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On the Relation between Self-Enhancement and Life Satisfaction:

The Moderating Role of Passion

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Abstract

The Dualistic Model of Passion proposes two distinct types of passion, obsessive and harmonious, that predict less and more adaptive outcomes, respectively. Two studies tested the hypothesis that individuals with an obsessive passion for an activity (being associated with an insecure sense of self) benefit more from self-enhancement in terms of life satisfaction. Study 1 (*N* = 119) showed that the more participants endorsed an obsessive passion, the stronger the association was between self-enhancement within the activity and life satisfaction. Harmonious passion was unrelated to this association. Study 2 (*N* = 318) replicated these findings with an experimental design. The results establish passion as a moderator of the association between self-enhancement and life satisfaction.

On the Relation between Self-Enhancement and Life Satisfaction:

The Moderating Role of Passion

Most people have a favorable opinion of themselves. For example, they rate themselves as above average on a range of traits and abilities (Alicke & Govorun, 2005) and evaluate themselves more positively than objective facts warrant (John & Robins, 1994). Such phenomena are instances of self-enhancement. Notably, self-enhancement manifests itself more strongly on personally important attributes (Dunning, 1995; Sedikides, Gaertner, & Toguchi, 2003). Furthermore, self-enhancement is linked to advantages such as psychological well-being (e.g., satisfaction with life; Dufner et al., 2012; O’Mara, Gaertner, Sedikides, Zhou, & Liu, 2012; Taylor, Lerner, Sherman, Sage, & McDowell, 2003). However, not all individuals would be expected to benefit equally from self-enhancement, and several factors may moderate the association between self-enhancement and life satisfaction (Alicke & Sedikides, 2009; Bosson, Brown, Zeigler-Hill, & Swann, 2003; Sedikides, Gregg, & Hart, 2007). We posit that passion for an activity (Vallerand, 2008, 2010) represents one such factor. Indeed, if individuals are passionate toward an activity, their self-concept will be tethered to the activity. Therefore, maintaining a favorable opinion of the self within the passionate activity will be crucial for life satisfaction. However, as we shall see, the relation between self-enhancement and life satisfaction may be affected not only by the presence of passion, but also by the type of passion that is predominant in an individual. The objective of this article is to examine whether passion for an activity moderates the link between activity-related self-enhancement and life satisfaction.

**The Dualistic Model of Passion**

Vallerand and colleagues(Vallerand, 2008, 2010; Vallerand et al., 2003) have proposed a theoretical framework of passion focusing on the motivational processes that underlie heavy and sustained activity involvement. The Dualistic Model of Passion defines passion as a strong inclination toward a self-defining activity that one loves, finds important, and invests a significant amount of time and energy. These passionate activities come to be so self-defining that they represent central features of one’s identity. Passion can be oriented toward an activity (e.g., playing the piano), a person (e.g., one’s romantic partner), or an object (e.g., one’s cards collection). This Dualistic Model further suggests that individuals can pursue (equally important) passionate activities differently and with varied consequences. In particular, the model distinguishes between harmonious and obsessive activities. Individuals pursue these activities differently, meaning they regulate and integrate them distinctly with other life domains.

Harmonious passion refers to a strong desire to engage freely in the activity, where the person willingly endorses it as a significant, but not overwhelming, part of their identity. With harmonious passion, the person is in control of the activity and decides whether or not to engage in it. Because of such control over the activity, harmonious passion will lead one to experience their activity as coherent and well-integrated with other life domains. Consequently, people with harmonious passion will experience positive outcomes not only during activity engagement (e.g., positive affect, concentration, flow), but also after activity engagement (e.g., general positive affect, psychological adjustment).

The second type of passion, obsessive passion, also refers to a strong desire to engage in the activity. However, in contrast to harmonious passion, obsessive passion overwhelms one’s identity. The activity is out of one’s control and is felt as pressuring one to pursue it unremittingly. This type of engagement will lead to a rigid participation in the activity. As a consequence, with obsessive passion, the activity will be difficult to regulate and integrate with other life domains. This difficulty can eventually generate conflict within other aspects of the person’s life and engender negative consequences (e.g., negative affect, rumination) during and after activity engagement.

