since the 2003 Vallerand et al. initial publication, approximately 200 studies have been conducted on the construct of passion, looking at both the development of passion and its role in a host of cognitive, affective, behavioral, relational, and performance outcomes experienced within the realms of hundreds of passionate activities. Such research has been conducted in both our own and other laboratories. Further, most of these studies have used the DMP as a theoretical framework, have employed a variety of methodological designs (e.g., cross-sectional, longitudinal, diary study, and even experimental), and have been conducted in a variety of countries. Some of this research is presented in the next few sections, starting with those on the development of passion.

On the Development of Passion

The DMP proposes that people engage in various activities throughout life. After a period of trial and error that would appear to start in early adolescence (Erikson, 1968), most people eventually start to show preference for some activities, especially those that are perceived as particularly enjoyable and important, and that have some resonance with how they see themselves. These activities have the potential to become passionate activities. Back to Bill Bradley's question regarding the transformation of interest into passion, the DMP (Vallerand, 2008, 2010, 2012a, 2015; Vallerand & Verner-Filion, 2013; Vallerand et al., 2003) posits that there are at least three processes involved in such a transformation: activity valuation, identification with the activity, and internalization of the activity in one's identity. These three processes are discussed in turn.

Activity valuation refers to the importance one gives to an activity. In line with past research (Aron et al., 1992; Deci, Eghrari, Patrick, & Leone, 1994), an activity is likely to be internalized when it is highly valued and meaningful. Consequently, activity valuation should facilitate the internalization of the activity into one's identity, and by the same token should facilitate the development of passion. Parents, teachers, and coaches all play an important role in children's or students' valuation of a given activity (e.g., Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). For instance, adults can underscore the value of an activity either by being themselves passionate about it, by spending time with children in the context of the activity, or by encouraging specialization in the activity at the expense of other activities.

Identification with the activity is a second important process in the development of passion (Schlenker, 1985). When an enjoyable activity becomes so central that it contributes to one's identity or has the potential to do so in the future, individuals are more likely to become passionate about this particular activity. Indeed, enjoying science and having the perception that one may become a scientist later on (a possible self, Markus & Nurius, 1986) should make this potential identity element salient and thereby facilitating its internalization in identity (Houser-Marko & Sheldon, 2006), and the subsequent development of passion for science.

Finally, the type of passion (i.e., harmonious vs. obsessive) that will develop depends on the type of internalization that takes place. As seen above, in line with self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000), two types of internalization can take place: autonomous and controlled. Further, two important variables can determine the type of internalization process that will occur: the social environment and one's individual differences. To the extent that one's social environment (e.g., parents, teachers, coaches, principals) is autonomy-supportive, an autonomous internalization is likely to take place (e.g., Vallerand, 1997; Vallerand, Fortier, & Guay, 1997), leading to harmonious passion. An autonomy-supportive environment provides the person with choice and autonomy in engaging in activities that one wishes to pursue and in the way that he or she wants to do so (see Ryan & Deci, 2000). Conversely, to the extent that one's social environment is controlling, a controlled internalization will take place leading to obsessive passion. A controlling

environment is one where the person feels coerced in engaging in a given activity or in a way that differs from the one he or she would prefer (see Ryan & Deci, 2000). Thus, an autonomy-supportive music teacher would allow students to select one musical piece out of several to focus on and master, whereas a controlling teacher would force students to engage in the musical piece that he or she has selected. Similarly, individual differences that trigger autonomous internalization process should lead to harmonious passion, whereas those that facilitate the controlled internalization process should lead to the development of obsessive passion.

The DMP posits that there are two types of passion development that need our attention. First, the initial development of passion for a novel activity and, second, continuous, ongoing development that takes place once a passion for a given activity has initially developed. In this section, we look at some of the factors involved in the two types of development.

Initial Development of Passion

In a first series of studies, Mageau et al. (2009) tested the role of the social environment in the initial development of passion from time zero. In Study 3 of this article, first-year high school students who had *never* played a musical instrument before and who were taking their first compulsory music class completed a series of questionnaires early in the term assessing activity selection and valuation (perceived parental activity valuation and perceived parental and child activity specialization), autonomy support from parents and music teachers, as well as identity processes. The main idea was to see who would develop a passion for music by the end of the semester, and which type they would display (i.e., harmonious or obsessive passion). Results from discriminant analyses revealed that the students who ended up being passionate for music (only 36% of the sample) at the end of the term had, earlier in the term, reported higher levels of activity valuation and specialization, identity processes, and parental and teacher autonomy support than those students who did not develop a passion. Furthermore, among the students who ended up being passionate, those with high-perceived autonomy support from close adults (parents and music teachers) and (children's) valuation for music led to the development of harmonious passion. High levels of parental perceived valuation for music and *lack of* autonomy support (i.e., controlling behavior) were found to predict the development of obsessive passion. Results of two other studies involving students interacting in sports and music settings revealed that both perceived parental autonomy support (Mageau et al., 2009, Study 1) and *actual* autonomy support (as reported by the parents themselves; Mageau et al., 2009, Study 2) were conducive to harmonious passion and the lack of such support to obsessive passion. In sum, the results of the Mageau et al. (2009) studies demonstrate the role of activity valuation, identity processes, and autonomy support from significant adults in the development of a passion in general, and harmonious and obsessive passion in particular.

The role of individual differences in passion development was assessed in a second series of studies conducted by Vallerand, Rousseau, Grouzet, Dumais, and Grenier (2006, Studies 1 and 3). These authors tested the role of personal orientations and activity valuation in the occurrence of the two types of passion among student athletes. In the first study (Vallerand et al., 2006, Study 1), results from a path analysis revealed that activity valuation coupled with an autonomous internalization style (as assessed by the Global Motivation Scale; Guay, Mageau, & Vallerand, 2003) predicted harmonious passion. Obsessive passion was predicted by activity valuation coupled with a controlled internalization style. These findings were replicated in a second study (Vallerand et al., 2006, Study 3) using a short longitudinal design. Thus, individual differences also play a role in the development of both types of passion.

The Ongoing Development of Passion

The studies discussed so far pertained to activities where participants had been engaging in the activity for only a few months or years. Thus, these studies pertained more to the *initial* development of passion. However, once developed, passion can also undergo an ongoing development as it is affected by a variety of social and personal variables (Vallerand, 2010, 2015). For instance, in a study with students with an average of over 7 years of musical experience and enrolled in a college music program, Bonneville-Roussy, Vallerand, and Bouffard (2013) tested an integrated model on the development of passion. Results from a path analysis revealed that a musical identity coupled with autonomy support from one's music teachers predicted harmonious passion toward music, while obsessive passion was predicted by a musical identity coupled with controlling behavior from one's music teachers. Thus, to the extent that an activity is already internalized in identity, autonomy support from teachers facilitates the development of harmonious passion whereas controlling behavior leads to obsessive passion.

Other research has looked at task factors as determinants of passion. In studies with novice teachers, Fernet, Lavigne, and Vallerand (2014, Study 1) found that experiencing some levels of autonomy as to how to perform one's teaching positively predicted harmonious passion but negatively predicted obsessive passion for teaching. These findings were replicated and extended in a second study (Fernet et al., 2014, Study 2) with teachers using a cross-lagged panel design over a 12-month period. Of major importance, results from structural equation modeling showed that task autonomy predicted an *increase* in harmonious passion for teaching and a decrease in obsessive passion over time. On the other hand, the two types of passion did not predict changes in task autonomy, suggesting that the direction of causality is from task autonomy to passion and not the other way around.