Empirical findings have been consistent with the Dualistic Model of Passion. Both harmonious and obsessive passion are positively related to activity valuation, to perceptions of the activity as a passion, and to inclusion of the activity in one’s identity (Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 1). Both types of passion, then, reflect adequately the definition of the passion construct. However, the two types of passion are differentially associated with outcomes. Harmonious passion is positively related, whereas obsessive passion is either unrelated or negatively related, to psychological well-being indices (Philippe, Vallerand, & Lavigne, 2009; Rousseau & Vallerand, 2008; Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 2; Vallerand, et al., 2007), and to positive emotions during activity engagement (Lafrenière et al., 2008, Study 2; Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 1; Vallerand et al., 2006, Study 2). Moreover, harmonious passion is negatively related, whereas obsessive passion is positively related, to experiences of conflict between one’s passion and other life domains (Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 1; Vallerand, Paquet, Philippe, & Charest, 2010).

**The Present Research**

The objective of the present research was to examine whether harmonious and obsessive passion for an activity moderates the association between activity-related self-enhancement and life satisfaction. We hypothesized that individuals with high levels of obsessive passion would benefit more from self-enhancement in terms of life satisfaction. Obsessive passion is positively related to indices of ego fragility such as aggressive and retributive behavior under conditions of identity threat (Donahue, Rip, & Vallerand, 2009; Rip, Vallerand, & Lafrenière, 2012), low implicit self-esteem (Lafrenière, Bélanger, Sedikides, & Vallerand, 2011), and self-worth contingencies to activity-related events (Mageau, Carpentier, & Vallerand, 2011). Hence, these individuals will profit greatly from self-enhancement, given that perceiving oneself in overly positive terms in the passionate activity will fortify the fragile self and, consequently, raise life satisfaction.

We expected that harmonious passion would not moderate the association between activity-related self-enhancement and life satisfaction. Harmonious passion is linked to indices of secure self-esteem (Deci & Ryan, 1995; Kernis, 1993) such as higher explicit self-esteem (Lafrenière et al., 2011), more peaceful (Rip, Vallerand, & Lafrenière, 2012) and less hostile (Donahue, Rip, & Vallerand, 2009) responses under conditions of identity threat, as well as improved functioning globally (i.e., better psychological health and interpersonal relationships coupled with high performance; Vallerand, in press). Individuals with high levels of harmonious passion, then, appear to hold a favorable self-view and do not assert their superiority opportunistically. Consequently, harmonious passion will not moderate the relation between self-enhancement and life satisfaction, given that perceiving oneself in overly favorable terms will be judged as unnecessary or unimportant for the secure self. Finally, in line with past research (Philippe, Vallerand, & Lavigne, 2009; Rousseau & Vallerand, 2008; Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 2; Vallerand, et al., 2007), we hypothesized that harmonious passion will be positively linked to life satisfaction.

We tested these hypotheses in two studies. Study 1 examined whether obsessive passion moderates the association between self-enhancement and life satisfaction, using a correlational design. The purpose of Study 2 was to test the replicability of Study 1 results, using an experimental design. We hypothesized that the more people endorsed an obsessive passion, the more they would experience an increase in life satisfaction when self-enhancing in the activity. Additionally, in line with past research (Philippe, Vallerand, & Lavigne, 2009; Rousseau & Vallerand, 2008; Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 2; Vallerand, et al., 2007), we expected harmonious passion to be conducive to higher life satisfaction in both studies.

**STUDY 1**

The aim of Study 1 was to examine whether harmonious and obsessive passion for an activity moderates the relation between self-enhancement within the activity and life satisfaction. We hypothesized that the stronger people adhered to an obsessive passion, the more they would experience an increase in life satisfaction when self-enhancing in the activity. Furthermore, we expected harmonious passion to be conducive to life satisfaction in general.

**Method**

**Participants**

Participants were 119 undergraduate students (82 female, 36 male, 1 unspecified; *M*age = 22.85, *SD*age = 4.69) at the Université du Québec à Montréal. They had been engaged in their passionate activity for an average of 7.15 years (*SD* = 5.50 years) and were currently devoting a mean of 11.58 weekly hours (*SD* = 11.24 hours) to it. Participants mentioned over 25 activities (e.g., jogging, reading novels, one’s romantic relationship).