Another task element of importance deals with the task demands and resources at our disposal (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). Trépanier, Fernet, Austin, Forest, and Vallerand (2014) conducted research on their role as determinants of passion. Task

demands refer to task imposed pressure or restrictions that one has to cope with while engaging in the activity. Because task demands should be experienced as controlling in nature, they should connect with elements that have been internalized in a controlled fashion and therefore facilitate obsessive passion. Thus, the more one experiences pressure to perform a demanding activity, the more one is to mobilize and use obsessive passion to get the job done. In addition, experiencing pressure to get the job done could even undermine harmonious passion as such pressure may disrupt harmony among one's various life domains. Conversely, task resources can be seen as support that one has access to in order to better perform one's task (e.g., having access to a nursing aide when overloaded). Task resources can be seen as affordances to efficiently perform the task as one chooses to do so. Thus, they should trigger elements that have been internalized in an autonomous fashion, including harmonious passion.

In sum, task resources should facilitate harmonious passion while task demands should facilitate obsessive passion. Trépanier et al. (2014) conducted a large-scale study with over 1000 nurses and tested a model that posited that task resources were expected to positively predict harmonious passion while task demands were hypothesized to positively predict obsessive passion. Furthermore, task demands were hypothesized to undermine harmonious passion. Results confirmed the hypothesized model.

The role of personal factors in the ongoing development of passion has also been empirically scrutinized. Individuals passionate about a given activity not only care a great deal about the activity but also typically want to do very well at it. Thus, a relevant personal determinant of passion should be perfectionism. Perfectionism refers to holding excessively high standards of achievement. Hewitt and Flett (2002) have proposed the existence of three major types of perfectionism with two being of interest here. Self-oriented perfectionism (i.e., holding excessively high standards for self and not for others) is under the person's control and involves standards that may be changed by the person in a proactive manner. This type of perfectionism typically leads to some positive outcomes (see Miquelon, Vallerand, Grouzet, & Cardinal, 2005). The second type of perfectionism is socially prescribed perfectionism (i.e., high standards imposed by others) and it generally leads to negative outcomes. Because the first type of perfectionism takes origin in the integrated self, one would suggest that it should primarily predict having a harmonious passion toward an activity that we highly value. On the other hand, because the second type of perfectionism (i.e., socially prescribed perfectionism) is rooted in the ego-invested self, one would predict that it should primarily lead to obsessive passion.

Verner-Filion and Vallerand (2016) recently tested some of these hypotheses in two studies. In Study 1, university students completed the Passion Scale for their studies and the Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale (Cox, Enns, & Clara, 2002). Results from structural equation modeling analyses revealed that self-oriented perfectionism positively predicted harmonious passion, but also obsessive passion to a lesser degree. In contrast, socially prescribed perfectionism only predicted obsessive passion. These findings underscore the fact that harmonious passion results from the more adaptive form of perfectionism whereas obsessive passion is predicted

by both the adaptive and less adaptive forms of perfectionism. These findings were basically replicated in a second study (Verner-Filion & Vallerand, 2016, Study 2).

Another individual difference of importance is our signature strengths (Peterson & Seligman, 2004). Research has shown that focusing on what we do best (our signature strengths) such as using our social skills or our sense of humor has a positive impact on a variety of outcomes. In a recent study, Forest et al. (2012) tested and found support for the hypothesis that using our signature strengths facilitates harmonious passion for the passionate activity. Thus, encouraging people to use their strengths within the activity that they are passionate about nurtures their harmonious passion and facilitates the experience of positive outcomes such as one's psychological well-being. Dubreuil, Forest, and Courcy (2014) also replicated these findings.

In sum, the research reviewed in this section shows that both the social environment and personal orientations are important factors in the initial and ongoing development of passion. We now turn our attention to the role of passion in outcomes.

Passion and Outcomes

Passion research has typically looked at the consequences of passion while distinguishing these on two counts: those that take place within the purview of the activity one is passionate about and those that take place in other areas or in the person's life in general. Below, we address these two issues.

Passion and Outcomes Within the Purview of the Activity

As mentioned previously, the position of the DMP is that harmonious passion leads to adaptive outcomes and optimal functioning both within the area of one's passion and in the rest of the person's life. This is because harmonious passion triggers adaptive self-processes. Adaptive self-processes (e.g., a growth mindset; Dweck, 2006) refer to operations of the self that allow full engagement with little or no limitation. Conversely, the effects of obsessive passion are much less adaptive because it entails outcomes and processes associated with an ego-invested self and processes of lower psychological quality than harmonious passion (e.g., a fixed mindset; Dweck, 2006). Although some adaptive functioning may take place with obsessive passion, it should be mainly limited to the area of one's passion and much less in other areas of one's life.