**Procedure**

Participants completed questionnaires in classrooms as part of course exercises. Specifically, they completed (in that order) a measure of passion, two measures of self-enhancement, and a measure of life satisfaction (1 = *not agree at all*, 7 = *very strongly agree*).

**Measures**

**Passion***.* Participants were asked to think about an activity that is very dear to their heart. Next, they listed this activity and completed the Passion Scale (Vallerand et al., 2003) while referring to the activity. This scale consists of six harmonious passion items (e.g., “My activity is in harmony with the other activities in my life;”  = .75) and six obsessive passion items (e.g., “I have almost an obsessive feeling for my activity;”  = .73). The Passion Scale has been used in several studies and has shown high levels of validity and reliability (Vallerand, 2010).

**Self-enhancement.** Participants completed two measures of self-enhancement in the context of the passionate activity, namely the State-Trait Grandiosity Scale (Rosenthal, Hooley, & Steshenko, 2003) and the Psychological Entitlement Scale (Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, & Bushman, 2004). Both scales were translated to French using the translation/back-translation technique (Brislin, 1970). The State-Trait Grandiosity Scale assesses superiority or arrogance and consists of 10 power items (e.g., “In the context of my activity, I feel superior;” α = .90) and 10 charisma items (e.g., “In the context of my activity, I feel glorious;” α = .92). The Psychological Entitlement Scale captures the “stable and pervasive sense that one deserves more and is entitled to more than others” (Campbell et al., 2004, p. 31) and consists of nine items (e.g., “In the context of my activity, I honestly feel I’m just more deserving than others;” α = .73). We excluded one item, because it was not adaptable to a specific activity (i.e., “If I were on the Titanic, I would deserve to be on the first lifeboat”).

**Life satisfaction.** Participants completed the French version (Blais, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Brière, 1989) of the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). This scale consists of five items (e.g., “I am satisfied with my life;”  = .85).

**Results**

**Preliminary Analyses**

We replaced missing values (representing 0.32% of the total data file) using an expectation–maximization algorithm. Data screening revealed no value higher than three standard deviations from the mean. We excluded gender and age from the results below, because preliminary analyses produced no effects involving these variables. We display means, standard deviations, and correlations for all measures in Table 1.

**Data Analysis**

We conduced hierarchical multiple regression analyses to examine the main effects and interactions effects of passion and self-enhancement on life satisfaction. For the purpose of the study, we created a self-enhancement latent factor (henceforth referred to as self-enhancement) by extracting the shared variance among the two subscales of the State-Trait Grandiosity Scale and the Psychological Entitlement Scale via exploratory factor analysis. Consistent with Aiken and West’s (1991) procedures, we centered independent variables (i.e., harmonious and obsessive passion and self-enhancement) before calculating the interaction products. Furthermore, we graphed significant interactions terms graphed with high and low scores at one standard deviation above and below the mean (Aiken & West, 1991). Visual inspection of slopes helped to interpret the significant interaction terms.

**Main Analyses**

Results (Table 2) showed that harmonious passion (β = .43, *p* = .00) positively predicted life satisfaction. However, obsessive passion and self-enhancement were unrelated to life satisfaction. More importantly, only the obsessive passion X self-enhancement interaction was significant (β = .18, *p* = .04). As expected, a plot of this interaction (Figure 1) revealed that the more people endorsed an obsessive passion, the more positive was the association between self-enhancement within the activity and life satisfaction. The less people endorsed an obsessive passion, the more negative was the association between self-enhancement within the activity and life satisfaction1

**STUDY 2**

Study 1 showed that obsessive passion moderated the association between self-enhancement in the context of the passionate activity and life satisfaction. Furthermore, harmonious passion was positively linked with life satisfaction in general. However, the correlational design of Study 1 (a) does not preclude the possibility that these results were influenced by extraneous variables and (b) did not address direction of causality. Study 2 tested the replicability of Study 1 results, using an experimental design. To this end, Study 2 included experimental manipulations of both passion (i.e., harmonious passion condition, obsessive passion condition, control passion condition) and self-enhancement (i.e., self-enhancement condition, comparison condition). Moreover, experimental manipulation of self-enhancement may improve on Study 1 in an additional way. In particular, Study 1 self-enhancement measures may have been somewhat confounded with indicators of as narcissism. Consequently, Study 2 should avoid this possible shortcoming by directly manipulating self-enhancement. We hypothesized that participants in the obsessive passion condition would experience higher life satisfaction in the self-enhancement condition than in the comparison condition. Participants in a harmonious passion mindset, however, would experience higher life satisfaction overall.