Cognitions Research on passion and outcomes has looked at a number of on-task cognitive outcomes. Such research reveals that harmonious passion leads to positive cognitions such as attention, concentration, task absorption, and flow during task

engagement (e.g., Forest et al., 2012; Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 1). For instance, in a study with adult workers, Ho, Wong, and Lee (2011) found that harmonious passion predicts better attention on the job. Similarly, much research reveals that harmonious passion (but not obsessive passion) leads to experiencing higher levels of flow in a variety of contexts that include sports (e.g., Philippe et al., 2009) and work (e.g., Forest et al., 2012). Using a cross-lagged panel design, Lavigne, Forest, and Crevier-Braud (2012) showed that harmonious passion had a strong effect on increases of flow experienced at work over a 3-month period but that flow did not predict increases in passion. Further, obsessive passion had a small but positive effect on flow as well.

Research also reveals that obsessive passion is either negatively or unrelated to positive forms of cognitions such as concentration (see Curran, Hill, Appleton, Vallerand, & Standage, 2015). Furthermore, it should be noted that obsessive passions not only typically yields less adaptive cognitions than harmonious passion but also leads to some maladaptive ones. For instance, research reveals that obsessive passion positively predicts ruminations about the activity (e.g., Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 1; Vallerand, Paquet, Philippe, & Charest, 2010, Studies 1–2) and cognitive conflict between the passionate activity and other activities in the person's life (e.g., Caudroit, Boiché, Stephan, Le Scanff, & Trouilloud, 2011).

Affect A lot of research has focused on affective outcomes such as positive and negative affect and task satisfaction with harmonious passion leading to more positive affect and typically less negative affect than obsessive passion (see Curran et al., 2015 for a meta-analysis of such effects). For instance, in a study with basketball players, Vallerand et al. (2006, Study 2) showed that harmonious passion positively predicted positive, but negatively predicted negative affect following a game. Conversely, obsessive passion positively predicts negative affect and is either unrelated or negatively related to negative affect. These findings have been replicated in a number of studies conducted in a variety of settings such as sports, work, and school (e.g., Carbonneau, Vallerand, & Massicotte, 2010; Philippe, Vallerand, Houffort, Lavigne, & Donahue, 2010; see Curran et al., 2015; Vallerand, 2015, Chap. 7, for reviews).

Sustained Activity Engagement and Performance Passion has also been found to predict behavioral engagement. In this case both harmonious passion and obsessive passion have been typically found to positively predict sustained engagement in the passionate activity. For instance, in a study with Greek exercisers, Parastatidou, Doganis, Theodorakis, and Vlachopoulos (2012) showed that both types of passion for exercise led one to engage in exercise several hours weekly and to do so for years. In addition, both harmonious passion and obsessive passion have been found to positively predict engagement in highly demanding task activities (i.e., deliberate practice) aimed at improving on the activity (e.g., Vallerand et al., 2007, 2008). It is through such regular engagement in deliberate practice activities that long-term improvement in performance takes place (see Bonneville-Roussy, Lavigne, & Vallerand, 2011; Vallerand et al., 2007, Studies 1 and 2; Vallerand, Mageau et al., 2008, Studies 1 and 2). Thus, because both the harmonious and obsessive passions

lead one to engage in deliberate practice to a similar extent, they both facilitate long-term performance. Although the long-term performance effects of the two types of passion may be similar, the process would appear to be quite different. Specifically, because harmonious passion also facilitates the experience of more adaptive on-task cognitive and affective as well as life outcomes (see below), the harmonious road to excellence would appear to be much more adaptive than the obsessive road that is devoid of such a positive process and may include emotional suffering along the way (Vallerand, 2015).

Finally, passion also affects short-term performance. Thus, although obsessive passion can also bolster performance in the short term, especially when the self is being threatened (e.g., Bélanger, Lafrenière, Vallerand, & Kruglanski, 2013a), it is typically harmonious passion that facilitates objective performance through its positive effects on various cognitive mediators such as concentration and absorption (e.g., Ho, Wong, & Lee, 2011). Research on creativity at work has led to similar findings with respect to both subjective reports (Luh & Lu, 2012; St-Louis & Vallerand, 2015) and employee supervisor reports of creativity (Liu Chen, & Yao, 2011, Studies 1 and 2; Shi, 2012).

Relationships Research has also assessed the link between passion and interpersonal outcomes. It is often assumed that passionate people are charismatic and should make more friends within the purview of the activity. Research reveals that it is indeed true, but only for harmonious passion (e.g., Philippe et al., 2010). For instance, in a short longitudinal study, Philippe et al. (2010, Study 3) showed that over the course of a 1-week basketball camp, harmonious passion for basketball predicted making more new friends over the course of the week. Such was not the case for obsessive passion. Further, once developed, friendships are maintained much more with harmonious passion than with obsessive passion (Philippe et al., 2010). Of interest is the major finding of the Philippe et al. (2010) series of studies that showed that the respective positive and negative effects of harmonious and obsessive passion on relationships were due to the mediating role of positive and negative emotions. Of additional interest, several studies also collected the perceptions of informants (or third-party assessment) of the quality of relationships (e.g., Philippe et al., 2010, Studies 2 and 4). These studies yielded the same findings as those reported by the participants themselves. Finally, other research reveals that the same processes operate in one-up relationships such as with supervisors and subordinates (Jowett, Lafrenière, & Vallerand, 2013; Lafrenière, Jowett, Vallerand, Donahue, & Lorimer, 2008).

Recent research has also ventured into romantic passion (Carbonneau & Vallerand, 2013, 2016; Ratelle, Carbonneau, & Vallerand, 2013). Here the passion is for the loved one within a relationship. Further, there is a nice twist as both partners can be passionate (and of different types), and thus can influence each other. Thus, one's passion can affect not only oneself but also the romantic partner on both personal and relational outcomes experienced within the romantic realm. The more harmonious the romantic passion, the more positive outcomes within the romantic sphere will be experienced. Conversely, obsessive passion can lead to some negative

outcomes such as personal suffering, lower levels of relational satisfaction, and relationship breakups. For instance, Ratelle et al. (2013) found that harmonious passion led to relational satisfaction (Study 1) and predicted remaining in the relationship 3 months later (Study 3) whereas obsessive passion was either negatively related or weakly associated with dimensions of relationship satisfaction and predicted breakups. Furthermore, other research (Carbonneau & Vallerand, 2013) revealed that these differential outcomes may result from conflict behaviors triggered by one's obsessive passion, whereas harmonious passion facilitates repair behaviors both during and after romantic conflict. For a more complete review, see Vallerand and Carbonneau (2016).

Finally, other studies have looked at when interpersonal behavior becomes negative. For instance, research reveals that obsessive passion leads to negative intergroup behavior such as verbally provoking others (Vallerand, Ntoumanis et al., 2008, Study 2) and being ready to physically hurt other people (e.g., Donahue, Rip, & Vallerand, 2009; Gousse-Lessard, Vallerand, Carbonneau, & Lafrenière, 2013; Vallerand et al., 2008, Study 2) who do not share our beliefs or worse, who dare provoke us (Rip, Vallerand, & Lafrenière, 2012, Study 2). Such is not the case with harmonious passion. Once more, processes experienced while engaging in the passionate activity have been identified as a mediator of the effects of passion. Specifically, experiencing hatred toward others who attack one's faith mediates the impact of obsessive passion on intended violent behavior toward these other individuals (Rip et al., 2012, Study 2).

In sum, research on outcomes and experiences that are experienced during task engagement reveals that harmonious passion leads to positive advantages relative to obsessive passion, except for sustained engagement in the activity that is experienced with both types of passion. Because such outcomes are experienced in a recurrent fashion, they are conducive to optimal functioning, and much more so for harmonious passion than obsessive passion.