**Method**

**Participants**

Participants were 318 individuals (173 female, 145 male; *M*age = 30.46, *SD*age = 11.05) recruited using Amazon Mechanical Turk online survey program. We checked IP addresses to detect potential duplicate responders, and we identified no such duplicates. Participants had been engaged in their passionate activity for an average of 6.83 years (*SD* = 5.55 years) and were currently devoting a mean of 8.33 weekly hours (*SD* = 8.49 hours) to it. Participants mentioned over 25 activities (which were similar to those of Study 1).

**Procedure**

Participants completed an online questionnaire. They thought about an activity “very dear to your heart.” Subsequently, they were assigned randomly to one of three writing tasks that experimentally manipulated passion. In the *harmonious passion* condition *(N* = 96), participants wrote about a time when their favorite activity was in harmony with other things that are part of them and when they felt that their favorite activity allowed them a variety of experiences. We based these instructions on two items from the harmonious passion subscale, namely: (1) My activity is in harmony with other things that are part of me, and (2) My activity allows me to live a variety of experiences. In the *obsessive passion* condition *(N* = 98), participants wrote about a time where they had difficulties controlling their urge to engage in their favorite activity and when they felt that their activity was the only thing that really turned them on. We based these instructions on two items from the obsessive passion subscale, namely: (1) I have difficulties controlling my urge to do my activity; (2) This activity is the only thing that really turns me on. Finally, in the *control passion* condition *(N* = 124), participants wrote about a time when they had to borrow a book at the library. Bélanger, Lafrenière, Vallerand, and Kruglanski (2012, Study 3) have established this procedure as a valid manipulation of harmonious and obsessive passion.

Participants were further assigned randomly to one of two writing tasks that manipulated self-enhancement within the activity. First, they thought of a character quality/positive trait that is either important (self-enhancementcondition; *N* = 158) or not (comparisoncondition; *N* = 160) to them in the context of the passionate activity. Then, participants in the *self-enhancement* condition described how their actions and experiences over the past seven days demonstrated that this quality/trait was more characteristic of them than of other individuals (of the same gender, age, and educational background) practicing this activity. Participants in the *comparison* condition completed an identical task pertaining to an unimportant character quality/trait. Lafrenière, Sedikides, Lei, and Bélanger (2012, Studies 1 and 3), as well as O’Mara et al. (2012), established this procedure as a valid manipulation of self-enhancement. Participants proceeded to complete a measure of life satisfaction, namely the SWLS (α = .84).

**Results**

**Preliminary Analyses**

There was no missing value in this study, as the online survey required for participants to respond to all items. Data screening revealed no value higher than three standard deviations from the mean. We excluded gender and age from the results below, given that preliminary analyses yielded no effects implicating these variables. We display levels of life satisfaction across passion and self-enhancement in Figure 2.

**Main Analyses**

We conducted an Analysis of Variance on life satisfaction as a function of passion and self-enhancement. First, the passion main effect was significant, *F*(2, 312) = 16.28, *p* = .001. Simple contrasts revealed that harmonious passion participants (*M* = 4.62) manifested higher levels of life satisfaction than obsessive (*M* = 4.21) and control (*M* = 3.76) passion participants, *p* = .02 and *p* = .001, respectively. Moreover, obsessive passion participants manifested higher levels of life satisfaction than control passion participants, *p* = .001. Second, the self-enhancement main effect was significant, *F*(1, 312) = 8.47, *p* = .001, suggesting that participants in the self-enhancement condition (*M* = 4.33) manifested higher levels of life satisfaction than participants in the comparison condition (*M* = 3.99).

Third, and more importantly, these main effects were qualified by the interaction, *F*(2, 312) = 4.19, *p* = .02. We carried out simple contrasts to clarify the interaction. In the obsessive passion condition, participants in the self-enhancement condition (*M* = 4.68) manifested higher levels of life satisfaction than participants in the comparison condition (*M* = 3.78), *p* = .001. Harmonious passion participants, however, did not differ on life satisfaction in the self-enhancement (*M* = 4.65) and comparison (*M* = 4.59) conditions, *p* = .74. Likewise, control passion participants did not differ on life satisfaction in the self-enhancement (*M* = 4.82) and comparison (*M* = 3.68) conditions, *p* = .52.

In the self-enhancement condition, harmonious and obsessive passion participants reported higher levels of life satisfaction than control passion participants, *ps* = .001. In addition, harmonious passion participants did not differ on life satisfaction from obsessive passion participants, *p* = .89. Furthermore, in the comparison condition, harmonious passion participants manifested higher levels of life satisfaction than obsessive and control passion participants, *ps* = .001. Finally, obsessive passion participants did not differ on life satisfaction from control passion participants, *p* = .11. These result patterns are consistent with the hypotheses.

**GENERAL DISCUSSION**

This research tested whether harmonious and obsessive passion for an activity moderates the association between self-enhancement within the activity and life satisfaction. We hypothesized that individuals with high levels of obsessive passion would benefit more from self-enhancement in terms of satisfaction with life. This is so because individuals who endorse strongly an obsessive passion hold an insecure sense of self in the activity (Donahue, Rip, & Vallerand, 2009; Mageau, Carpentier, & Vallerand, 2011; Rip, Vallerand, & Lafrenière, 2012) and are thus liable to gain more from self-enhancement. Additionally, we hypothesized that harmonious passion would be linked positively to life satisfaction in general. This is so because individuals who endorse strongly a harmonious passion hold positive and secure self-views within the activity (Donahue, Rip, & Vallerand, 2009; Lafrenière et al., 2011; Rip, Vallerand, & Lafrenière, 2012), rendering them less concerned with opportunities to assert their superiority. Two studies lent support to the hypotheses. These findings have several implications.

A first implication is that type of passion matters with respect to the association between self-enhancement and life satisfaction. Across studies, the more individuals had an obsessive passion, the more they experienced an increase in life satisfaction when self-enhancing in the activity. In contrast, harmonious passion did not moderate the association between self-enhancement and life satisfaction. Psychological gains from self-enhancement in the activity do not simply depend on the presence of passion, but on the extent to which one’s passion is obsessive or not. These findings extend past research (Lafrenière, St-Louis, Vallerand, & Donahue, in press; Philippe, Vallerand, & Lavigne, 2009; Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 2; Vallerand et al., 2006, Study 3; Vallerand et al., 2007, Study 2; Vallerand et al., 2008, Studies 1 and 2) in that obsessive passion is not simply unrelated or negatively related to life satisfaction but, more precisely, it ties life satisfaction to one’s self-view within the activity. Future research would do well to explore possible mediators (e.g., activity self-evaluations, self-esteem fragility, self-concept clarity, self-structure complexity) of this effect.

The findings in regards to harmonious passion and life satisfaction also deserve attention. Across studies, harmonious passion was positively associated to life satisfaction. These results patterns are in line with those of past research (Lafrenière et al., in press; Philippe, Vallerand, & Lavigne, 2009; Vallerand et al., 2003, Study 2; Vallerand et al., 2006, Study 3; Vallerand et al., 2007, Study 2; Vallerand et al., 2008, Studies 1 and 2), which found harmonious passion to be linked positively to life satisfaction in a variety of life domains. However, the results of Study 2 are the first to demonstrate such an effect using an experimental design. Indeed, Study 2 implemented a manipulation of passion and revealed that participants in a harmonious passion mindset reported higher levels of life satisfaction overall. This finding increases confidence in the causal role of harmonious passion in psychological well-being. Nevertheless, it would be useful to apply such a manipulation of passion to longitudinal studies in order to examine whether such a mindset can alter satisfaction with life more enduringly.

Another implication is that not all individuals benefit evenly from self-enhancement. Indeed, the more participants had an obsessive passion, the more they experienced an increase in life satisfaction when self-enhancing in the activity. This finding is innovative, as it suggests that the beneficial effects of self-enhancement on life satisfaction are contingent upon individual differences. It is a task of future research to assess psychological factors (e.g., neuroticism, regulatory focus, self-compassion) likely to moderate the association between self-enhancement and life satisfaction.