Passion and Outcomes in Other Spheres of the Person's Life

The research briefly mentioned in the previous section is important in that it underscores the fact that passion matters with respect to optimal functioning within the realm of the passionate activity. Furthermore, as seen above, the quality of such outcomes differs as a function of the type of passion involved, with harmonious passion leading to more adaptive outcomes than obsessive passion. The DMP makes a second assumption: passion can also affect outcomes that take place in other areas of one's life and such outcomes should differ as a function of the type of passion at play. Below, I briefly review research that supports this claim both at the intra and the interpersonal levels.

Cognitions Research has looked at the role of passion in cognitions experienced outside the realm of the passionate activity (see Curran et al., 2015). Such research

reveals strong advantages of harmonious passion over obsessive passion. For instance, research reveals that harmonious passion for one's favorite activity (e.g., playing the guitar) positively contributes to experiencing flow in a second activity (e.g., when studying), whereas such is not the case with obsessive passion (Carpentier, Mageau, & Vallerand, 2012). In fact, with obsessive passion, ruminations about the passionate activity conflict with the second activity and prevent flow from being experienced when studying! A series of studies by Bélanger and colleagues went one step further. In this research, Bélanger, Lafrenière, Vallerand, and Kruglanski (2013b) showed that being led to unconsciously think about the passionate activity when engaging in a nonpassionate activity leads to conflict with the activity that one is currently doing, thereby preventing smooth performance on this other activity. In the long run, adaptive functioning in these other activities will be curtailed by the conflict induced by obsessive passion about the passionate activity. However, it should be underscored that this "goal-shielding" effect only takes place with obsessive passion. With harmonious passion, no conflict takes place and the person can think about the passionate activity and still be efficient on whatever the person is doing. Thus, one can be passionate about a given activity and still thrive in other areas in one's life.

Affect We have seen in the previous section that harmonious passion leads to experiencing more positive, and obsessive passion to more negative, affect during task engagement. Furthermore, research has also shown that these effects influence what people experience after task engagement as well as later on that evening in other areas of their lives. Of interest is a diary study conducted by Mageau and Vallerand (2007) that revealed that over a 2-week period, each day that one engaged in the passionate activity, harmonious passion led to an increase of positive affect over baseline level, whereas failing to engage in the passionate activity led obsessive passion to predict a decrease in positive affect over baseline days. These findings were basically replicated in a 2-week diary study with women passionate about physical exercise (Guérin, Fortier, & Williams, 2013).

Vallerand et al. (2003, Study 2) went further and followed collegiate football players over the course of an entire football season. They found that harmonious passion and obsessive passion predicted increases in general positive and negative affect, respectively, that took place over the course of an entire football season. Furthermore, these findings were obtained while controlling for intrinsic and extrinsic motivation toward football. Thus, passion can trigger affect that can be long lasting and that generalizes to one's life in general. However, with harmonious passion, it is positive affect that spreads to other dimensions of one's life and not negative emotions as is the case with obsessive passion.

Psychological Well-Being Other research has looked at the role of passion in psychological well-being. Once more, research reveals that having harmonious passion for an activity has some positive effects on one's psychological well-being (e.g., Burke, Sabiston, & Vallerand, 2012; Houliort, Philippe, Vallerand, & Ménard, 2014, 2015; Houliort, Vallerand, & Laframboise, 2015; Lafrenière, St-Louis, Vallerand, & Donahue, 2012; Lafrenière, Vallerand, & Sedikides, 2013; Lavigne et al., 2012;

Przybylski, Weinstein, Ryan, & Rigby, 2009; Rousseau & Vallerand, 2003, 2008; St-Louis, Carbonneau, & Vallerand, 2016). No such benefits take place with obsessive passion. In fact, research reveals that obsessive passion can predict various forms of psychological ill-being such as generalized anxiety and depression (Rousseau & Vallerand, 2003).

It should be noted that longitudinal research also reveals that obsessive passion for work can predict several years down the road being unable to psychologically adjust following retirement whereas harmonious passion protects from such psychological problems and leads to a highly fulfilling state of retirement (Houliort, Vallerand et al., 2015). Research has also shed light on some of the mediating processes of such effects and reveals that on-task experiences mediate some of the observed effects of passion on well- and ill-being. For instance, positive affect experienced during exercise (Rousseau & Vallerand, 2008) mediate the positive and preventive effects of harmonious passion on life satisfaction and burnout, respectively.

Finally, it should be underscored that the adaptive outcomes engendered by harmonious passion are experienced on a recurrent basis because people engage in the activity that they are passionate about several hours weekly. For instance, harmonious passion leads to an increase of psychological well-being, and obsessive passion to a decrease of well-being, over a 1-year period (Philippe et al., 2009, Study 2). Thus, contrary to the belief that gains in outcomes are not sustained and that people return to baseline after a while (the so-called treadmill effect), the positive effects due to harmonious passion are indeed “sustainable” and long lasting (see Vallerand, 2012b, 2015). Once more, this is not the case with obsessive passion where minimal gains and in fact some losses in adaptive outcomes are experienced.

Relationships Passion for an activity can also have important effects on interpersonal outcomes outside the passionate activity. For instance, research reveals that having a harmonious passion for the Internet and Facebook can promote friendships outside the passionate activity, whereas obsessive passion does not (Utz, Jonas, & Tonkens, 2012). In fact, contrary to harmonious passion, with obsessive passion there is a risk of losing one’s friends due to over engagement in Facebook or other activities that they do not engage with us. Research has also shown that having an obsessive passion for an activity can conflict with other aspects of one’s life and lead to negative relationship outcomes in other dimensions of one’s life. For instance, in a study with soccer fans from the UK, Vallerand et al. (2008, Study 3) have demonstrated that having an obsessive passion for soccer leads to conflict between soccer and one’s romantic relationship that, in turn, undermines the quality of the relationship.

In sum, with obsessive passion, people seem to lose twice: adaptive functioning at the task level is limited at best and it contributes to further curtailing optimal functioning in other areas of the person’s life. Thus, with obsessive passion, functioning and development are not optimal but rather limited in scope. However, with harmonious passion, a recurrent series of micro-moments of adaptive outcomes and functioning take place where those positive moments experienced in the passionate

activity contributes to adaptive outcomes with respect to the passionate activity as well as outside of it, and so on. Passion does matter!

Conclusions and Research Directions

The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the concept of passion and show how it matters with respect to a number of important outcomes. I have presented the Dualistic Model of Passion (e.g., Vallerand, 2010, 2015; Vallerand et al., 2003; Vallerand & Houliort, 2003) and subsequently have focused on the determinants and outcomes. The research reviewed in this chapter leads to four major conclusions. First, there is an overwhelming support for the DMP. The model defines passion as a strong inclination toward a self-defining activity that one loves, finds important, and devotes significant amount of time and energy to. Furthermore, two types of passion are proposed depending on how the activity representation has been internalized in one's identity. While harmonious passion entails control of the activity and a harmonious coexistence of the passionate activity with other activities of the person's life, obsessive passion entails the relative lack of control over the passionate activity, rigid persistence, and conflict with other life activities. Research reviewed provided strong support for the existence of the two types of passion as well as for the processes that the DMP posits that they entail.

The second major conclusion is that although a number of determinants of passion have been identified, additional research is clearly necessary. We have seen that such research can be divided into the initial and the ongoing development of passion. We have seen that both social and personal factors are involved in the two types of development. Additional research may want to focus on the role of personality variables (such as the Big Five) in the initial development of the two types of passion. Although, such research (e.g., Lecoq & Rimé, 2009) has shown that personality types have meager effects on the two types of passion, the facets were not assessed in their study. Furthermore, Lecoq and Rimé only looked at the prediction of the two types of passion without considering the types of activities involved. It is possible that personality predicts which type of activities is selected and eventually turns into a passion. For instance, extraverted individuals may develop a passion for social activities (such as team sports) whereas introverted individuals may turn toward individual sports or even more solitary activities such as reading. Research on vocational interest (e.g., Harrington & Long, 2013) and the Holland categorization of activities may provide a blueprint as to how to best proceed here. The ongoing development of passion also deserves attention. One area in particular that would benefit from such research is how best to diminish obsessive passion and increase harmonious passion. Research reveals that activity engagement out of obsessive passion may come in part from one's intention to avoid negativity or to escape problems that take place in other areas of one's life (Fuster, Chamaro, Carbonell, & Vallerand, 2014; Lalande et al., 2016). These findings suggest that alleviating such problems (e.g., improving relationship with one's spouse) may