Across the two studies, self-enhancement did not exert a substantial influence on satisfaction with life. In fact, self-enhancement was associated with greater psychological well-being only in individuals with high levels of obsessive passion. This might be due to the way we operationalized self-enhancement. In Study 1, participants evaluated their grandiosity or superiority, whereas, in Study 2, participants were directly asked to boost themselves in comparison to others. Consequently, the present research focused on a specific form of self-enhancement that is more forthright and socially comparative, and this form of self-enhancement may be less conducive to life satisfaction (Sedikides & Gregg, 2008; Sedikides & Strube, 1997). Future research would need to test these ideas operationalizing self-enhancement in diverse ways (e.g., exaggerated optimism, self-serving bias, overclaiming technique).

Our findings can be enriched in several ways. We restricted the scope of this research to life satisfaction. A broader range of psychological well-being measures (Pavot, 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2001) would expand our understanding of the moderating role of harmonious and obsessive passion on the link between self-enhancement and psychological well-being. In addition, psychological well-being assessment would profit from informant reports (e.g., spouse, friends, and family) and expert evaluations (Vazire, 2010). Moreover, in accordance with research on contextual judgments of life satisfaction (Oishi, Schimmack, & Colcombe, 2003; Schwarz, Strack, Kommer, & Wagner, 1997), it would be interesting to conduct longitudinal research in order to determine if the interaction of passion and self-enhancement represents a contextual or long-lasting influence of one’s life satisfaction**.** Finally, the generalizability of the findings to other populations (e.g., older adults) and cultures would need to be tested.

In summary, the current findings suggest that passion matters with respect to the relation between self-enhancement and satisfaction with life. The more individuals had an obsessive passion, the more they experienced an increase in psychological well-being when self-enhancing in the context of the activity. This was not the case for harmonious passion. Whether individuals will benefit from self-enhancement depends on the type of passion they have.

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Footnotes

1. We also conducted hierarchical multiple regression analyses to examine the main effects and interactions effects of passion and each self-enhancement measures separately (i.e. the two subscales of the State-Trait Grandiosity Scale and the Psychological Entitlement Scale) on life satisfaction. The obsessive passion X self-enhancement interaction was significant using the power (β = .16, *p* =.05) and charisma (β = .19, *p* =.04) subscales of the the State-Trait Grandiosity Scale and marginal using the Psychological Entitlement Scale (β = .14, *p* =.10).

Table 1

*Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Involving all Variables (Study 1; N = 119)*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *M* | *SD* | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Harmonious passion (1) | 5.60 | 0.88 | .12 | .21\* | .26\* | -.02 | .40\* |
| Obsessive passion (2) | 2.91 | 1.27 |  | .46\* | .43\* | .32\* | .02 |
| Grandiosity: Power (3) | 3.49 | 1.40 |  |  | .82\* | .53\* | -.08 |
| Grandiosity: Charisma (4) | 3.95 | 1.56 |  |  |  | .53\* | .02 |
| Psychological entitlement (5) | 2.95 | 1.19 |  |  |  |  | -.06 |
| Life satisfaction (6) | 4.98 | 1.17 |  |  |  |  |  |

\* p < .05

Table 2

*Results of the Hierarchical Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Life Satisfaction from Harmonious and Obsessive Passion and Self-Enhancement (Study 1; N = 119)*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Predictor | Life satisfaction |
| Harmonious passion | .43\* |
| Obsessive passion | .01 |
| Self-enhancement | -.15 |
| Harmonious passion X Self-enhancement | -.03 |
| Obsessive passion X Self-enhancement | .18\* |

\* *p* < .05

*Figure 1.* Life Satisfaction of Participants with High and Low Obsessive Passion and High and Low Self-Enhancement Composite Score (Study 1; *N* = 119)

Note: OP = Obsessive Passion*;* SE = Self-Enhancement Latent Score; High = One standard-deviation higher than the mean; Low = One standard-deviation lower than the mean.

*Figure 2*. Life Satisfaction of Participants across Passion and Self-Enhancement Conditions (Study 2; *N* = 318)