diminish obsessive passion for one's favorite activity and increase harmonious passion. Future research on this issue appears promising.

A third conclusion is that passion clearly matters with respect to outcomes. Clearly, being passionate for a given activity leads to adaptive outcomes, especially if the passion is harmonious in nature. Whereas obsessive passion may lead to some positive outcomes, the effects are much less positive than those produced by harmonious passion. Past research on interest has typically assumed that interest only leads to positive outcomes. Conversely, the DMP posits that passion can lead to both adaptive and maladaptive outcomes depending on the type of passion at play. The present position would therefore appear to lead to an interesting glimpse into human nature: Loving something can sometimes go awry and yield maladaptive effects. Furthermore, such a conclusion applies across the life span. Indeed, research has found the same findings with participants ranging in age from 8 to 90 years (Philippe et al., 2009; Vallerand, 2015). In other words, passion, and especially harmonious passion, contributes to optimal functioning across the life span. Such a perspective on the duality of passion may be worth considering for future research on the construct of interest.

A fourth and final conclusion is that passion matters with respect to two types of outcomes: those within the realm of the activity one is passionate about and those outside of it. Past research on interest has typically focused only on those outcomes taking place within the realm of the activity (e.g., educational or vocational interest). However, we have seen that there is evidence that harmonious passion leads to adaptive outcomes that takes place both *outside* the realm of the activity and in other areas of the person's life. Conversely, obsessive passion can trigger less positive, and at times deleterious, effects both inside and outside the realm of the passionate activity. Although a number of outcomes have been studied so far, an array of consequences still deserves empirical scrutiny. One recent approach suggests looking at optimal functioning from a multidimensional perspective. For instance, according to Vallerand (2013; Vallerand & Carbonneau, 2013), to be optimally functioning in society, people should score high on five elements: psychological, physical, and relational well-being; high performance in one's main field of endeavor (e.g., work or education); and contributing to one's immediate community or society at large. The DMP posits that harmonious passion should promote full optimal functioning, while obsessive passion should only partially contribute to it by contributing to some elements (most notably performance and contributions to society) while undermining or not facilitating others. Future research on this issue would appear important.

Caveats and Limitations

The findings reviewed in this chapter provide strong support for the DMP. One limitation, however, is that most studies used correlational designs. This raises the causality issue. Research using cross-lagged panel designs in which both outcomes and

the two types of passion are measured at two points in time, however, reveals that passion leads to outcomes and not the other way around (e.g., Carbonneau, Vallerand, Fernet, & Guay, 2008; Lavigne et al., 2012). Furthermore, some research in which the experimental induction of the two types of passion (and random assignment to conditions) was used has led to the same findings as those using the Passion Scale (e.g., Bélanger et al., 2013b; Lafrenière et al., 2013, Study 2). Specifically, inducing harmonious passion led to increases in outcomes relative to the induction of obsessive passion or that of a control group. Furthermore, a recent meta-analysis involving more than 94 studies and over 1300 independent effect sizes coming from a number of different laboratories provide strong support for the differentiated role of harmonious and obsessive passion in outcomes (see Curran et al., 2015). Overall, there is a strong support for the validity of the findings reported in this chapter.

In sum, although interest has enjoyed a longer tradition in psychology than passion, the latter offers the promise to take the issue of high involvement for activity in uncharted territories and to provide a new understanding of human nature focusing on both optimal functioning and human foibles.

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